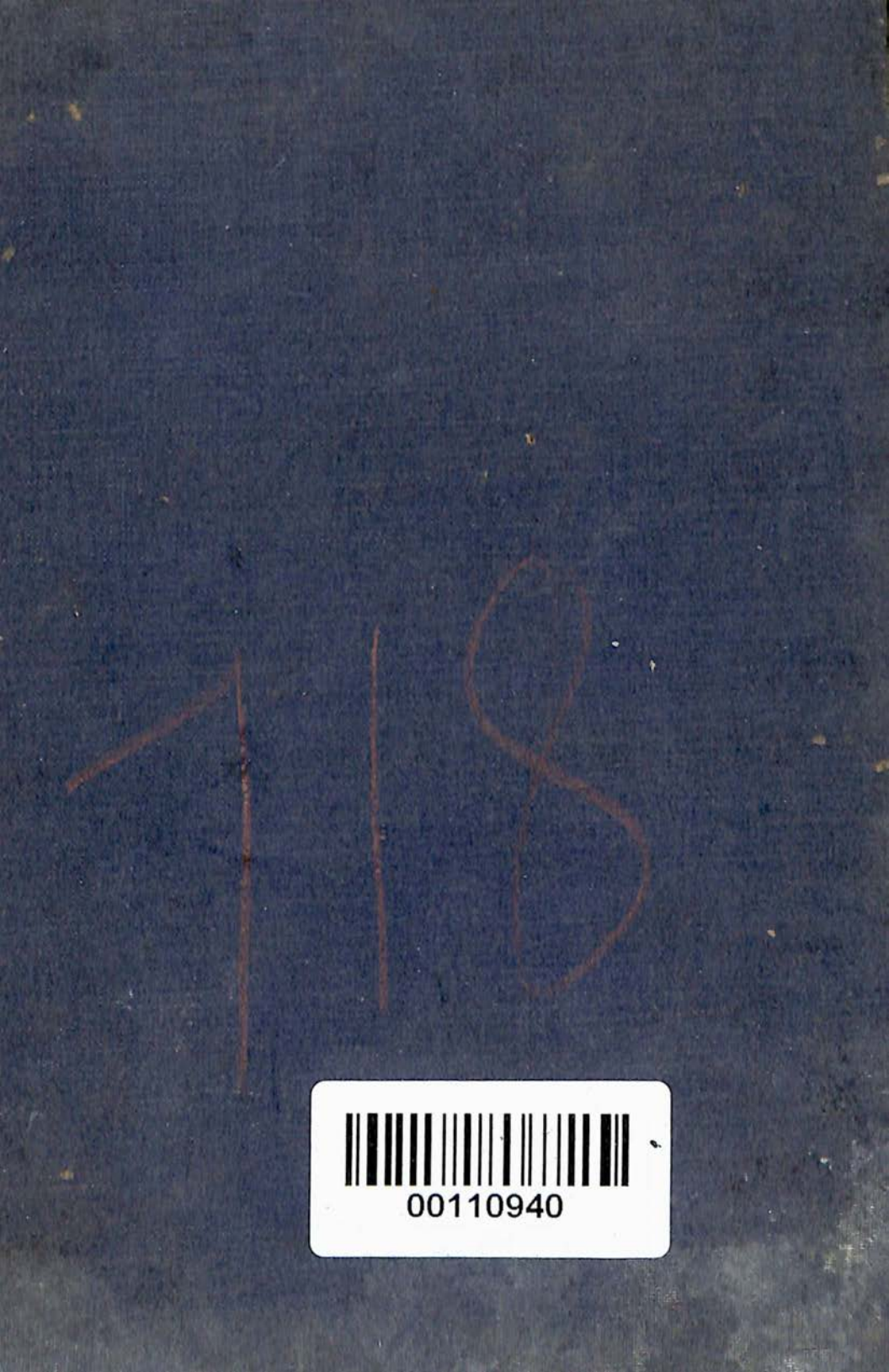
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HISTORY

OF THE

PROPAGATION OF CHRISTIANITY AMONG THE HEATHEN.

HISTORY

OF THE

PROPAGATION OF CHRISTIANITY AMONG THE HEATHEN

SINCE THE REFORMATION

BY THE

REV. WILLIAM BROWN, M.D.

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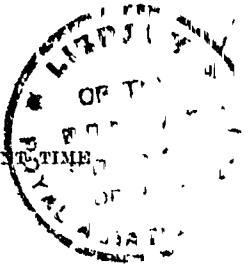

THIRD EDITION, BROUGHT DOWN TO THE PRESENT TIME

IN THREE VOLUMES

VOL. III.

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CHAPTER XXII.

PROPAGATION OF CHRISTIANITY BY THE AMERICAN BOARD FOR FOREIGN MISSIONS.

SECT. I.—INDIA.

ART. 1.—BOMBAY—AHMEDNUGGUR—SATTARA.

IN June 1810, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions was appointed by the General Association of Massachusetts, in consequence of a statement and a request for advice, submitted to it by some students of divinity at Andover College, who were anxious to devote themselves to the service of Christ among the heathen.[1] The Board originally consisted chiefly of members of the Congregational churches in America; but afterwards included also members of the Presbyterian and Reformed Dutch churches. It was, in fact, constituted not on denominational but on broad Christian principles.[2]

In February 1812, the Rev. Messrs Judson, Newell, Hall,

[1] The following were the names of these excellent young men, Adoniram Judson, Samuel Nott, Samuel J. Mills, and Samuel Newell. The paper was drawn up by Mr Judson. It also contained at first the names of James Richards, and Luther Rice, but on further consideration they were withdrawn, lest the association should be alarmed at the probable expense of supporting six missionaries in a foreign land, and shrink back from the undertaking altogether.—Tracy's *History of the American Board for Foreign Missions*, p. 26. In the history of the American Board which these young men were thus instrumental in calling into being, we have a striking example how eminently useful even young and uninfluential individuals may sometimes be.

[2] Panoplist, vol. iii. (N. S.) p. 88.—Report of the Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, 1832, p. 184.

Nott, and Rice, sailed under the auspices of this Institution for Calcutta, with the view of commencing a mission in such part of the Eastern world as, on their arrival in India, should be deemed most eligible. Scarcely, however, had they reached the shores of India, when they were ordered by the British government to return in the same ships in which they came out, and they were given to understand that the vessels would not be allowed to depart without them. By the interposition, however, of the Baptist missionaries, and other friends of religion in Calcutta, these orders were afterwards relaxed, and they obtained permission to proceed to the Isle of France, which is not within the jurisdiction of the East India Company. Other circumstances, however, now occurred which occasioned a separation among the missionaries. Two of them, Messrs Judson and Rice, changed their sentiments on the subject of Baptism, and at their own request were baptized by the Serampur missionaries. It was therefore deemed expedient, both by themselves and their friends, that they should separate, and prosecute their labours in different fields.[1]

Previous to this, Mr Newell had sailed for the Isle of France, agreeably to the arrangement with government. The voyage proved tedious, perilous, and distressing. In the course of it, Mrs Newell was delivered of a daughter, which died within five days after its birth, and was consigned to a watery grave. She herself now manifested symptoms of consumption, and soon after her arrival in the Isle of France, she followed her infant to the world of spirits. Amidst her various trials, she exhibited singular resignation to the will of God; or if a murmuring thought arose at times in her breast, she quickly silenced it by those powerful considerations which the gospel affords. "My wicked heart," she wrote, "is inclined to think it hard that I should suffer such fatigue and hardship. I sinfully envy those whose lot it is to live in tranquillity on land. Happy people! ye know not the toils and trials of voyagers across the rough and stormy deep. Oh! for a little Indian hut on land! But hush, my warring passions: it is for Jesus, who sacrificed the joys of his Father's kingdom, and expired on a cross to redeem a fallen world, that

[1] Report of the Board for Foreign Missions, 1812, p. 7.—Ibid. 1813, p. 10.—Ibid. 1814, p. 18.—Memoirs of Mrs Newell, 4th edit. pp. 161, 165.

I thus wander from place to place, and have nowhere a home. How reviving the thought! How great the consolation it yields to my sinking heart! Let the severest trials and disappointments fall to my lot, guilty and weak as I am, yet I think I can rejoice in the Lord, and joy in the God of my salvation." In the early part of her illness, she had some fears respecting her spiritual state; but these doubts were soon dispelled, and she used to talk in the most familiar manner, and with great delight, of death, and of the glory that would follow. She wished it to be distinctly made known to her friends in America, that she had never regretted leaving her native land for the cause of Christ. A few days before her death, after one of those distressing fits of coughing which rapidly wasted her feeble frame, she desired Mr Newell to sit on her bed-side, and receive her dying message to her relatives. "Tell my dear mother," said she, "how much Harriet loved her: tell her to look to God and keep near to him; and he will support and comfort her under all her trials." Then thinking of her brothers and sisters, she said, "Tell them from the lips of their dying sister, that there is nothing but religion worth living for. Oh! exhort them to attend immediately to the care of their precious and immortal souls. Tell them not to delay repentance. Let my dear brothers and sisters know that I loved them to the last. I hope to meet them in heaven: but oh! if I should not"—— Here she burst into tears, and was unable for the present to proceed further: her feelings, at the thought of an eternal separation from those she loved so dearly, were too big for utterance. As her dissolution approached, Mr Newell told her she could not survive another day. "O joyful news!" she replied, "I long to depart." Shortly after, when he asked her how death appeared to her now, she answered, "Glorious! truly welcome!" Thus died the amiable and accomplished Harriet Newell, at the early age of nineteen. Her cultivated understanding, her enlarged benevolence, her ardent piety, her cheerful fortitude, her active zeal, her entire devotedness to the cause of missions, had raised her high in the estimation of her Christian friends, and gave no ordinary promise of usefulness among the heathen;[1] yet mysterious as her early removal from the world may appear, it is not improbable, that her death con-

[1] Memoirs of Mrs Newell, pp. 167, 174.

tributed more to promote the glory of Christ among mankind, than would have been effected by her life, in consequence of the deep and general interest in the cause of missions, which was excited both in America and Britain by her interesting character, her affecting history, and her early death.

Messrs Hall and Nott intended following Mr Newell to the Isle of France; but during their stay at Calcutta, they received such information as led them to hope they might yet find it practicable to settle in some part of India. Having obtained a general passport from the police at Calcutta, they engaged a passage to Bombay, and were already contemplating their prospects with much satisfaction, when they met with a new and unexpected trial. After their luggage was on board the ship, they received notice from the police, that it was the will of government to have them conveyed to England, and that a passage would be provided for them in the fleet then under despatch. Having in vain used means to procure a repeal of this order, they resolved that as their passports were not revoked, they would go on board the vessel in which they had paid their passage, and in which they were regularly reported to the police as passengers, and there wait the event. The ship remained in the river a little below Calcutta, five or six days; and though the police-officers knew perfectly well where they were, they never inquired after them. Having at length put to sea, they flattered themselves that all danger was now over; but on arriving at Bombay, they found that a recommendation had already reached that presidency, from the supreme government in Bengal, to send them to England. By means, however, of a respectful memorial to Sir Evan Nepean, the governor, they not only succeeded in explaining the circumstances under which they had left Calcutta, but they so entirely satisfied him with regard to their designs, that he assured them of his disposition to render them every service in his power. He accordingly wrote a private letter to Lord Minto, the governor-general, with the view of removing any unfavourable impression which their abrupt departure from Calcutta might have made upon his mind, and of procuring permission for them to remain at Bombay, or to go unmolested to some other part of the world. By this letter, he seems to have satisfied his lordship with respect to the character and proceedings of the

missionaries; but as intelligence was in the meanwhile received of the commencement of hostilities between Britain and America, he considered himself as obliged by the orders he had received to send them to England. He wrote, however, once more in their behalf to Lord Minto; but yet he provided a passage for them on board a ship which was expected soon to sail.[1]

Having in the meanwhile received various communications from Ceylon, encouraging them to come and settle on that island, the missionaries presented a memorial to Sir Evan Nepean, entreating that if they could not be allowed to remain in Bombay, they might be permitted to remove thither; but though the governor was personally anxious to grant their request, he did not feel himself at liberty to deviate from the letter of his instructions. The ship in which they were to proceed to England was now on the eve of sailing, and there appeared scarcely a gleam of hope of their being able to remain in the East. Having heard, however, of a vessel going to Cochin, and that she would give them a passage, if they could be ready to embark in four or five hours, they formed a sudden resolution to proceed by her, especially as they understood she would be able to convey them from thence to Ceylon. The ship, however, did not, on its arrival at Cochin, proceed immediately to Ceylon; and while they were waiting for a passage by some other conveyance, and just as one seemed to present itself, a cruiser arrived from Bombay with orders to bring them back to that presidency.

On returning to Bombay, they found Sir Evan Nepean much displeased with their private departure to Cochin, as, from the favour he had shewn them, it might subject him to censure from the supreme government for connivance or delinquency. In a respectful and able memorial, however, which they presented to him, they justified their procedure on the principle that the authority of Christ Jesus, under which they had been sent forth to preach the gospel to the heathen, was paramount to any civil authority which would frustrate or counteract their labours; and that, if prevented from prosecuting their mission in one place, they were expressly commanded by their Master "to flee to another." Though the governor was so far satisfied by this faithful appeal

[1] Panoplist, vol. ix. p. 129; vol. x. p. 182; vol. xi. p. 192.—Rep. Board For. Miss. 1813, p. 130.—Ibid. 1814, pp. 5, 18.

to his understanding and conscience, as to allow them to leave the vessel in which they had returned to Bombay, he still considered himself as under the necessity of sending them to England by the first regular conveyance.[1]

In the meanwhile, Earl Moira arrived in Bengal, as governor-general in the room of Lord Minto, and an application was made to him by the friends of the missionaries in that quarter, for permission to them to remain in Bombay. His lordship having manifested a favourable disposition toward them, private information of this was immediately transmitted to them; but though the intelligence was communicated to the governor, he still considered himself, as he had received no official notice of it, bound by his previous instructions and engagements to send them to Europe. Shortly after, they were informed that a passage was provided for them on board a vessel which was to sail within two days. On receiving this painful intelligence, they presented another memorial to the governor, as a last appeal to his conscience and heart, entreating him not to send them to England, by the consideration of the spiritual miseries of the heathen, who were daily perishing before his eyes and under his government, by the precious blood which Jesus shed to redeem them; by the solemn command He gave his servants to go and preach the gospel among all nations, by the grand solemnities of the Judgment-day, when he would meet his pagan subjects before the tribunal of God, and by other powerful arguments of a similar nature.

Having made this last effort to obtain liberty to remain in Bombay, until official notice of the intentions of the supreme government should be received from Bengal, they proceeded with their preparations for sailing to England. Their packages were ready; the porters had come to carry them away; the boats were engaged to convey them on board the ship; every thing, in short, was prepared for their departure.

Meanwhile, the last solemn appeal of the missionaries to the governor had made so powerful an impression on his mind, that though it was intended merely as a private communication to himself, as a man and a Christian, he was so kind as to lay it before the council, who agreed to allow them to remain at Bombay, until further instructions regarding them should be re-

[1] Rep. Board For. Miss. 1814, pp. 9, 24, 30, 32.

ceived from Calcutta. Distressed as they were previously, this intelligence raised their drooping spirits, and filled them with wonder, gratitude, and joy. The whole matter, and the correspondence connected with it, was laid before the Court of Directors in England, and they were on the point of sending despatches to India, censuring all their servants, civil and ecclesiastical, who had in any way abetted the proceedings of the missionaries, and requiring the removal of the latter from the country. At this critical juncture, that early and steadfast friend of missions, Charles Grant, Esq., who was then one of the directors, drew up an apology for the missionaries from their own documents then before the court, which happily satisfied them, and led them, in their despatches to the governor, to leave him at liberty to allow them to remain should he think fit. Sir Evan accordingly communicated to Mr Hall his permission to them to remain in the country, with an expression of his cordial wishes for the success of their labours.[1] We cannot close this account without expressing our admiration of the wisdom and prudence, the decision and fortitude, the patience and devotedness of the missionaries, under these trying and difficult circumstances. At the same time, much praise is due to Sir Evan Nepean for the magnanimity, candour, and kindness which he manifested in the whole course of his conduct toward them. The successful issue of this critical and long unequal struggle was a signal interposition of Divine Providence on behalf of the cause of Christian missions, and particularly as carried on by the Churches of America. This was the first mission which our American brethren had sent to a foreign land; the spirit of missions was as yet scarcely kindled among them; and had this their earliest attempt been crushed in its infancy, and the missionaries been sent back whence they came, it is impossible to say what might have been the effect of this upon the churches of that vast continent, which since that time have made such distinguished and such successful efforts for the evangelization of the world.

At Bombay, Messrs Hall and Nott were joined by Mr Newell, who, after the death of his wife, had proceeded to Ceylon, and afterwards by other missionaries from America. In carrying on their labours among the natives they pursued much the same

[1] Rep. Board For. Miss. 1814, pp. 9, 24, 30, 32.—Ibid. 1816, p. 6.—Bardwell's Memoir of Gordon Hall, p. 73.

course as was common in other missions; and it is therefore not necessary that we should enter into much detail on the subject.

In March 1817, they commenced printing operations by the printing of a small Scripture tract of eight pages. There were then no means of printing the Scriptures, tracts, or school-books in the Marathi language in all western India; there was, consequently, a necessity for establishing a press in connexion with the mission. It was small in its beginnings, but the call from time to time for increased means of printing gradually led to the extension of the establishment, until it became at length an enlarged and powerful engine for diffusing Christianity and useful knowledge in this part of India. It had eight printing presses in use, ten native founts of type, and had the means of printing to any extent in Marathi, Gujarati, Hindustani, Sanskrit, Persic, Arabic, Zend, Pelhvi, and English, besides several small founts of type in other languages, for printing extracts, quotations, or criticisms. A lithographic press, a type-foundery, and a book-bindery, were also connected with the establishment. It did the work not only of the American mission, but also of other missions on that side of India; and it was likewise extensively employed by the Bombay Bible Society, the Bombay Tract and Book Society, and by other religious and benevolent institutions. The printing establishment was conducted with so much system and economy that it came to be no expense to the Board.[1]

In March 1824, the missionaries established a female school in Bombay, under the care of a competent female teacher named Gunga, the first which is known to have been established on that side of India; but within about two months the cholera visited the island with terrible violence, and among the thousands who fell victims to it was the schoolmistress Gunga. The school was at once broken up, as they knew of no one qualified to fill her place. When we consider the prejudices which the native female had to break through, and the obloquy which she had to brave in engaging in such an employment; and also that the Hindu Shastras denounce misfortunes, early widowhood, and early death to the female who dares to teach or to learn to read, this could not but appear a dark and mysterious providence, particularly as the

[1] Rep. Board For. Miss. 1817, p. 8.—Ibid. 1844, p. 151.—Ibid. 1845, p. 127.—Ibid. 1848, p. 178.

Hindus might not unnaturally, according to their views, conclude that it was a judgment upon her for her wickedness and temerity.[1]

The attempt to establish female schools was afterwards renewed. A number were opened which were attended by upwards of 500 girls, several of them the daughters of Brahmans, and many others of high caste. The experiment was thought to have succeeded beyond the expectations of those who were acquainted with the difficulties attending it. The opposition which formerly existed to female education appeared to be gradually dying away. Still, however, it was but lightly esteemed, even by those parents who thought most favourably of it; while many, and they not unfrequently the great and the learned, retained in undiminished force all their old prejudices against it. Here, as in many other parts of India, female schools did not fulfil the sanguine hopes that were early formed of them. For some years past they have been on the decline; and the number of girls now attending them is very small. The schools for boys were also at an early period more numerous than they are now, and were attended by many more scholars. It would, however, have been easy to increase the number of schools for both boys and girls, as the missionaries often had applications to establish others; but they judged it best not to have more schools than could be frequently visited and effectually superintended. Unless they were often inspected, it was found impossible to prevent many heathenish and idolatrous practices being followed, and improper books being read and copied in them.[2]

In December 1831, Messrs Graves, Hervey, and Read, commenced a new station at Ahmednuggur in the Deccan. Other stations are occupied at Seroor, Sattara, and Kolapur; and besides these there are several out-stations.[3]

In March 1847, the Old Testament in the Marathi language was completed at the American Mission press, Bombay. The New Testament, translated by the American missionaries, was originally printed twenty years before. The Old Testament now printed was translated partly by one of their number, Mr Graves,

[1] Miss. Her. vol. xxi. p. 136.

[2] Miss. Her. vol. xxiii. p. 181; vol. xxv. p. 85; vol. xxxvi. p. 497. Rep. Board For. Miss. 1832, p. 39.—Ibid. 1845, p. 129.—Ibid. 1852, p. 95.

[3] Miss. Her. vol. xxviii. p. 323.—Rep. Board For. Miss. 1853, pp. 93, 97, 99.

and partly by the Rev. J. B. Dixon, of the Church Missionary Society. The whole underwent in the present edition a thorough revision by a committee of the Bombay Bible Society, consisting of missionaries of different denominations, and other gentlemen acquainted with the Marathi language.[1] Much care appears to have been taken upon the version; though, from the extent of country over which the Marathi language is spoken, and the diversities of dialect which probably prevail in it, it may not be found everywhere equally intelligible. This, in fact, is a disadvantage which will commonly attend all languages spoken by a numerous and diversified population, especially those in which there is no considerable popular literature; and hence arises a strong temptation to make new translations into mere dialects, instead of confining them, as should generally be done, to languages.

In 1852, the whole number of persons received in Bombay into Christian fellowship since the commencement of the mission, was about sixty, and the members were then twenty. A number had died, and some had been excluded. In the same year, the communicants at Ahmednuggur were 115.[2]

It is perhaps commonly thought that there is less hope of the conversion of Brahmans than of other Hindu castes. But on this side of India, the number of Brahman converts bore a good proportion to that of the other classes. The Brahmans, it is true, are more proud, but they are also less stupid and ignorant, and are better able to understand the statements of divine truth, and the force of an argument. There is less danger of spurious conversions among them than among other castes; they have less to expect, and more to lose, by a profession of Christianity. If converted, they may, as a general thing, be expected to become much more useful than others. They are better qualified intellectually to engage in missionary labours among their countrymen; they have more decision of character, and are less likely to become lukewarm Christians than the lower classes.[3]

[1] Miss. Her. vol. xliii. p. 274.

[2] Rep. Board For. Miss. 1846, p. 133.—Ibid. 1847, p. 128.—Ibid. 1848, p. 170.—Ibid. 1849, p. 137.—Ibid. 1852, p. 95.—Ibid. 1853, p. 95.

[3] Miss. Her. vol. iv. p. 370.

Art. 2.—Madras—Madura—Arcot.

In July 1834, the Rev. Henry R. Hoisington and William Todd commenced a station at Madura in the south of India. This became the centre of an extended system of operations in that part of the country, other stations being established in Dindigul, Tirupuvanum, Sivagunga, Tirumungalum, Periaculum, Pasumalie, and Mandapasalie. [1]

In 1836, the Rev. Mirom Winslow and John Scudder, M.D. removed from Ceylon, where they had been engaged for many years in missionary labours, to Madras, with a particular view to the establishment of a printing press in that city, for the purpose of supplying the stations in the south of India with copies of the Holy Scriptures, and other books and tracts. Two years afterwards the mission purchased the extensive printing establishment of the Church Missionary Society in that city, consisting of eighteen printing presses, a lithographic press, a hydraulic press, about sixteen founts of types, English, Tamul, and Telugu, a type-foundery, and also a book-bindery. The printing establishment in Madras became eventually one of the most valuable connected with missions in India. A large amount of printing was executed at it, not only on account of the missions of the Board in the south of India, but also on account of other societies. [2]

In the Madura, or southern mission, the people in many villages offered to renounce their idols, and to place themselves under the instruction of the missionaries; but it must not be supposed that this generally arose from any knowledge of Christianity, or any serious impression of divine truth on their minds. The state of the native mind, among both Hindu and Romanists in this part of India, appeared to be such that the missionaries might have had as many villages to instruct as they could take under their care; but in some instances, when they were not able, from the inadequacy of their numbers, to take them immediately under instruction, the people returned to heathenism or Popery. Hinduism appears to sit more lightly

[1] Miss. Her. vol. xxxi. p. 179.—Rep. Board For. Miss. 1852, p. 103.

[2] Rep. Board For. Miss. 1837, p. 73.—Ibid. 1848, p. 178.—Miss. Her. vol. xxxiv. p. 484.—Ibid. vol. xliii. p. 281.—Ibid. vol. xlv. p. 390.

on many of the inhabitants of the south of India than of other parts of the country; but, as we have already stated in our account of other missions in Tinnevelly and Travancore, the great mass of those who professed to renounce their idols, and to place themselves under Christian instruction, did so, in the first instance, in the hope of obtaining some temporal good; and on finding themselves disappointed in this, many afterwards fell away. Still, however, it was encouraging to the missionaries that so many in their village congregations continued to receive their instructions. Considering the great amount of influence which was brought to bear against Christianity, it was wonderful that they were willing, while yet unregenerated, to listen statedly to truths so much opposed to their long-cherished opinions and customs. The congregations were in general very small; but a knowledge of the truths of the gospel made evident progress among them. [1]

In 1852, the number of communicants connected with the several stations of the Madura mission, was 335, and the persons under instruction amounted to 3746. In the Madras mission, the members of the churches were only forty-two; and in that of Arcot, which had only been lately established, there appear to have been three. [2]

Art. 3.—Ceylon.

In October 1815, the Rev. Messrs Warren, Meigs, Richards, and Poor, sailed for Ceylon, and on their arrival at Colombo they met with a cordial reception from Sir Robert Brownrigg, the governor, Sir Alexander Johnston, the chief-justice, and other distinguished persons. Having received permission from the governor to establish a mission in Jaffnapatam, the northern district of the island, Messrs Warren and Poor settled at Tillipally, and Messrs Meigs and Richards at Batticotta, which were about seven or eight miles distant from each other. At each of these places there was a large church, though without a roof, and a dwelling-house, to which were attached three or four acres of land, containing a variety of fruit-trees. The churches and

[1] Miss. Her. vol. xliv. p. 103; vol. xlv. p. 48; vol. xlviii. p. 167.—Rep. Board For. Miss. 1848, p. 189.

[2] Miss. Her. vol. xlix. pp. 167, 169.—Rep. Board For. Miss. 1853, pp. 101, 104.

mansion-houses were built by the Portuguese in the sixteenth century. Of these, and similar buildings and glebes in several other parishes, the missionaries received a grant from the British government.[1] The following table shews the principal stations established by them:—

Begun.	Stations.
1816.	Tillipally.
1816.	Batticotta.
1820.	Oodooville.
1820.	Panditeripo.
1821.	Manepy.
1834.	Chavagachery.[2]

In August 1820, Mr James Garret, who had been sent out to take charge of a printing establishment in connexion with the mission, landed in Ceylon; but on his arrival being reported, Sir Edward Barnes, the lieutenant-governor, gave notice that government did not deem it proper to allow of any increase of the American missionaries on the island, and issued an order that he should leave it within three months. The missionaries presented a respectful memorial to him, in which they stated that the mission had been established with the permission and encouragement of Sir Robert Brownrigg, the late governor, and that he had also authorised them to establish a printing press. They likewise gave him an account of their labours among the natives, with the view of shewing him their utility, in the hope that he might yet grant Mr Garret permission to settle on the island, or at least allow him to remain until the result of an application to the home government for leave of residence should be known; but Sir Edward was inexorable, and would not even allow of an extension of the time for his departure, which was requested on the ground of the difficulty of leaving the island during the rainy season, which was then at hand. He himself probably made a representation on the subject to the home government, for an injunction was subsequently received from the Secretary for the Colonies against any additions being made in future to the mission. This restriction was in force eleven years, and might have

[1] Panoplist, vol. ii. p. 533.—Rep. Board For. Miss. 1817, p. 10.—Ibid. 1818, p. 10.

[2] Rep. Board For. Miss. 1817, p. 13.—Ibid. 1821, p. 38.—Ibid. 1822, p. 32.—Ibid. 1834, p. 77.—Ibid. 1835, p. 62.

proved the extinction of the mission; but, in the good providence of God, none of the missionaries previously in health were removed by death, or permanently disabled through sickness.[1]

Though the number of stations was increased in the course of a few years, yet the system of the missionaries was rather to cultivate a little ground well, than to scatter their labours over a great extent of country. This, we are satisfied, is a wise policy. We are far from disapproving of missionaries itinerating occasionally through the surrounding country, and even to distant places; but yet, we apprehend, they should, for the most part, concentrate their labours within bounds which they can constantly and thoroughly cultivate. Much effort has been expended to little purpose in distant and desultory labours.[2]

The education of the young was an object to which the missionaries directed special attention. They established week-day schools for both boys and girls, in which many thousands of children received a common education. Though there were, as in India, strong prejudices among the natives against the education of girls, yet these were, after some years, partially removed, and a thousand or twelve hundred girls might be found attending the week-day schools. The American missionaries in Ceylon entertained much more favourable views of week-day schools than many missionaries in India; hence the enlarged scale on which they carried them on.

They also established boarding-schools for both boys and

[1] Rep. Board For. Miss. 1820, p. 25.—Ibid. 1821, pp. 34, 168.—Memoir of Mrs Winslow; London: 1838; p. 135.

Sir Edward said, he wished to see only missionaries of the Church of England employed in converting the natives; but if they were proved to be insufficient in point of numbers (there were only *four* on the island, while the population is stated to be 1,421,631!) he "would prefer," next to them, the Wesleyan missionaries, "rather than have recourse to foreign aid for that purpose."—*Rep. Board For. Miss.* 1821, p. 172. Whether Sir Edward cared much for any class of missionaries is, perhaps, doubtful. We cannot, at least, forget the countenance which he gave to idolatry in Ceylon.—See vol. i. p. 19.

In 1831 Sir Robert Wilmot Horton came out as governor of Ceylon, and soon after his arrival he gave permission for other missionaries to be sent from America. He also granted the missionaries liberty to establish their printing press. From that time the mission received all due countenance and encouragement from government, and also from persons in high official situations, both in Ceylon and in England.—*Rep. Board For. Miss.* 1833, pp. 59, 66.—Ibid. 1844, p. 169.—Ibid. 1845, p. 152.—Ibid. 1848, p. 202.—*Miss. Her.* vol. xxix. p. 33; vol. xxx. pp. 109, 351; vol. xxxiv, p. 284.

[2] Miss. Her. vol. xxiv. p. 302; vol. xxviii. p. 145.

girls, the expense of their board being provided for by contributions, specifically appropriated by the donors to this object. In these the children were removed from the corrupting influences of heathen society, and enjoyed, in a great degree, the advantages of living in a Christian family. It was at first difficult to get the natives to give up their children to the care of the missionaries. They were suspicious of their designs, and could not understand how mere benevolence could induce men of another and a distant nation to come among them, and feed, clothe, and educate their children; but their views became so changed, that parents were anxious to have, not only their sons, but even their daughters, received into them; and they, as well as the girls themselves, were sadly disappointed when, the number of pupils being limited, their application could not be granted. Even the prejudices of caste gave way to a great extent, and the children cheerfully consented to prepare and eat their food on the mission premises. The boarding-schools were, after some years, considerably modified. Those for girls were concentrated in a seminary at Oodooville, while those for boys were concentrated in a similar institution at Tillipally, and a new arrangement was made in regard to it. English day-schools were also established at most of the stations.[1]

The missionaries proposed establishing a college for the instruction of Tamil and other youth in the literature of the country, and also in the English language, and the elements of European science; but though the plan met with much encouragement, the government, which was then unfriendly to the mission, would not sanction the establishment of a college, alleging, that if a higher seminary were instituted, it should be under the direction of teachers from England. They had therefore to content themselves for the present with establishing a central school at Batticotta, with a special view to the training up of native teachers and preachers. The course of education in this institution came afterwards to be much extended and improved, embracing the English, Tamil, and Sanskrit languages, history, geography, arithmetic, mathematics, astronomy, natural philosophy, chemistry,

[1] Winslow's Mem. pp. 105, 291.—Rep. Board For. Miss. 1818, p. 10.—Ibid. 1821, p. 184.—Ibid. 1834, p. 79.—Ibid. 1840, p. 125.—Ibid. 1847, p. 156.—Miss. Her. vol. xix. p. 62; vol. xxxvii. p. 89; vol. xl. pp. 84, 85.

mineralogy, logic, and theology. It is not unworthy of notice that a decided partiality was generally manifested by the pupils for mathematical and astronomical studies. Much of the instruction given in the institution was by native teachers, who had themselves been educated in it; but experience weakened the confidence of the missionaries in the native assistants, as thorough and faithful instructors in either science or morals. The number of pupils educated in the seminary was considerable. Many of them were taken into the service of the mission, or of other missions, as teachers and helpers, and several were licensed as preachers. Some were in the service of government, and in other respectable situations. The natives, seeing the advantages which were derived from being educated in the seminary, were anxious to get their sons into it; and arrangements were made for their providing the clothing of the pupils, and paying for their board, which was a very important step towards placing education upon its natural and healthy basis,—the efforts of the people themselves. There was an increasing disposition on the part of parents, not only to incur expense, but to compromise established customs, and even caste itself, in order to obtain such an education as was given in the seminary, as it presented new openings for young men to improve their condition in life.[1]

The native churches were, in a great measure, the offspring of the school establishments, more especially of the boarding-

[1] Rep. Board For. Miss. 1826, p. 41.—Ibid. 1833, p. 63.—Ibid. 1837, p. 148.—Ibid. 1841, p. 133.—Ibid. 1844, p. 175.—Ibid. 1845, p. 150.—Ibid. 1846, p. 158.—Ibid. 1847, p. 155. Miss. Her. vol. xxvii. p. 71; vol. xxxiii. p. 329; vol. xli. p. 23; vol. xliii. p. 354.

The seminary was attended with many difficulties, and it was sometimes very perplexing how to meet them.—*Miss. Her.* vol. xxxi. p. 216. In 1843, very painful discoveries were made relative to a considerable portion of the pupils. After a protracted and thorough investigation, it was found that attendance on heathen dances, the secret practice of unnatural sins, the seduction and corruption of the younger boys, lying, and deception, had become fearfully prevalent in the seminary; and what added greatly to the grief and disappointment of the missionaries, was the fact, that not a few of the church members, nearly the whole of the select class, and some of the native teachers, were not only implicated as conniving at these evils, but had in some instances taken a leading part in them. Prompt and efficient measures were immediately adopted. The whole select class, and sixty-one from the other classes, were sent away. The teachers implicated were also dismissed; and from those who were retained, most of the responsibility before devolved on them was transferred to the missionaries.—*Rep. Board For. Miss.* 1844, p. 174. The severe discipline exercised on this occasion, which produced for a time only murmurs and complaints, appeared to increase ultimately the confidence of the natives in the institution.—*Ibid.* 1845, p. 151.

schools and the seminary. Considerable accessions were also received from among the teachers, the domestics, and others, in the employment of the mission. It appears that, with a very few exceptions, the members of the churches were gathered, not from the general mass of the people, but from certain select classes, who had been brought under the influence of prospective worldly advantages, and who, in many instances, improved their condition in life by making a profession of Christianity. This is a startling fact, and throws a degree of doubt on a profession of religion made under such circumstances. It is also a somewhat startling circumstance, that a large number of the admissions was of young persons between ten and fifteen years of age.[1] There were, at several successive periods, what were considered as revivals of religion in connexion with the mission. They were chiefly, though not entirely, confined to the boarding-schools and seminary. Many of the pupils, both boys and girls, it is stated, were much affected; numbers were convinced of their sinfulness, and of their need of a Saviour; and not a few, it was hoped, experienced a change of heart. It was as the fruit of these revivals that a large portion of the youthful members were added to the church, a circumstance which does not increase our confidence in the genuineness of their conversion; as in seasons of general religious excitement there are commonly many whose goodness passeth away as the "morning cloud, and as the early dew." At the same time, we feel much pleasure in stating that the missionaries appear to have looked specially to the piety of those whom they received, justly regarding credible evidence of "repentance toward God, and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ," as an essential requisite for admission as members of the church. They felt that the great danger of self-deception as to personal piety, the sinister motives which might induce those in a state of dependence upon them to make an empty profession of Christianity, and the evils which result from filling the church with members who have "a name to live while they are dead," rendered much caution necessary in the admission of persons to Christian communion.[2]

[1] Up to 1839 the admissions were 492. Of these one was nine years of age, and 165 between ten and fifteen, or one-third of the whole. Other 148 were between fifteen and twenty, making together 314.—*Rep. Board For. Miss.* 1840, p. 124.

Miss. Her. vol. xxi. pp. 27, 79, 348; vol. xxii. pp. 105, 274; vol. xxiii. p. 333

There is one peculiarity in the circumstances of the church members connected with the American mission in Ceylon which is not unworthy of notice, as compared with those of converts in most parts of India. On the continent one of the great trials of converts arises out of the difficulty of their obtaining a livelihood after they renounce the religion of their forefathers; but here most of the church members were educated men, whose services were in demand, and whose worldly prospects were inferior to those of none in the province. Their temptations in this direction were peculiar, and some, it was feared, while they gained the world, lost their souls.[1]

As the raising up of a native agency has become of late years a special object of attention to missionaries in nearly every part of the world, we think it is of importance to note the results of attempts of this kind. In few missions have efforts for this end been carried on for a greater length of time, or perhaps, on the whole, in a more efficient manner, than in the American mission in Ceylon; but yet they do not appear to have realised the expectations which were entertained in regard to the number, and still less, perhaps, as to the quality, of the native agents raised up by them. In 1843, Mr Meigs, one of the first missionaries, and who had then been twenty-seven years engaged in the mission, thus writes, after returning from a visit to America:—"Many circumstances have occurred, since my return to Ceylon, which have greatly diminished my confidence in our native agents, both in respect to their fidelity, and the amount of good which we expected to accomplish by their instrumentality. The truth is, the people are not yet prepared to receive them, and to appreciate the labours of those who are faithful. Some of them, the people see by their conduct, are hollow-hearted, and serve us merely for the sake of their wages; and being habitually jealous of each other, they easily persuade themselves that none of our native assistants act from any higher motive. Hence, I have come to the conclusion, that I must preach more myself, and depend less on our native assistants than I had hoped to do. It

vol. xxvii. pp. 204, 269, 371; vol. xxviii. p. 144; vol. xxxi. p. 285; vol. xxxii. pp. 85, 141; vol. xxxiii. p. 326; vol. xl. pp. 89, 128; vol. xlvii. p. 50.—Rep. Board For. Miss. 1840, p. 124.—Ibid. 1844, p. 170.

[1] Rep. Board For. Miss. 1848, p. 203.

is truly painful to come to this conclusion; but stubborn facts have forced it upon me. Our prospects of raising up efficient and faithful native preachers, in any considerable number, is by no means so fair as I expected it would be."[1] It even appears that the Mission Board in America were in doubt as to the plan of operation, in consequence of its failure in raising up a trustworthy native ministry, and in operating on the masses of the people.[2]

We have already seen that the missionaries directed much attention, and that in a variety of forms, to the education of the young; and it appears that a majority of the converts were the fruit of their schools; but it is of importance to know, also, how far they were a failure. In 1850, Mr Scudder, after mentioning that it was his regular practice to go out into the surrounding villages, visiting the people from house to house, and preaching the gospel in the houses and in the streets, as he found persons willing to hear, thus writes:—"It appears to me that too much importance cannot be attached to this form of preaching in the present state of progress among us. A whole generation have grown up since Christian schools were established among the people; and the land is filled with those who have in truth committed to memory the great truths of the Christian religion. Many of them have reached manhood, have settled down in different villages of our parishes, and are rearing families around them. Although these persons have been educated in our schools, they do not, so far as my observation extends, discover any particular disposition to attend at our places of worship, or to inquire more diligently after 'the truth as it is in Jesus.' Still, from the fact that they have been instructed in the doctrines of the Bible, and that the Spirit operates through the truth, they seem to be the most hopeful subjects for the saving power of God's grace. They must be reached, or the great object of those who laboured to instruct them will be lost; and I feel that the way to reach the great body of them, is to go from village to village, and from house to house, with the gospel message. It is to me a most trying work. I meet with much opposition among the people. Every boy of sixteen years old is acquainted with the common objections to Christianity, as well as with the popular arguments in favour of their own system.

[1] Miss. Her. vol. xl. p. 89. [2] Tennant's Christianity in Ceylon, p. 183.

Being naturally fond of debate, the people, so far as my experience extends, are always ready to enter upon a discussion. They, however, usually treat me with politeness, and I generally secure an attentive hearing of my message before I leave them."[1]

It is a melancholy fact, that many of those educated in the seminary and the boarding-schools, including some who at one time were very promising, and were even members of the church, afterwards apostatised, and returned to heathenism.[2]

In 1852, the whole number of members of the several churches connected with the mission was 385. There were many circumstances in the state of the mission which were peculiarly encouraging, and which promised to be sources of strength. It possessed an educated church, a large proportion of the members having been educated in the mission seminary and boarding-schools, and the remainder, with scarcely an exception, in the free schools. The majority of the members belonged to the most influential classes of society, and were extensively connected with the great body of the people; and the position of the families in the villages, and their privileges as owners of the soil, gave them means of aiding in the establishment of Christian institutions upon a firm and permanent basis. In some cases there was also seen the happy influence of Christian friends and relations. The number of cases was increasing in which many of a family were Christians, and where the current of family influence was no longer heathen, but Christian.

There was a considerable and well-educated native agency employed in the mission, some as catechists and others as teachers in the male and female seminaries, and the numerous vernacular and English schools. Most of the catechists were virtually preachers, though not so denominated, and were directly engaged in evangelical labours among the people, going from house to house, and from village to village, reading and distributing tracts and portions of Scripture, conversing with the people, and often addressing congregations; and it is an encouraging circumstance that the people were more ready than heretofore to assemble to hear the gospel preached by their own countrymen. Many of them were well qualified for their work, of long ex-

[1] Miss. Her. vol. xlvi. p. 292.

[2] Miss. Her. vol. xlvi. pp. 293, 365; vol. xlviii. pp. 99, 343.

perience, and of tried devotion, and were very valuable assistants. There were now, also, many in the villages who had received so much knowledge of divine truth in the mission schools as to be intelligent hearers, and all classes were accessible. Neither caste nor any other form of heathenism excluded the missionary or the catechist from the houses of the natives. It is worthy of observation, that much of the present pleasing and promising aspect of the mission was the fruit of this variously organized and efficiently conducted system of schools, which from the commencement of the mission formed so marked a feature of it.[1]

SECT. II.—SUMATRA.

In June 1833, the Rev. S. Munson and H. Lyman sailed for Batavia, with the view of exploring, in the first instance, the islands of the Indian Archipelago, especially the Malayan group, and acquiring information in regard to them, particularly as fields for missionary labour.[2]

In April 1834, they sailed with this view from Batavia to Padang, a Dutch settlement in Sumatra, and after visiting some other places, they undertook a journey into the Batta country, which constitutes nearly half the island. They were accompanied by a number of coolies to carry their baggage, an interpreter, and one or two other natives. The road soon became exceedingly difficult, the country consisting of hills and ravines, covered by thick forests. So steep were the hills in many places, that they were obliged to ascend them by means of rattans tied to the tops of rocks. The thickets, too, were dense; but they sheltered them from the burning sun. It was only at the end of each day's journey that they fell in with any thing like a village; they found no scattered houses, and they met but few natives in the course of the day. On arriving in a village, they were immediately surrounded by numbers of natives, men, women, and children, who shewed no sort of timidity, but came boldly up to them and examined their persons and dress with great curiosity. On the

[1] Rep. Board For. Miss. 1853, pp. 113, 115, 116.

These last statements do not appear to quadrate well with the accounts immediately preceding, but we think it best to give both, as we doubt not there is truth in both.

[2] Miss. Her. vol. xxix. p. 256.

sixth day, about four o'clock in the afternoon, they came suddenly upon a log fort in which were a number of men armed with muskets, spears, and other weapons. They had advanced within about a hundred yards of it when about two hundred of these armed natives appeared coming upon them. The coolies immediately threw down their burdens and fled; the interpreter also disappeared. The Battas came on, shouting and brandishing their weapons in a very threatening manner. The missionaries pushed their weapons aside with their hands, and begged them to wait a little till they could come to an explanation. Mr Lyman then desired Si Jan, one of their own attendants, to call the interpreter, and he accordingly ran a short way to call him, but not seeing him he turned round to go back, when he heard the report of a musket, and saw Mr Lyman fall. The Battas shouted; the shout was returned from the fort, and a rush was made upon Mr Munson, who was immediately pierced through with a spear, and fell. Another shout followed. The cook was the next victim. On seeing the fate of the missionaries he attempted to escape, but was pursued and cut down by a cleaver. Si Jan now ran for his life, secreted himself in a thicket, and at length found his way to Tapanooly, a Dutch settlement on the coast. The wives of the two missionaries had remained behind them at Batavia, and it is not easy to describe their feelings when the sad tidings of the death of their husbands reached them.

The murder of Messrs Lyman and Munson was considered as the result of accidental circumstances, not as a catastrophe which is to be expected in travelling through the Batta country. It is stated that the Battas of the fort having had a quarrel with a neighbouring village, and seeing two strangers of an unusual appearance with a number of followers, attacked and killed them under the influence of those warlike passions which such a state of things is so apt to kindle in the savage breast. When it became known to the villages around, that they were good men and had come to do the Batta nation good, they leagued together and attacked the village of the murderers, set fire to their houses, laid waste their fields and gardens, and killed as many of them as they could.[1]

[1] Miss. Her. vol. xxxi. p. 98; vol. xxxiv. p. 434.

In June 1836, the Rev. Messrs Doly, Ennis, Nevins, and Youngblood sailed for Batavia, with the view of commencing a mission in some part of the Indian Archipelago; but the Dutch government of Java passed a resolution that no missionary from any foreign country should be permitted to establish himself anywhere in Netherlands India, except on the island of Borneo, and even the permission to settle there was accompanied with several vexatious restrictions and conditions. They had, therefore, no choice but to proceed to Borneo.[1]

SECT. III.—BORNEO.

In 1839, the Rev. Messrs Doly, Nevins, and Youngblood proceeded to Borneo, with the view of commencing a mission in that island. Mr Doly took up his residence at a place called Sambas, near the western extremity of the island; and Messrs Nevins and Youngblood at Pontianak. The station at Sambas was afterwards given up, and a new one was begun at a village named Karangou, in the interior, about eighty miles from Pontianak.[2]

The native inhabitants of Borneo were called Dyaks; but besides them there were great numbers of Chinese, Malays, and Buges from the island of Celebes. The Dyaks and Chinese were the chief objects of the mission; but after some years, when China was opened to foreigners, the Chinese branch of the mission was given up, and the missionaries engaged in it removed to the Celestial Empire itself. The Dyaks are among the simplest of nature's children; they live scattered through the country in small villages, and they frequently remove from place to place, seldom remaining more than a few years in the same quarter. It was often very difficult to reach their villages, the paths were so obscurely marked, so little trodden, and so devious in their course, and led not unfrequently over dangerous precipices and

[1] It was afterwards found that the exclusion of all foreigners from the interior of the Dutch possessions in the East, was a settled principle of state policy with the government of Holland.—*Rep. Board For. Miss.* 1842, pp. 167, 221. Mr Tracy states that this did not arise from any hostility to missions, but from causes which would not be suspected by any person not minutely acquainted with the politics of Europe and India. —Tracy's *History*, p. 383. What these causes were he does not state, and we are unable to conjecture them.

[2] Rep. Board For. Miss. 1840, p. 143.—Ibid. 1843, p. 141.

cliffs, along deep ravines, and across rivers or streams. The missionaries spoke of them at first as an interesting people; but, as is usually the case as to heathen nations, after attaining a more thorough knowledge of them, they painted them in the darkest colours. They found them a poor, ignorant, debased, wretched race. They had not, so far as was known, any system of religious belief. No idols or temples were found among them; of a supreme Ruler of the universe, and his attributes, they had scarcely any conception; yet they were very superstitious, believing in invisible beings who presided over the woods, fields, and waters. They were ground down to the dust by the Malays, who appeared to have the rule over them, and many of the faults of their character probably arose out of the system of oppression under which they lived.[1]

Many were the difficulties and trials which the missionaries experienced in labouring among the Dyaks. Though they were commonly well received by them, yet they shewed little interest in their message, and after some years, there appeared a settled and growing apathy among them on the subject of religion. With some knowledge of the truths of the gospel, there was the most perfect indifference to them. The missionaries tried to establish schools for the children, but the number who attended was small, though the few who came appeared much interested in their lessons. Appearances were at times promising, and occasionally they were ready to conclude that they had overcome all their difficulties, when suddenly their hopes were once more blasted. Many annoyances and embarrassments were thrown in their way by the Dutch resident on the island;[2] and Malay influence also

[1] Miss. Her. vol. xxxv. p. 260; vol. xlii. p. 97.—Rep. Board For. Miss. 1843, p. 140. —Ibid. 1845, p. 163.

[2] The missionaries made a respectful yet dignified representation to the Governor of Java relative to the restrictions and annoyances to which they were subjected by the resident. A favourable answer was returned to their appeal, and he subsequently treated them in a friendly manner.—*Rep. Board For. Miss.* 1844, pp. 192, 257.—*Miss. Her.* vol. xl. p. 307; vol. xli. p. 54; vol. xlii. p. 95. The restrictions in regard to missions in the Dutch dominions in the East, were such that the Board was doubtful as to the duty of continuing the mission in Borneo; and the Rev. Dr Ferris was sent from America to Holland with the view of getting all practicable information on the subject, and at the same time conciliating the Dutch government. He did not succeed in getting the restrictions wholly removed, but the Minister for the Colonies assured him that directions would be forwarded to the colonial authorities to give all countenance and facilities to the mission in Borneo.—*Rep. Board For. Miss.* 1842, pp. 167, 221.

proved a powerful hindrance to their usefulness. They and their families were also severely tried by sickness and the loss of health. Some had on this account to leave the island; while others sank into an untimely grave. Yet, amidst all their trials and discouragements, those who survived and remained in the field still kept up a deep interest in the miserable and degraded Dyaks, and were anxious to labour on, in the belief that God would order all well, and not without the hope that He might yet grant success to the mission. But at length the whole of the missionaries were removed from the scene of their labours by disease and death, with the exception of Mr Steele, and it was deemed advisable that he also should leave the island and return to America; partly on account of the state of his health, and partly with the view of testing the expediency of continuing the mission by the success or failure of his efforts to create an interest in Borneo as a field of missions, and to obtain men for the work.[1] His efforts for this purpose proved ineffective, and so the mission was given up.

SECT. IV.—CHINA.

In October 1829, the Rev. E. C. Bridgman and David Abeel sailed for Canton, and they were afterwards followed by other missionaries; but the difficulties in the way of missionary efforts in China were found to be so many and so great, that it was deemed advisable to have a station beyond the bounds of the Celestial Empire, where they might be carried on without hindrance or danger of interruption.[2]

In July 1834, the Rev. Mr Tracy removed from Canton to Singapore, and other missionaries having been sent thither, a considerable establishment was formed at that settlement. It was designed to sustain a common relation to all the missions of the Board in eastern Asia, particularly for printing books, and for the distribution of them in the neighbouring countries, by means of the numerous junks and other vessels which frequent

[1] Miss. Her. vol. xl. p. 308; vol. xlii. p. 95; vol. xliii. p. 316.—Rep. Board For. Miss. 1847, p. 173.—Ibid. 1848, p. 224.—Ibid. 1849, p. 162.—Ibid. 1852, p. 118.

[2] Miss. Her. vol. xxv. p. 364.—Rep. Board For. Miss. 1847, p. 160.

that port, and also as the seat of a seminary for the education of Chinese, Siamese, Bugis, and Malay youths, with the view of raising up a native agency. The Board purchased an extensive printing establishment, and also a type-foundery, which belonged to the Rev. Mr Thomson, of the London Missionary Society. The printing of Chinese books was now entirely transferred to Singapore, though the materials were sent thither from China. The station was commenced on a scale and with expectations which subsequent events and researches did not justify; and after it had been continued six or seven years, the Board resolved on relinquishing it.[1] A mission was also commenced at Bankosk, the capital of Siam, with a view partly to the Siamese and partly to the Chinese, who are settled in great numbers in that country; but after being carried on for a considerable number of years, it was given up.

In July 1837, Dr Parker and Messrs Williams and Gutzlaff embraced an opportunity which was presented to them of making a voyage to Japan, in the hope of ascertaining the prospects of missions in that country, which had hitherto been considered as still more effectually sealed against the entrance of the gospel than China itself. Seven Japanese sailors, who had been shipwrecked at sea, had arrived at Macao; and the house of Messrs Olyphant and Company resolved to despatch a ship to Yedo, the capital of Japan, with the benevolent view of restoring them to their native land, and at the same time ascertaining what prospects there might be of establishing a commercial intercourse with that country. On arriving in the bay on which Yedo lies, the Japanese sailors were delighted at seeing again their native land, and hoped to be shortly restored to their friends. Many fishing-boats came around the ship, and numbers of the natives came on board; but among them there was no one who appeared to be an officer of government, though a request to this effect, written both in Chinese and Japanese, was repeatedly sent on shore. There was, however, the firing of cannon from a neighbouring fort, the balls falling into the water at the distance of half a

[1] Rep. Board For. Miss. 1835, p. 68.—Ibid. 1836, p. 74.—Ibid. 1837, pp. 89, 92.—Ibid. 1839, p. 122.—Ibid. 1840, p. 140.—Ibid. 1841, p. 144.—Miss. Her. vol. xxx. p. 311.

[2] Abeel's Journal of a Residence in China, p. 202.—Miss. Her. vol. xxix. p. 257.—Rep. Board For. Miss. 1850, p. 156.

league; and during the following night cannon were brought from the fort, and planted on the shore, opposite to where the ship lay at anchor. As the morning dawned, a firing was opened upon her. Orders were immediately given to weigh anchor, it being presumed the Japanese would be satisfied when they saw her getting under way. A white flag was hoisted to no purpose, but they fired faster than before. "Unaccustomed," says Dr Parker, "to hear the whizzing of cannon-balls, ourselves being the target, the effect upon our company is not easily described. The balls flew fiercely around us, fell into the water a few lengths of the ship short of us, passed over and beyond us, through the rigging, and one perforated a port-hole about mid-ship, pierced two deck planks, glanced and passed through the thick sides of the long-boat, and bounded into the water. After the anchor was up, and the ship under sail, there was a momentary panic, on the captain exclaiming, 'We are becalmed!' It was only for a moment, for all sails were again soon full, and the shore rapidly receded. As we escaped the reach of the guns on shore, a few rounds from a boat anchored in the direction of the fort were fired upon us. In a little time three gun-boats pursued us out to sea. Having, before we left the harbour, thrown overboard a canvass on which was written a request for an officer to come to us, and also for water, and having seen it taken up by fishermen, we waited for the government boats to come up to us; but it was in vain. The determination of the Japanese to have no communication with us was not to be shaken. In these circumstances, we had no choice but to put out to sea."

It was, however, resolved to make another attempt, and the ship put away for Satzuma, in the southmost island of Japan. Here a communication was opened with the shore, and it was apparently met by the Japanese in a friendly spirit. The officers who came on board knew no foreign flag except the Chinese, and said that no European vessel had been seen there before. The Japanese sailors were told by their countrymen that the empire was in a state of general rebellion; that decapitation was the order of the day at Yedo; and that Asacca, the third city of the empire, had been nearly reduced to ashes by the rebels. Intelligence of the arrival of the ship, it was stated, had been sent to the Prince of Satzuma, and that an answer would be received in

three days. No change of conduct or feeling was manifested by the officers or people on shore till the morning of the third day, when a fishing-boat, with half a dozen men, came off, and at some distance told the Japanese on board "that the ship had better put to sea," and said something of the authorities firing upon her. Warlike preparations were now seen on the shore. Objects were visible to which a better name cannot perhaps be given than portable forts. A fire of musketry and artillery was opened on the ship from different points; and both wind and tide being unfavourable, it was with great difficulty she made her escape. It is probable the firing was by orders from the prince, and from the tactics which were pursued there is ground to conclude that the object was not to drive away, but to capture the vessel. Despairing now of effecting the objects of the voyage, the captain returned to Canton. Even the Japanese sailors, unwilling to be set on shore and exposed to the suspicions and treachery of their countrymen, were, at their own request, taken back to China.[1] The history of this voyage corresponds with the accounts usually given of the Japanese policy in excluding foreigners from the country, and confirms the common opinion of the impracticability of there establishing a Christian mission.

Hitherto China had also been in a great measure closed against Protestant missionaries; but the war with England, as we have already stated, opened up the way for their admission into some of the principal ports of the empire. The American Board had long been anxious to cultivate this important field, and it now gladly embraced the facilities which were thus afforded of extending its operations. Its stations are three in number, Canton, Amoy, and Fuh-Chau-fu.

SECT. V.—SANDWICH ISLANDS.

In October 1819, sailed from Boston for the Sandwich Islands, the Revs. H. Bingham and A. Thurston, Dr Thomas Holman, physician, Messrs D. Chamberlain, agriculturist, S. Whitney, mechanic, catechist, and schoolmaster, S. Ruggles, catechist and schoolmaster, E. Loomis, printer, and three natives of the Sand-

[1] Miss. Her. vol. xxxiv. p. 203.—Rep. Bible Soc. 1839, p. 72.

wich Islands, named Honori, Hopu, and Kanui, who had been educated in the Foreign Mission School in America. These islands were formerly under different and independent chiefs, but the whole group had now been reduced by Ka-meha-meha, a man of great enterprise and energy, under one government, and he and some of the chiefs were making considerable advances towards a state of civilisation, circumstances which were highly favourable to the maintenance of peace among the natives, and to the propagation of the gospel among them.[1]

After a voyage of about five months, the missionaries reached Owhyhee, or, as it is now called, Hawaii, in safety; and on their arrival, they were astonished to learn that Ka-meha-meha, the king, was dead, the tabus broken, the idols burnt, the morais destroyed, and the priesthood abolished. Just about the time they left America, Riho-riho, the young king, came to the resolution of destroying the whole system of idolatry. Orders were issued to set the morais and sacred buildings in Hawaii and the neighbouring islands on fire, and while the flames were raging, the idols were thrown into the devouring element.[2] Of the causes which led to the overthrow of idolatry in the Sandwich Islands we have no certain or satisfactory accounts. It was perhaps brought about by a train of circumstances which gradually and imperceptibly undermined the tabu system; but it is difficult to point to anything in particular as the cause of its overthrow. The following details, however, are probably not far from the truth:—

The idolatrous worship of the Sandwich Islanders was interwoven in many ways with the tabu system, which consists of restrictions and prohibitions, and prevails so extensively in the islands of the Pacific Ocean. This connexion was so close and indissoluble that the one could not be given up without the other. The prohibitions were very numerous, and often very burdensome and vexatious. They extended to sacred days, sacred places, sacred persons, and sacred things; and the least failure in observing

[1] Rep. Board For. Miss. 1820, p. 60.—Dibble's History of the Sandwich Islands, p. 138.—Tracy's Hist. Amer. Board, p. 96.

[2] Miss. Herald, vol. xvi. p. 167; vol. xvii. pp. 111, 117; vol. xxiii. p. 247.—Stewart's Journal of a Residence in the Sandwich Islands, p. 21.

them was at the risk of life. The prohibitions in regard to eating weighed perhaps as heavily as any other. Chiefs were prohibited from eating swine's flesh except in connexion with certain religious rites. Women were prohibited from eating swine's flesh on any occasion, and also from eating several species of fish, and many kinds of fruit. Males and females, even husbands and wives, were not allowed on any occasion to eat together. This prohibition was peculiarly grievous, and was the first to be violated; and on its violation hung more important events than could have been imagined. It was like removing the key-stone of an arch; the whole structure, both of tabu rites and idol-worship, fell at once to the ground.

The testimony of all foreigners, from their first arrival at the island, was also uniformly against tabu. Whatever might be the views of some of them in regard to religion and morality, all, without exception, found it agreeable to their feelings, and in accordance with their interests, to speak against that grievous system; for the numerous prohibitions were exceedingly perplexing and burdensome, not to the natives only, but also to visitors and foreign residents. This constant and united opposition of foreigners did much to undermine the system, for the natives looked up to them as beings of superior knowledge.

Foreigners not only gave their testimony against tabu, but they strengthened it by the weight of their example. They did more; they frequently presented strong temptations before particular persons, especially the chiefs, to break tabu. Even the introduction of ardent spirits into the island proved a means of its overthrow; for often, when in a state of intoxication, the chiefs heedlessly broke through its prohibitions and restrictions, and yet they found they were not killed by the gods, nor did any special evil befal them. In this way the superstitious dread of tabu was materially lessened.

Many of the highest classes were females, and they had long groaned under the burdensome and oppressive restrictions which the tabu system laid upon them. On the death of Ka-mehameha, it was proposed in a meeting of the chiefs, to dispense with the ceremonies customary on such occasions; and though the usual heathen rites were observed, the very proposal shews the state of

mind which had begun to prevail in the islands. On the very day, indeed, on which he died, many of the common people, males and females, and also some of the chiefs, ate together; and in the evening not a few women ate cocoa-nuts and bananas, things before tabued to them. A day or two after, most of the female chiefs ate articles of food which were prohibited to them, and even partook of swine's flesh, which was of all things held most sacred. Rihoriho, the young king, was not forward to promote these doings; but he also, when in a state of intoxication, broke the tabu and now he and the chiefs took measures for involving the common people throughout the islands in the violation of it, sending messages far and near authorising them to break it; and the body of the people on all the islands willingly obeyed the order. A chief named Keakuaokalaui, however, still clung to the old system; and great numbers of the people, when they found that there was a chief on the side of idolatry, flocked to him. The king and others of the chiefs sought to conciliate him, but in vain. He raised the standard of rebellion, but he and his wife were killed in battle, and the rebellious party was completely subdued. The war having thus resulted in the entire overthrow of the idolaters, both the chiefs and the people considered this as a conclusive proof of the impotency of the gods which they had hitherto worshipped. Their rage against their idols knew no bounds. Some they cast into the sea, some they burned, and some they contumeliously used for fuel. They rushed to the morais and pulled them down to the ground. It seemed as if God had permitted the war to convince the people of the vanity of their idols. It was not till after it that they made anything like thorough work in casting off the shackles of idolatry.[1]

Such circumstances as these could scarcely fail to strike the missionaries, on their arrival, with astonishment, and to fill them with the most auspicious hopes; but they did not find the inhabitants of the Sandwich Islands in that state of preparation for receiving the gospel which these circumstances might very naturally lead them to expect. The change was certainly extraordinary, especially when we consider the time when it took place; but there is no reason to conclude that on the part of the mass of the popu-

[1] Dibble's History, p. 143.

lation, it proceeded from any rational or heartfelt conviction of the folly and criminality of idolatry: it resulted in the first instance simply from the authority of an absolute prince, and was probably not a little promoted by that spirit of frenzy which in the work of destruction is so apt to seize upon the populace. Many of the people, indeed, still preserved their idols; and the inhabitants generally were as destitute of any just views of religion, and were as much addicted to their accustomed vices, as before. When the views of the missionaries in undertaking so distant a voyage were stated to the king, Riho-riho, he was in no haste to grant them permission to settle in the country; he even seemed to view them with considerable jealousy; and when he did at last give his consent for them to remain, he wished them all to reside at one place, under his own immediate eye, and he expressly desired that no others should come out, unless perhaps it was a carpenter. Some apprehensions were started, that England might not be pleased were they to receive missionaries from America. Reports were circulated that the missionaries in Tahiti had usurped the government and monopolised the trade of the Society Islands; and insinuations were thrown out that the Americans would come and take possession of the Sandwich Islands. But, notwithstanding these circumstances, some of the missionaries were allowed to take up their residence in the island of Oahu, at Honolulu, the principal harbour for shipping, now the seat of the government, and others in the islands of Hawaii and Kauai.[1]

Having obtained houses for themselves, erected after the fashion of the country, the missionaries commenced their labours, by an attempt to collect a school at each station. The king, the chiefs, and the younger members of their families, were their first pupils. The missionaries instructed them at first in the English language; but as this was of less importance to them than the reading and writing of their own, they, after acquiring some knowledge of it, printed a small spelling-book in it, and began to teach them their mother tongue. The king, notwithstanding his hereditary indolence and his intemperate habits, learned to read intelligibly in the New Testament, and to write a respectable letter. Many

[1] Miss. Her. vol. xvii. pp. 112, 116, 118, 120.—Rep. Board For. Miss. 1821, p. 78.—Miss. Chron. vol. ii. p. 332.

others did the same. Females of distinction began to employ the pen in writing short billets to each other.[1]

The missionaries began, as soon as they were able, to preach to the natives. Places of worship, in the native style, were erected at the different stations, and were attended by considerable numbers. The king and queen generally attended at Honolulu, when not absent from the place; and a number of the other principal chiefs, both male and female, were also among the regular hearers. The chiefs publicly acknowledged the Sabbath, and gave orders for its strict observance. Every Saturday night the king's crier went round Honolulu, proclaiming that the morrow was the Sacred Day, and that the people must not plant their gardens, build houses, make canoes, beat cloth, sell sandal-wood, shoot birds, or follow any of their games or amusements; but go to the place of worship, and hear the Word of God. Several of the chiefs had prayers, morning and evening, in their houses, and shewed much outward reverence for Christian institutions. The common people everywhere said, that if the king and chiefs received the new religion, they would follow their example. Like most barbarous tribes, they were exceedingly influenced by the authority and example of the chiefs. They had scarcely, in fact, an opinion or will of their own; but if the chiefs led the way, they were ready to follow. For this reason, the missionaries paid particular attention to the instruction of the chiefs, that, through them, they might obtain influence over the common people. Without this, it appeared as if it would be vain to attempt to gain their attention.[1] It is a remarkable fact, that the hereditary chiefs of the Sandwich and other islands in the Pacific Ocean, are a higher order of men than the common people, both in their physical structure and in the character of their minds: even the female chiefs are often distinguished for native dignity and energy of character.[2]

In November 1823, Riho-riho, and his favourite queen, Kameha-maru, sailed for London on board an English whaler, accompanied by Boki, and two or three other chiefs, with the

[1] Rep. Board For. Miss. 1821, p. 82.—Ibid. 1823, pp. 110, 183.

[2] Rep. Board For. Miss. 1823, pp. 109, 111.—Ibid. 1824, pp. 98, 104, 109.—Ibid. 1833, p. 85.—Miss. Her. vol. xx. p. 247.—Quarterly Chron. vol. ii. p. 409.

design of afterwards visiting the United States of America. His principal motive was probably curiosity; but it is likely he also entertained some vague desire of becoming acquainted with the laws, institutions, and customs of countries of which he had heard so much, and particularly with the way of carrying on commercial transactions, which were growing to be considerable in the Sandwich Islands. On the arrival of the king and queen in London, the government deputed the Honourable Frederic Byng to act as guardian to them, an office which he executed with much kindness and propriety. They were introduced to, or were visited by many of the nobility, and other persons of distinction, and they were carried to see Westminster Abbey, and others of the remarkable sights of London. Three weeks, however, had scarcely elapsed, when the king was taken ill of measles. One of the party had previously shewn symptoms of the disease; and after some days, the whole of the chiefs and their attendants were taken ill. They had the first medical advice which England could furnish, and they all recovered except the king and the queen, who died within six days of each other. Their remains were conveyed to the Sandwich Islands, by the orders of the British government, in the frigate *Blonde*, under the command of Lord Byron. The ceremonies of the funeral were conducted, not in the old tumultuous heathenish style, but in an orderly Christian manner. The brother of the late king, a youth about ten or twelve years of age, was unanimously acknowledged by the principal chiefs as his successor, a regency ruling the country during his minority.[1]

Meanwhile, the mission was strengthened by a large reinforcement of new labourers. Others were afterwards sent out from time to time, and stations were commenced on all the principal islands.[2] The following table shews the chief stations established by them:—

[1] Quart. Chron. vol. iii. pp. 363, 369.—Miss. Her. vol. xxii. pp. 68, 72.

[2] Rep. Board. For. Miss. 1823, p. 114.—Ibid. 1828, p. 63.—Ibid. 1831, p. 49.—Ibid. 1838, p. 74.

Begun.		Begun.	
	HAWAII.		MAUI.
1820	Kailua.	1823	Lahaina.
1824	Kealakekua	1831	Lahainaluna.
1824	Hilo.	1832	Wailuku.
1831	Waimea.	1837	Hana.
1837	Kohala.		
1841	Kau.		MOLOKAI.
	OAHU.	1832	Kaluaha.
1820	Honolulu.		
1832	Wäialua.		KAUAI.
1834	Ewa.	1820	Waimea.
1834	Kaneohe.	1834	Koloa.
1841	Punahou.		Waioli.[1]

In detailing the further history of this important mission, we shall arrange our statements under the following heads, with the view of giving a more distinct and connected view of the whole:—Progress of Religion—Education—Books—Opposition of Foreigners—Romish Missionaries, and Interference of France and England—Temperance—Progress of Civil Government and Civilization—Decrease of Population—Concluding Statements.

Progress of Religion.

In 1825 ten of the Sandwich Islanders were received into the Church, of whom no fewer than seven were chiefs, and among them were the Queen-regent Kaahumanu, and Karaimoku, her prime minister. It is a remarkable circumstance that all the chiefs who had much influence in the affairs of the islands, were, after some time, the professed disciples of Christ. The change which appeared in some of them was truly wonderful. Several of them, both males and females, were particularly zealous and active in promoting the cause of religion; and not a few gave pleasing evidence of personal piety, both living and dying. There were also considerable appearances of seriousness among some of the people; and there were seasons when there appeared a special

[1] Rep. Board For. Miss. 1852. p. 127.

interest among them on the subject of religion. Large places of worship were erected at the principal stations; yet, capacious as they were, they often could not contain the numbers who assembled for Divine worship. The congregations on the Sabbath amounted to from one to four thousand hearers, and were characterised by order, stillness, and attention to the preaching of the Word. The houses for public worship were all erected by the chiefs and the people. Prayer-meetings were also begun by both males and females; and these increased so much, after a few years, that the members of them amounted to many thousands. In the admission of the natives into the Church the missionaries exercised great care and caution: they were in no haste to baptize them, or admit them to the Lord's Supper; and though some may have been kept back for a time who might have been received more early, yet this was assuredly the safe side on which to err. It appears to have been common to keep them on trial for two years or more.[1]

Though it was pleasing to witness the attention of the people to religious exercises, yet we must not attach too much importance to circumstances of the kind. The Sabbath was outwardly observed with greater strictness than either in England or America; yet, if one followed them from the house of prayer, he would see abundant evidence that very few had any considerable sense of the sacredness of the day; and their boisterous voices and light countenances, and perhaps broad laugh, would soon convince him that they were but little impressed with the truths which they had heard. With many, the observance of the Sabbath was chiefly negative; after attending on public worship, they would sleep away its sacred hours; yet we can scarcely wonder at this, considering that they were unaccustomed to thinking, and were at this time almost without books for reading. Family prayer, in Christian countries, is commonly a token of a stricter profession of religion than ordinary; yet, in the Sandwich Islands, a circumstance of this kind furnished no

[1] Miss. Her. vol. xxi. p. 101; vol. xxii. pp. 176, 309; vol. xxviii. p. 156; vol. xxix. pp. 166, 236.—Rep. Board For. Miss. 1826, pp. 67, 70, 75, 81, 83.—Ibid. 1827, pp. 85, 91, 100.—Ibid. 1828, p. 55.—Ibid. 1829, p. 53.—Ibid. 1830, pp. 65, 67.—Ibid. 1831, p. 53.—Dibble's History, p. 229.

ground for any such conclusion. "Here," say Messrs Thurston and Bishop, missionaries at Kailua, "there is scarcely a family where morning and evening prayers are not regularly offered up, and yet we have no hope that the majority of families live under any fear of God, or have any regard for their souls."[1] The following observations by Mr Tinker, another of the missionaries, are highly important, and may help to save us from the not unfrequent error of over-estimating the changes produced by the introduction of Christianity into the islands of the Pacific Ocean:—"The influence which the various elements of heathenism possess in modifying or affecting the Christianity with which it mingles, and to which it gradually gives place, is a subject worthy of careful consideration. The rites of heathenism are severe, and require a rigid observance, the form being the only thing of importance. This trait may readily transfer itself to the ceremonies of the Christian religion, without implying a due consideration of its spirituality. Family and secret prayer may be the general practice of a recently idolatrous nation, while as yet there is little progress in the devotement of the heart to the true God. The same external reformation does not, under all circumstances, prove the existence of the same depth of moral principle. The religious currency" (in plain language, the usages and phraseology) "of one country is subject to a discount or a premium when passing in another."[2]

It must not be supposed that the population generally were brought under religious instruction: there were many districts which missionaries had seldom or never visited, and into which the light of Divine truth had scarcely penetrated, where the people were enveloped in all the darkness of heathenism, and manifested the utmost stupidity on the subject of religion. Indeed, the great body of the people could as yet know but little concerning the nature of Christianity; and their views and feelings were probably very little changed since the destruction of the morais and tabus. Idolaters were still occasionally found among them; and it is probable that multitudes had a secret leaning towards idolatry, and that nothing more was wanting than the consent

[1] Miss. Her. vol. xxvi. p. 107; vol. xxviii. pp. 220, 250.
[2] Hawaiian Spectator, vol. i. p. 100.

and countenance of the chiefs to make them rear again the fallen altars of heathenism.[1]

There were few avowed contemners of the gospel where it was known, and less of open vice than may often be found in Christian countries; but there was ground to fear that there was much hypocrisy among the people, and not a little wickedness committed in secret. Crimes which formerly prevailed among them, such as murder, theft, and drunkenness, were now scarcely known; but the sin of uncleanness cleaved to them like the leprosy, and threatened to destroy many, both soul and body. The missionaries had long been aware that this vice, though driven from the open light of day by the arm of the law, still lurked in secret, and that many who professed to belong to the Christian party were sometimes overtaken by it and relapsed into their former practices. Their habits and modes of life were such as peculiarly exposed them to temptations of this kind. Their going in a great measure unclothed; their herding together in the same house at night, without separate apartments or even partitions between them,—men, women, and children, married and unmarried, lying upon the same mat; the unceremonious intercourse between the sexes, without any forms of reserve or any delicacy of thought and conversation; the indolent and idle habits of all, especially of the women, and their fondness for going from home during the night; and above all, the force of long-established habits, which, after a season of effort at reform, returned upon them with almost resistless force—were powerful causes and occasions of this aggravated evil among the Sandwich Islanders. Even those who were most civilized, and who on the whole gave evidence that they were the followers of Christ, were very slow to learn the exhortation of the Apostle,—"Let no corrupt communication proceed out of your mouth." Though they had forsaken their former vices, yet the poison of them remained in their constitution, and they still breathed a polluted atmosphere.[2]

In the Sandwich Islands there was a total want of family government, which also proved a source of numerous evils. The

[1] Rep. Board For. Miss. 1833, p. 77.—Miss. Her. vol. xxviii. p. 219.

[2] Miss. Her. vol. xxviii. p. 219; vol. xxxii. p. 147; vol. xxxiv. p. 256.—Hawaiian Spectator, vol. i. p. 42.

vagrant habits of the children, and the total disregard which they shewed to the authority and wishes of their parents, were among the many unhappy fruits of this want of domestic discipline. "Here began those habits of moral delinquency which grew with their growth and strengthened with their strength. It had therefore been an object with the missionaries for some time past, to introduce among the people family government. They felt that it was to a future generation they must look for desirable examples of Christian character. Not that there were no good examples among the present generation, for there were many; but there was even in those who appeared the best, a want of a quick moral sense of right and wrong, a bluntness of perception which even grace did not wholly eradicate. Early moral training alone can instil those feelings of virtuous perception, and lead to that strict love of virtuous conduct, which distinguish the enlightened Christian from the untutored and originally corrupted savage.[1]

In June 1832, the Queen-regent Kaahumanu died; and in her death both the country and the mission sustained a heavy loss. She was a woman of great energy of character. Though naturally haughty and cruel, the gospel wrought a mighty change upon her. Endowed with a rare capacity for governing, she threw the whole weight of her influence and authority into the scale of Christian morals and piety; and under her administration, Christianity became in a manner the established religion of the islands, having the full benefit of the influence, example, countenance, and protection of the rulers, while there was no other system or form of religious worship which came into competition with it. The nation leaned upon her; and so also did the missionaries. As in life, so in death her deportment was most exemplary. Evidences of her Christian character seemed to multiply as she approached the world of spirits. One of her last expressions, referring to the Redeemer, was,—"I will go to Him and shall be comforted."[2] To hear such words from the lips of a dying South Sea Island chief, is truly interesting. How different this from the death of chiefs in the days of heathenism! No ray of heavenly hope cheered their dying moments.

[1] Miss. Her. vol. xxviii. p. 221.

[2] Rep. Board For. Miss. 1833, p. 85.—Ibid. 1834, p. 86.

Some months after the death of Kaahumanu, the young king took the reins of government into his own hands; and though he continued to conduct himself toward the missionaries in the most friendly manner, yet there was now a relaxation of some of the salutary laws which had of late years been in operation, and which had exerted a happy influence in promoting good morals among the people. This, combined with his own example, had a most pernicious effect on the people. There was in some places a great falling off in the attendance on public worship; many began to spend the Sabbath in sinful recreations. When the example of a chief could be quoted; it was a sufficient reason with many why they also should abandon the house of God, and find their own pleasure on His holy day. Licentiousness now stalked abroad, even at noonday; for here there was little of that shame which characterizes civilized society, and drives certain vices into darkness even among the most vile. Religion ceased to be popular, and many who heretofore had been acting under restraint, no longer hesitated to stigmatize and vilify those who dared to be religious, or even moral in their conduct. It now required more energy and independence of character, and more grace, to lead a religious life, than many even of the Church members possessed. Not that they were generally immoral; only a few cases of immorality were detected; but iniquity so abounded that "the love of many waxed cold." [1]

This unfavourable state of things was not perhaps general, or at least it appears not to have been lasting. Religion, after a time, began again to make steady advances throughout the islands, and to take a stronger hold on the minds of the people. For several years after the first natives were received into the Church, the number of admissions was comparatively small; but they now rapidly increased from year to year, until they at length amounted to upwards of 1200. [2]

It is a curious and not uninstructive fact, that the Sandwich Islanders were peculiarly eager to be received as members of the Church. A *tabu* meeting (*i. e.* a meeting composed of *selected*

[1] Miss. Her. vol. xxx. pp. 287, 341.—Ibid. 1831, p. 149.—Rep. Board For. Miss. 1834, p. 88.

[2] Miss. Her. vol. xxxi. pp. 147, 339, 466; vol. xxxiv. pp. 104, 236.—Rep. Board For. Miss. 1830, p. 64.—Ibid. 1833, p. 85.—Ibid. 1838, p. 111.

persons) was to the mind of a Hawaiian, one of the most desirable things on earth. Hence the constant pressure by them at the door of the Church. It would have been the easiest thing imaginable to have added as many to it in one day, as the Apostles did on the day of Pentecost. This, combined with their great adroitness at deception, and also the fact that lying and any kind of artifice or management, in order to obtain a thing which they desired, was scarcely deemed a sin by them, gave great reason for receiving their professions with much caution; and even after all the caution which the missionaries employed, they were not unfrequently deceived.[1]

There were some other features in the character of the Sandwich Islanders which are not unworthy of notice. There was a strong propensity in them to trust in "a form of godliness without the power thereof." Many seemed to have little notion of religion beyond attendance on public worship and the prayer-meeting. No people on the face of the earth, perhaps, were more inclined to rest in their own doings for justification before God. They were slow to perceive the spirituality and extent of the law of God, their aggravated guilt in having broken it, and their utter inability to keep it. Hence the few cases of deep, pungent, heartfelt conviction of sin: a want of a sense of sin was one of the most discouraging features in the character of most Hawaiians. Hence their slowness to flee to the Saviour; and even in those who gave some evidence of piety, the want of that strong tide of affection to Him which so often characterizes new converts in Christian lands.[2]

In 1837 a remarkable religious awakening commenced in the Sandwich Islands, and it continued with some intervals and with more or less power during the next two or three years. At every station there was a revival of religion; many thousands professedly turned to the Lord; proud and rebellious sinners were humbled; and some of the most hardened and profligate were brought to bow to the Redeemer. These awakenings embraced persons of all ages, from opening childhood to decrepit old age. Hitherto few of the young had been impressed with a

[1] Miss. Her. vol. xxix. p. 241; vol. xxx. pp. 284, 342; vol. xxxi. pp. 260, 463; vol xxxii. p. 429; vol. xxxv. p. 310.

[2] Miss. Her. vol. xxiv. p. 177; vol. xxix. p. 240; vol. xlii. p. 249.

sense of religion; now, it was hoped, there were some hundred children converted. The standard of piety in the churches was raised, their purity promoted, and their moral influence increased.

Among the means employed for promoting these awakenings, what are well known in America under the name of protracted meetings held an important place. Such meetings were held at all the stations, and at many of them they were repeated from time to time. They were, it is said, greatly blessed, and were in most instances attended by a revival of religion.[1]

At Hilo, in the island of Hawaii, and also in some other places, the awakenings were attended with great outward excitement, as wailing and loud praying of many simultaneously. This appeared to be the result of the awful and overwhelming impression of Divine truth upon the people at the time, which led them to quake with fear, and to cry out for mercy. Many, it was believed, "passed from death to life," without experiencing these agitating feelings, while others who had them continued in their sins. We do not feel ourselves competent to give an opinion as to these outward manifestations of excitement which attended, to some extent, the awakenings; yet it may be remarked that, among a rude and barbarous people strong emotion, of whatever kind it be, is expressed with little or no restraint; they give free and noisy vent to their feelings; even when merely acting a part, their simulation of passion is outwardly of the most violent description. How far these manifestations of feeling should be allowed or controlled, is a question of some difficulty. If restraint is imposed upon them, it may interfere with the natural and healthy movements of the convicted and inquiring soul; while, on the other hand, a latitude may be allowed which may give rise to wild extravagance and disorder.[2] Great watchfulness, however, should

[1] Miss. Her. vol. xxxv. pp. 141, 148; vol. xxxvi, p. 222.

[2] Miss. Her. vol. xxxix. p. 195.

There is, we think, truth in the following observations of Mr Coan, one of the missionaries at Hilo:—"I venture to affirm that to keep an assembly of Sandwich Islanders quiet under deep excitement of mind, no matter what is the subject, is impossible. You might as well attempt to still the thunder, or hush the tempest. What might appear like extravagance or fanaticism in a people of severe mental discipline, may here be nearly indispensable to any evidence of wakeful interest on the subject of religion. And why should this people be allowed to give free vent to their feelings in other matters, and

be exercised under such circumstances, and no countenance or encouragement given to unscriptural views and feelings.

In the course of between two and three years, the whole number who were received into the churches, as the result of these awakenings, was about 20,000, making the total number from the commencement of the mission, 21,379. Of the above number a very large proportion was from the island of Hawaii; next to it were the islands of Oahu and Maui, the numbers from both of which were very considerable. On the other islands, whose population was less, the numbers were proportionably smaller.[1]

It is impossible to look at these numbers without having a strong apprehension that due care and caution could scarcely have been exercised in the admission of persons into the Church. On this occasion some of the missionaries appear to have laid aside their former caution; though we cannot but think that in seasons of general excitement, special care is necessary in receiving members into the Church, particularly from among a heathen and barbarous people. There appears to have been a difference of opinion and a diversity of practice among the missionaries in regard to this important point. Some admitted members in great numbers, and very soon after their being awakened; others received comparatively few, and that not till after a much longer period of probation. At Hilo and Waimea, in the island Hawaii, the numbers received into the Church were particularly great, having amounted in three years to about 12,660, and at Honolulu and Ewa in the island of Oahu they amounted to near 3000. These numbers materially reduce the proportions for the other stations, the numbers at some of which were comparatively small.[2]

be kept as still as the grave on a subject of the most solemn interest? The fact is they cannot be, and if their feelings are deep they will burst out; and they will also flow in their own appropriate channel, and not in the artificial one we mark out for them." Miss. Her. vol. 39, p. 195.

[1] Rep. Board For. Miss. 1838, p. 111.—Miss Her. vol. xxxvii. p. 146.

[2] Rep. Board For. Miss. 1837, p. 98.—Ibid. 1839, pp. 128, 175.—Ibid. 1841, p. 152. —Dibble's Hist. p. 346.

We are not singular in the apprehensions which we have here expressed; the missionaries themselves gave at the time the following united expression of their views:— "We fear that the increase of strength to our churches has not been in proportion to the increase of numbers. We fear that we may have erred in judgment, in receiving too hastily into the Church those who profess to have been converted; and we may

Periods of awakening are, perhaps, generally followed by seasons of deadness and declension; and this might especially be expected among a people just emerging from a state of ignorance and barbarism, and possessing little stability of character. Many, accordingly, fell back from their religious professions so soon as the first excitement passed away. In almost every case where large accessions were made to the churches, proportionally large defections occurred. It was to be expected that where such vast numbers were gathered into the churches, much chaff would be found among the wheat. A greater proportion of the fruits of this

have occasion hereafter to regret having done so. We fear we may find hereafter that many have deceived us and themselves in this important matter; and that they will live with the veil upon their hearts in this state of deception till the light of eternity shall tear it from them, and reveal to them their true characters."—Dibble's *History*, p. 346. But though the missionaries, as a body, made these and similar admissions, still, "there was but one opinion among them as to the fact that a great and glorious work of God had been performed in all the islands, and nearly at all the stations."—*Miss. Her.* vol. xxxvi. p. 243.

The following observation by Mr Baldwin is important, and is well deserving of the attention of other missionaries:—"For one, I am never captivated with promising appearances in a heathen land; but I always take it for granted that fair promises are more easily blasted here than in a land of greater knowledge and more settled habits. I do not think we should ever be hasty in gathering into the Church."—*Miss Her.* vol. xlii. p. 182.

In 1838, the second year of the revival, Mr Coan, of Hilo, in the island of Hawaii, who was among those who baptized great multitudes of the natives, mentions that about 400 children between *five* and fifteen years old were in communion with the Church in that district.—*Miss Her.* vol. xxxv. p. 198. Children of five years of age sitting down at the Lord's table! It is painful to read such a statement. We do not question there may be true piety at that early age; but yet it is evident that ministers, and still more missionaries among the heathen, must be very rash who would admit such young children to the communion of the Church.

The following account by Mr Dibble, while it contains some satisfactory statements, also reveals some very questionable, not to say painful, circumstances:—"At most of the stations, no measures were taken to excite the feelings, beyond a simple declaration of the truth. There were, however, some exceptions, as was to be expected among so many labourers, and at a time of such intense excitement. It may naturally be supposed that those pastors whose excited minds and peculiar views allowed of admitting professing converts into the churches by thousands, would be the persons to use special measures to operate upon the feelings of a congregation. Such was the fact. The special measures, however, were probably not so much designed, as naturally incident to a kind of uncontrollable state of tumultuous feeling on the part of both the pastor and the people. The pastor in some instances descended from the pulpit, and paced through the midst of the congregation, preaching and gesturing with intense emotion. Sometimes all the members of a large congregation were permitted to pray aloud at once. And again, at times, many expressed their fears and sense of guilt by audible groans and loud cries. Feelings were not restrained. Ignorant heathen are not accus-

revival gave afterwards little or no evidence of conversion, than of such as were received in more quiet and less exciting times; and not a few fell away altogether.[1]

It is not unworthy of observation, that in the Sandwich Islands declension was of a different character from what it usually is in Christian countries. There backsliders had not that outward decency, that cold and dead morality, that heartless form of religion to fall back upon, which are so common in such countries as England or America. On the contrary, they were prone to return to their former heathenish habits, to plunge into open vice, and to throw off at once the profession and the form of religion. It was this that rendered a season of religious declension in a heathen land so much more marked than in a Christian country.[2]

Many of the fallen Church members, indeed, afterwards professed repentance, and were restored to their religious privileges. It was hoped their repentance was sincere; but in a majority of cases, the result shewed that this expectation was not well-founded. Most of them might remain in the Church for a time, and when their sins could be no longer concealed, they had again to be excluded. Experience shewed that when a Hawaiian member fell, there was but little hope of his recovery. Hence it appeared very advisable to be slow in receiving back those who professed repentance after they had fallen.[3]

tomed to restrain their feelings, but manifest their emotions by outward signs—more so, by far, than people who are intelligent and cultivated. Perhaps their feelings were too intense to be restrained, and necessarily burst forth in shrieks and loud lamentations. Certainly it is not for those whose habits are different and who have not been in such scenes, and felt thus intensely, and experienced such apparent power from on high, to say how far such expressions of intense emotion could, or should, have been controlled. Such measures and such indications of feeling were confined almost entirely to Eastern and Northern Hawaii. As a general remark, taking all the stations into view, very little use was made of special means. The missionaries merely aimed, with much simplicity and plainness, to impart correct conceptions of the character of God, the nature of sin, the plan of salvation, the work of the Spirit, and the nature of true religion; especially did they insist on the sin and danger of rejecting an offered Saviour. The hearts of the people were tender; and under such truths as I have named, the place of worship was often a scene of sighing and weeping."—Dibble's *History*, p. 348.

[1] Miss. Her. vol. xxxvii. p. 195; vol. xxxviii. p. 96.

[2] Ibid. vol. xlii. p. 280.

[3] Ibid. vol. xl. p. 382.

Even, however, after the great awakening had ceased, the numbers who were received into the churches continued to be very considerable, and made up in some degree for those whom it was found necessary to suspend or exclude from the communion of the Church. Indeed, though there was no such great and general awakening as that of which we have now spoken, yet most of the churches enjoyed from time to time seasons of revival to a greater or less extent. Professors of religion were greatly quickened, and many who had hitherto lived "without God, and without hope in the world," were brought to inquire, what they should do to be saved. Every year, indeed, furnished new evidence that a great and glorious work was effected in the Sandwich Islands. Perhaps there was no part of the world where the power of the gospel was, in numerous instances, more visibly manifested than in these distant isles of the sea.[1]

It did not appear, after some years, that religion was, on the whole, losing ground in the Sandwich Islands. It might be less lively than it was at some former periods, and many evils might be more active and more apparent. It was now, in fact, a time of trial. The nation was in a transition state. The whole polity of the people, civil, social, commercial, and moral, was undergoing change, and, it was hoped, improvement. Immoralities were becoming more and more prevalent. The influence of the gospel and the operation of the laws might keep the surface of society smooth and tranquil; but he must have been a very superficial observer who did not perceive a strong opposing under-current. The low standard of public morality—the little disgrace that attached to practices which in other countries would be the ruin of character—the looseness of the family contract—the want of watchfulness and control on the part of parents over their children—the unrestricted social intercourse of the sexes—and the grovelling propensities of a rude and sluggish people, were mournful indications of the low state of religion among the mass of the population. And though, even among the Church members, there were many of whom there was reason to stand in doubt, while the mass of them were only "babes in Christ," children in

[1] Miss. Her. vol. xxxix. pp. 324, 375, 378; vol. xl. p. 18; vol. xlii. pp. 183, 280; vol. xlv. p. 18.

knowledge, in understanding, in wisdom, in experience, in consistency, in spirituality, in stability, yet still there were thousands over whom the missionaries rejoiced as those who, they hoped, would be "their joy and their crown in the day of the Lord Jesus." The churches were gradually becoming more established, as was evidenced in the increasing knowledge, the settled principles, the well-grounded faith, the orderly walk, and the active benevolence, of multitudes of the members. The good and the bad, the precious and the vile, were forming more distinct classes, and the line of demarcation was becoming more and more marked between them.[1]

Education.

In establishing schools it was of course necessary, as a preliminary measure, to reduce the language to writing, and in doing this the missionaries were careful to avoid the egregious error which is found in the English and other modern alphabets, and which so grievously perplexes learners, both old and young, of assigning to the same letter different sounds, and the same sounds to different letters. To every letter they gave only one sound, and to every sound only one letter, and every word was spelled exactly as it was pronounced, by which means the art of reading, spelling, and writing was rendered comparatively easy. By this means, too, persons newly arrived in the islands were able, after learning the sounds of the letters, to teach the natives to read, spell, and write their own language, though they themselves did not understand a word of it. It is also worthy of notice that only seven consonants and five vowels, in all twelve letters, were required to represent all the known sounds of the language of the Sandwich Islands.[2]

In 1822, the first native schools were collected. The missionaries were the first teachers, and the first scholars consisted of a

[1] Miss. Her. vol xl. p. 16; vol. xliii. p. 218; vol. xlv. p. 18.

[2] Rep. Board For. Miss. 1824, p. 109.—Ibid. 1831, p. 56.—Miss. Chron. vol. iii. p. 165.

class of persons connected with the chiefs; the only school-book was a small spelling-book, which had been lately printed in the Hawaiian language. These schools had been carried on but a few months when some of the principal chiefs expressed a desire to receive instruction. Schools were accordingly formed for their particular benefit. The pupils consisted generally of the chiefs and some of the principal people of both sexes in their train. As the missionaries were of course the teachers, they now committed their former schools to the care of some of the natives, either to those who had returned with them from America, or those who had made the greatest progress in the schools during the short time they had existed. After some time a general desire was manifested by the people to attend to instruction; the chiefs became interested in the object; schools were multiplied throughout the islands, and were attended by great numbers of the natives. There were at one period, it is stated, near 1000 schools, and upwards of 50,000 scholars, a large proportion of whom were grown-up persons, a circumstance which may appear somewhat strange; but children in the Sandwich Islands were so little under the control of their parents, and were so impatient of restraint, that comparatively few of them could be induced to attend.[1]

This may seem a mighty apparatus for the Sandwich Islands; but these native schools were, as may well be supposed, very defective, and the instruction received in them was of the most imperfect kind. Owing to their very number, the missionaries, in consequence of their other engagements, were able to do little in the way of superintending them. The teachers were in general very ill qualified for their office; their own knowledge was scanty, and what little they did know, they had no skill in communicating to others; no proper provision was made for their support, and hence they took little interest in their work; the immoral conduct of many of them was also a great disqualification, and a source of much trouble. The want of suitable school-books, and of a sufficient number of them, was likewise a serious drawback from these schools. Besides, they were kept very

[1] Rep. Board For. Miss. 1834, p. 156.—Miss. Her. vol. xxviii. pp. 72, 223.

irregularly, only perhaps two or three days in a week, and about an hour at a time. These and other circumstances rendered the native schools very inefficient; yet, with all their imperfections, they were not without their use. Thousands of natives, by means of them, learned to read more or less intelligibly; and some, in most places, also learned to write. The system of instruction by uneducated and unremunerated teachers had reached its height, and was now waxing old and ready to vanish away. The schools were generally in a languishing state; many of the school-houses were deserted, and some of them were going to ruin; teaching dragged on heavily, and little progress was made. It was plain that a radical reform was required in the school system, and that it was necessary it should begin with the teachers. The missionaries had, in past years, taken as many of them as they could bring together under special instruction, with the view of fitting them in some degree for their work, but they now adopted more systematic and efficient means for this end.[1]

In September 1831, the missionaries commenced what they called a high-school at Lahainaluna, in the island of Maui, for the purpose of preparing schoolmasters, and also pious and promising natives as preachers of the gospel. For several years at first, the pupils were adults, and were generally married; but it was afterwards judged advisable to change the nature of the institution, by receiving into it young persons, and even children. It was found that the youth made far more progress in knowledge than the adults. It is interesting to find in the Sandwich Islands a seminary for natives in which were taught writing, arithmetic written and mental, Keith on the Globes, geography topographical and descriptive, sacred geography, sacred history and chronology, algebra, geometry, trigonometry, surveying and navigation, natural theology, church history, and moral philosophy. Besides attending to their various studies, the pupils were required to spend part of every day in manual labour. This was considered a point of vital importance to them. Both their bodies and minds were invigorated by the exercise; indolence and pride were repressed, habits of industry were formed,

[1] Hawaiian Spect. vol. i. p. 339.—Rep. Board For. Miss. 1834, pp. 157, 166.—Miss. Her. vol. xxvi. p. 153; vol. xxviii. p. 218.

skill in various kinds of labour was acquired, and something also was gained in this way toward their own support.[1]

As a number of teachers and their wives were now sent out from America, with the special view of being employed in the business of teaching, the plans of education were put on a much improved and more efficient footing than they had hitherto been.[2]

Among other measures which were now adopted was the establishment of boarding-schools for both boys and girls, in which the pupils, while receiving a superior education, were withdrawn from those influences to which children living at large were exposed, and were brought under those salutary influences which are enjoyed in a Christian family. It was deemed of the utmost importance that there should be boarding-schools for both sexes, with the view of providing each with suitable companions in the married life. If either sex were neglected, whatever labour or expense might be bestowed in educating the one would be in a great measure lost, as the other, if they were married together, could scarcely fail to exert a deteriorating influence upon them when brought into so close and intimate a relation; whereas if both parties were of somewhat cultivated minds and civilised manners, and were also of industrious habits and pious dispositions, there would be ground to hope that they would have a salutary influence in confirming and increasing the improvement of each other. It was felt to be of peculiar importance to rear up suitable helpmates for such of the young men as were employed in the service of the mission.[3]

Besides these there were various other kinds of schools (for education was a very special object of attention in this mission), as the female seminary at Wailuku, select schools at several of the stations, a manual labour school, a school for the children of missionaries, and a school for the children of the chiefs. This last was under the charge of one of the missionaries; but it was entirely supported by the government. Much good was expected from it to the interests of the nation. The progress of the pupils was exceedingly satisfactory. They were much inter-

[1] Rep. Board For. Miss. 1832, p. 77.—Ibid. 1833, p. 83.—Ibid. 1837, p. 101.—Ibid. 1838, p. 113.—Ibid. 1842, p. 174.—Hawaiian Spect. vol. i.

[2] Hawaiian Spect. vol. i. pp. 353, 355.

[3] Hawaiian Spect. vol. i. p. 40.

ested in reading English books, and spent not a little of their leisure time in reading useful works.[1]

It will easily be conceived that the instructions communicated in the schools to the young islanders must often have been very startling and surprising to them. Geography, for example, was to them an entirely new field of knowledge. "In studying it," says Mr Green, "they make many notable discoveries. They had no conception of the magnitude of the earth; and that there are other bodies still larger than it, is a depth that few of them can fathom. And then the very diminished appearance their own islands make on the map is quite humbling to them, and gives occasion for many remarks. Some of my pupils, however, are much interested in the discovery of the earth's motion, of the cause of the seasons, and of day and night; and they are becoming skilful in projecting maps on their slates. It is pleasant—exceedingly so—to pour instruction into their benighted minds.[2]

In 1840, laws were enacted by the government with the view of promoting the interests and efficiency of common schools in the island. These schools had, for some time past, been again in a declining state; the teachers were poorly supported, and children were but little disposed to attend on their instructions. The new laws required parents to send their children to school, made provision for the erection of school-houses, and provided for the pay of the teachers. But in carrying out these measures many difficulties were experienced, and they were, for some years, only partially successful. Though the character and qualifications of the teachers were within a few years materially improved, yet from the great number who were required, many were still employed who had no particular fitness for the work, and who would not have been employed except on the principle that any tolerable teacher is better than none. The more ignorant classes, who were very indifferent to the education of their children, steadily resisted the efforts of their rulers to obtain their aid for the support of schools; and, notwithstanding the laws providing for the maintenance of the teachers, they were very ill

[1] Rep. Board For. Miss. 1845, p. 179.—Ibid. 1846, p. 189.—Ibid. 1847, p. 181. The Royal School, as it was called, now admits children of foreign residents, as well as of chiefs.—*Rep. Board For. Miss.* 1852, p. 137.

[2] Miss. Her. vol. xxix. p. 240.

paid, and many of them gave up for want of the means of support. The attendance of the children, too, was often very irregular; they came to school or stayed away just as they pleased. But notwithstanding these and other obstructions, the efforts of the government for the education of the people were attended with considerable success. "Nearly all the children," we find it stated, after some years, "attend school, and are progressing in knowledge as fast as could be expected, considering the imperfect qualifications of the teachers, the poor condition of the school-houses, and the deficiency of books and apparatus proper for instruction. It is a pleasing fact, that schools throughout the islands are rapidly gaining favour with both parents and children. The tendency of education to improve their worldly interests is clearly seen; and many send their children, not because they are required by the law to do so, but because it is for their good. The elements of a common school education have become pretty generally diffused throughout the nation. It is rare to find a child above ten years of age who cannot read more or less fluently, while thousands can answer, with a good degree of correctness, miscellaneous questions in other branches. Sixteen years ago, schools for children were almost unknown, and very few were then able to read. We hope to press forward this department of our labour, until the blessing of a good education shall be enjoyed by every child." [1]

In June 1849, the high-school at Lahainaluna, including the buildings, library, philosophical apparatus, and other property pertaining to it, was transferred to the Hawaiian government, on condition of its taking on itself the whole support of it, and sustaining it as an institution for the cultivation of sound literature and science. As such an institution among a people just emerging from barbarism is a somewhat remarkable experiment, it is interesting to mark its results up to this time. It was established originally with a special view to preparing teachers for the schools and preachers to their countrymen. The first of these objects it accomplished to a considerable extent. Of upwards of three hundred pupils who were educated in it, considerably more than one third were employed as teachers of schools; upwards of eighty

1 Rep. Board For. Miss. 1842, p. 172.—Ibid. 1846, p. 190.—Miss. Her. vol. xxxv. p. 143; vol. xxxviii. pp. 149, 243, 476; vol. xli. pp. 78, 163; vol. xlv. pp. 20, 115.

were in the service of government, some of them in important situations, or were otherwise usefully employed; upwards of a hundred were members of the church, while forty or more were decidedly immoral. Speaking of the results of the seminary, the teachers say:—"On the whole, the institution is evidently scattering blessings throughout the nation. Its graduates are everywhere the leading members of society in matters civil, religious, and literary. In manual labour they are represented as many times more valuable than other natives, having acquired habits of industry and learned how to work when at school." In regard to the other great object of the institution, the preparing of native preachers, it had hitherto in a great measure failed; of the graduates only one was a licensed preacher. Some of the older church members were, after some experience, better qualified to teach and to preach, both as to the amount of their Scripture knowledge and their ability to apply that knowledge to useful purposes, than the young men who came from the seminary. Many of its graduates were active enterprising men in secular matters; but most of them wanted that humility, that meekness, that patience, that self-denial, that simple trust in God, and that love of souls, which are so essential to a good minister of Jesus Christ. It was, however, stated, not long before the institution was transferred to the government, that among the students there were then more promising candidates for the ministry than could be found among all who had previously left it; and it is gratifying to find that there were four of the natives who were afterwards ordained as pastors over churches.[1]

In 1851, according to a report of the Minister of Public Instruction, a department of the government organised for the express purpose of attending to the education of the country, there were in the Sandwich Islands 535 schools containing 15,482 scholars, so that considerably more than a sixth of the population were then under a course of education, a proportion to which there are few parallels even among civilized nations. The whole expense for education in the Sandwich Islands was that year about 60,000 dollars, of which sum about 45,000 dollars were paid by the government and about 15,000 were drawn from

[1] Rep. Board For. Miss. 1847, pp. 175, 181.—Ibid. 1848, pp. 232, 233.—Ibid. 1849, p. 239.—Ibid. 1853, p. 139.—Miss. Her. vol. xlv. pp. 85, 363.

private and other resources for several schools which were not supported by the government.[1]

Books.

In January 1822, the mission press in the Sandwich Islands commenced its operations by printing a small spelling-book in the Hawaiian language. This was followed in the course of years by numerous other school-books, including not only elementary books for the common schools, but works in the various branches of science taught in the higher seminaries, besides catechisms, hymn-books, and other publications of a religious nature. In 1832 the New Testament in the Hawaiian language issued from the press; and in 1839 the whole Bible was completed. The edition consisted of 10,000 copies, and a second edition of other 10,000 copies was printed the following year. There was also a Hawaiian newspaper which had a large circulation, a Hawaiian almanack, and two or three other periodical publications. The amount of printing at the mission presses in the Sandwich Islands was very great, and was at once an evidence of the progress of the people, and a means of their still further improvement. Unless it was school-books, the various publications were generally paid for by them, either in produce, work, or money.[2]

[1] Rep. Board For. Miss. 1852, p. 136.

[2] Rep. Board For. Miss. 1831, p. 51.—Ibid. 1833, pp. 82, 86.—Ibid. 1837, p. 164.—Ibid. 1839, p. 131.—Miss. Her. vol. xxxvi. p. 188; vol. xxxvii. p. 145.—Dibble's History, p. 426.

We must not, however, draw too favourable conclusions from such circumstances as these. In judging of missions, it should always be borne in mind that persons in one state of society are very liable to *interpret* inaccurately circumstances occurring among a people in a different state of society, attaching frequently too much, and sometimes too little importance to them. The demand for books in the South Sea Islands has often been considered as a very remarkable fact, shewing the great desire of the people for instruction. This was a very natural conclusion, yet it is just an example of the false inferences which we often draw in consequence of our imperfect knowledge of facts. The Rev. Mr Andrews, principal of the Lahainaluna seminary, writing in 1834, says:—"A great circulation of books *here* does not prove that they are much understood. It is fully believed that were the mission to print off an edition of logarithmic tables, there would be just as great a call for it as for any book that has been printed. This is manifested by the call there has been for three editions of the *Ho-pe-no ka pia pa;* for it can be demonstrated that, with the exception of two or three sections, scarce a

Opposition of Foreigners.

Of late years, a number of foreigners chiefly from England and America, had taken up their residence in the Sandwich Islands for the purposes of trade; and numerous ships visited them annually, principally from these countries, for the sake of traffic or for obtaining supplies. There were also scattered through the group, a number of persons who had made their escape from the restraints of civilized society, chiefly runaway sailors and vagabonds, wanderers in the earth, the very dregs and outcasts of society.[1]

Even at an early period of the mission, the purity of the gospel was so far understood by the chiefs, that they resolved to establish laws with the view of restraining and punishing gross wickedness, and it was proposed to make the Ten Commandments the basis of their criminal code. Some of the residents took alarm at this, apprehending that their licentious practices would

single idea has been gained that was intended to be conveyed, except where it has been taught and explained by some one of the missionaries. The same is true with respect to the *Helu*. The native cannot be found, who, without any instruction, was able to understand any principle it contained, or to understand any rule. The truth is, a *palapala* (book) is a *palapala;* it is all new to them, and all considered equally good. They have been told that the perusal of these and similar books, constitutes the difference between them and ourselves; that they are able to make people wise; and what is still more, most of our books we are able to call the Word of God."—*Rep. Board For. Miss.* 1834, p. 160.

In 1836, Mr Armstrong, one of the missionaries on the island of Maui, says:—"When the late edition of the New Testament came out, the people about us crowded our houses all day long, and even in the night, trying to obtain a copy. As I had not enough to supply one tenth of the demand, I was obliged at last to lock my study door and make no reply to those who knocked. They went away murmuring over their disappointment. I have given away no Testaments as yet. All who have called for them have either brought the worth of the book in produce, or have agreed to work for it. What the motives of the people are in thus seeking the Word of God, it is not easy to tell;—certainly not in most cases the love of truth or righteousness, as their daily conduct shews; but still it is encouraging to see the people seeking, and labouring for, and carrying about in their hands, the Word of God in their own language."—*Miss. Her.* vol. xxxiii. p. 73.

These passages relate to a period previous to the remarkable spread of Christianity in the Sandwich Islands; but still they indicate a singular fact in the history of missions, at least in the South Sea Islands; and shew the danger we are in of putting false constructions on simple and unmeaning circumstances, and drawing erroneous conclusions from them.

[1] Stewart's Journal, p. 154.

be checked, if the seventh commandment were to be sustained by the authority of law. They appeared, therefore, in a body and made a formal remonstrance against the chiefs forming any criminal code whatsoever. Such decided opposition to any restraint upon vice, greatly embarrassed the chiefs in their attempts at reformation; but yet they enacted a law forbidding females to go on board ships, and punishing transgressors by imprisonment during the pleasure of the rulers; and there is little doubt it would have proved effectual, had it not been for the artifices and violence of foreigners.[1]

The opposition to these important measures was not confined to the residents on the islands: this salutary enactment called forth in a peculiar manner the rage and indignation of the crews of vessels from England and America.

In October 1825, soon after the passing of the law, the whale-ship *Daniel*, Captain Buckle, from London, touched at Lahaina, on the island of Maui, and several of the crew landed, with the view of prevailing on Mr Richards, one of the missionaries, to use his influence with the chiefs to repeal the obnoxious order. One of them, whom he had admitted into his house, threatened his property and his life, and the lives of all his family; but both Mr Richards and his wife gave them to understand that they would sooner lose their lives than do anything of the kind. Meanwhile, the sailors in the yard were uttering the most horrid oaths and threats; but after the man left the house, they all went away. Two days after, a boat was seen approaching the shore, having what the natives call a black ensign, and about fifteen or twenty men landed from it, some of them armed with knives, and one or more with pistols. As they approached the gate of Mr Richards' house, one of the natives who had been set to guard it, attempted to stop their entrance, upon which one of the sailors drew a knife and made a thrust at him; but he, starting back, avoided the blow. The guard, however, being only four or five in number, and unarmed, were now obliged to retreat. Mr Richards witnessed all this from his window, but seeing the guard retreat, he retired to the back part of the house, where he would have a better opportunity of defending himself in case they should break into it. The natives now began to collect from every quarter, with stones and clubs,

[1] Rep. Board For. Miss. 1827, p. 76.

and in a short time not less than thirty of them had entered the house by the back door, after which the miscreants retired without offering any further violence. As soon as they retired, the chiefs increased the number of the guard, and armed them with weapons, which they had before refused to do. Captain Buckle and his men, however, seemed determined that the law should be repealed, and frequently went to the chiefs on the subject. They said they were never in so religious a place before in all their lives. But after all their efforts, they could not obtain the repeal of the law, nor could they procure a single female to carry with them to the ship.[1]

In January 1826, the United States armed schooner *Dolphin*, Lieutenant John Percival, arrived at Honolulu, in the island of Oahu, and remained there about four months, to the great injury of good morals among the natives. Soon after his arrival, Lieutenant Percival expressed his regret at the existence of a law prohibiting females from visiting ships for the purposes of prostitution. He next insisted on the release of four prostitutes, then in custody for a breach of the law; nor did he rest until he partially gained his object.

One Sabbath afternoon, about five o'clock, Mr Bingham went over to the house of the Regent Karaimoku, who was then ill, for the purpose of holding worship there, with such of the chiefs and others as might find it convenient to attend. Soon afterwards, six or seven sailors from the *Dolphin*, armed with clubs, entered the room where the sick chief was lying on his couch, with his friends around him, and demanded that the obnoxious law should be repealed, threatening, in case of refusal, to tear down the house. Confusion ensued, and before they could be made to leave the house and the yard, they broke all the windows in front. While this was going on, their number was increased by the arrival of several others, who made similar demands. When driven from the house of Karaimoku, they directed their course to that of Mr Bingham, who seeing this, ran home another way, his family being unprotected, and hoping to arrive there before them; but having failed in this, he fell into the hands of the rioters, some of whom held a club over him in the attitude of striking. The natives, who had hitherto acted with great for-

[1] Miss. Her. vol. xxiii. p. 40; vol. xxiv. p. 278.

bearance, now interfered, and laid hold of the sailors. In the bustle Mr Bingham was released; but he was afterwards pursued by small parties. One sailor aimed a blow at him with a club, and another struck at him with a knife; but happily he escaped without injury. All the rioters were secured by the natives; but after this affray had ceased, other ten sailors arrived, part of whom attacked Mr Bingham's house, and broke in a window. While two were attempting to force the door, one of them suddenly turned round, and unaccountably struck the other with a club, so that he fell, and was carried off as dead.

On the evening of the same day, Lieutenant Percival waited on the chiefs, not to express his sorrow or make an apology for the outrageous conduct of his men, but, with unblushing licentiousness, to urge the repeal of the obnoxious law. On that occasion, he declared, in the presence of the principal chiefs, that the prohibition should come off; that he was determined not to leave the island till it was repealed; and that he would rather have his hands tied behind his back, or even cut off, and go home to the United States mutilated, than have it said that the liberty of having prostitutes on board his ship was denied him, after it had been allowed, as he alleged, to another individual whom he named.

But the most painful portion of this sad story is yet to come. Next day it was rumoured that females who should go on board ships would not be punished. Some of the chiefs, it appears, wearied out by the importunities, and terrified by the threats, of their unprincipled visitors, had given a kind of indirect permission to this effect; intimating, that should any females resort to their old practices, it would not be inquired into very strictly, but that they would simply be considered as disgraced, and excluded from the society of the good. A considerable number accordingly repaired on board the *Dolphin*. When the first boat with females passed, in the dusk of the evening, along the harbour of Honolulu, a shout ran from one ship to another, as if a glorious victory had been achieved—a shout more worthy of devils than of men.

When Karaimoku was informed of the liberty which had thus been given, he was very indignant. He called before him the chiefs who had relaxed the law, and inquired of them the cir-

cumstances. They quailed at the severe rebuke of the venerable old man, and wept under his chiding. But the fatal deed was done; the flood-gates of vice were now opened, and a deluge of pollution could scarcely fail to be the consequence.

When it was known that the law was prostrate, Lieutenant Percival called upon the chiefs to express his gratification. He said he was now at ease, and that he intended visiting Hawaii and Maui, where the prohibition was still in force, and compel the chiefs on those islands also to rescind it. This calamity was happily averted, and Honolulu alone was polluted by a visit from the *Dolphin*. The sad influence of this vessel during the subsequent ten weeks of her stay, may perhaps be imagined, but cannot be described. So odious was it in the eyes even of the common people, that they applied to the vessel, and her commander alternately, the appellation of "the mischief-making-man-of-war."[1]

In October 1827, some women had gone off secretly to the *John Palmer*, an English whaler, then lying off Lahaina; and the captain, whose name was Clark, having come on shore, Hoapiri, the governor of Maui, first requested, and then insisted, that he should send them back; but this he would not do, and he even threatened him with destruction by a man-of-war. "He

[1] Rep. Board For. Miss. 1827, p. 77.

The Board of Missions having preferred charges against Lieutenant Percival before the government of the United States, on account of his conduct in the Sandwich Islands, a court of inquiry was ordered by the Secretary of the Navy. Twenty-six days were occupied in the examination of witnesses, and taking down their testimony; but no agent having been sent to the islands to authenticate written evidence, and the letters and statements of the missionaries and others, however worthy of confidence, not being legally admissible as evidence, it could not be expected that a full development of the case could be made at the distance of some thousand miles from the scene of the transactions.—*Rep. Board For. Miss.* 1828, p. 60. The result of this inquiry was not obtained from the government, notwithstanding repeated applications for it on behalf of the Board; but it may be inferred from this that it proved abortive, in consequence, perhaps, of the want of what was deemed legal evidence.—*Ibid.* 1829, pp. 17, 60. Yet the government was probably satisfied as to the truth of the general charge, for it not long afterwards addressed a letter to the king of the Sandwich Islands, in which, while it asked protection for citizens of the United States who conducted themselves peaceably, it stated that others were subject to the censure and punishment inflicted by the laws of the place. It stated also that the government had heard with pain of the violation of these laws by American citizens, and had sought to know and to punish the guilty. It recommended to the nation the religion of the Christian's Bible; recognised the rapid progress which the islands had made in letters and religion, and closed with bespeaking the favour of the rulers for the missionaries.—*Ibid.* 1830, p. 59.

said to me," writes Hoapiri, in an admirable official report which he sent to Kaahumanu, the queen-regent, " 'Your efforts are vain. It is not right; it is not thus in Great Britain. It is not right in you to withhold women from Englishmen. Do not keep back the women that go in a bad way, otherwise a man-of-war will come and destroy you all.'

" Then I replied, 'I do not at all regard what you have said. There is but one thing that is right in my view—that you send me back the women; but understand, if you do not return them, I shall detain you here on shore till we get the women. Then you may go to the ship.' My requirement was not at all complied with.

" Then I sent men to take the boat. The boat was detained by me, and the foreigner was detained by me here on shore.

" He said to me, 'This place will be full of ships; and Maui shall be free from tabu, or entirely burnt, so that not a cluster of houses shall be left. My ship is ready to fire on you this night.'

" I replied, 'If the guns of your ship fire, I will take care of you. You and I, and my chief, will go to another place. If your men fire from the ship, we, the people of the island, will remain quiet; but if the people of the ship land here on shore to fight us, then my people will fight them. You and I will sit still, and let your people and mine do the fighting. I will take care of you. If you do not give me back the women, you and I will dwell here on shore, and you shall not return to your vessel. I have but one desire, and that is, the return hither of the women.' I ended."

It is impossible not to admire the firmness and calmness, not to say dignity, displayed by Hoapiri on this occasion; and at the same time, the simplicity with which he narrates the whole circumstances of the case.[1]

In the evening the mate of the ship landed to demand the release of the captain, and said that the ship was ready to commence firing on the town; and that unless he were released

[1] Hoapiri appears to have been a shrewd, noble-minded man. When reports were abroad that there were designs on the life of Mr Richards by the crews of foreign ships, he declared he would protect him at all hazards, and that " no ball should strike Mr R. without first passing through him." Other chiefs spoke in a similar manner.—*Miss. Her.* vol. xxiv. pp. 279, 280.

within an hour, a light would be hoisted at the mizen-mast, and firing would then begin. Being informed of this, Mr Richards proceeded to the house of Hoapiri, where he found Captain Clark, and most of the chiefs. The governor appears to have been still firm to his purpose to have the women returned; but Mr Richards at last suggested to him, whether it would not be wise, on the meek and forbearing principles of Christianity, to permit Captain Clark to go on board, particularly as he had agreed to have the business settled by nine o'clock the next morning. The governor was at length prevailed on to give his assent, and restored the boat; but by the time it was ready, the light was hoisted, and the firing commenced. Mr Richards hurried home, and just before he reached his house, a ball passed near him with a tremendous whiz. He and his family, and some visitors, retired for safety to the cellar. On examining next morning the places where the balls struck, there could be little doubt that the mission-house was particularly aimed at. The ship sailed the same day for Oahu, but without any settlement of the matter, the captain having totally disregarded his engagement.[1]

These, and other facts of a similar kind, which we might state, will help to explain the hostility which was all along manifested toward the missionaries by many of the foreigners resident on the islands, and by the crews of the ships visiting them. It will not be easy to name any body of missionaries who have been so much the subject of misrepresentation and obloquy as the American missionaries in the Sandwich Islands. There were, however, other and powerful reasons for the hostility of the foreigners to the missionaries and their work. They saw that should Christianity and education prevail on the islands, they would not be able to drive such profitable bargains with the natives as if they remained in a state of ignorance, nor would it be easy to manage the chiefs by making them drunk. Accordingly, when religion began to take hold of the minds of the people, the opposition became more violent than ever. The missionaries, by their consistent and disinterested conduct, had gained, in a remarkable degree, the confidence of the principal chiefs; but the foreigners, with the view of destroying their influence, sought to corrupt the morals of both chiefs and people, by holding out to them tempta-

[1] Miss. Her. vol. xxiv. pp. 276, 310.

tions to intemperance, to gambling, to horse-racing, and other evil practices. Their efforts were directed in a special manner towards corrupting the young king, rightly judging, that if they could draw him over to their side, an important advantage would be lost to the missionaries. No pains were spared to prejudice his mind against Mr Bingham, who was his instructor. One person, it is said, told him that Mr Bingham had written to America that he was king of the Sandwich Islands, and more than once earnestly requested his majesty to grant him permission to send him off the islands. All manner of falsehoods and slanders were not only uttered against them in the islands, but were carried to America and England, and published to the world. We cannot enter into the consideration of the various charges made against them; but we may state, in general, that nothing could be more triumphant than the vindications which were published of them.[1] There is only one of the accusations which we shall notice—their interference with the political affairs of the islands; because it has been most frequently, and most pertinaciously, brought forward. In reference to this, we may state that it is true the principal chiefs did look up to them with respect and confidence, and perhaps did sometimes seek their advice on points as to which they would rather have been excused from interfering; but this was nothing more than the natural result of their consistent and disinterested conduct, and of the natives being indebted to them for much which they found to be useful, as well as for their knowledge of true religion. The missionaries, however, studiously avoided interfering in political matters. So far did they carry this, that they abstained from giving any opinion or advice to the chiefs in many cases when it was very desirable, for the sake of themselves and the country, to make their views known to them, and when there were no other persons to guide or direct them. Some might even be disposed to censure them, as having run into the opposite extreme; but they judged it necessary to avoid all interference, probably that they might not give their enemies any occasion to say that they intermeddled in civil or

[1] See in particular an Examination of Charges against the American Missionaries at the Sandwich Islands. Cambridge (New England): 1827.—Orme's Defence of the Missions in the South Sea and Sandwich Islands. London: 1827.—Ellis's Vindication of South Sea Missions from the Misrepresentations of Otto Von Kotzebue. London: 1831.—Rep. Board For. Miss. 1841, p. 209.

political matters. The most that could be charged against Mr Bingham, or any of them, was preaching faithfully against sin; telling the chiefs they ought to use their influence for suppressing vice and promoting good order, and presenting the Ten Commandments to them as the law of God, and as the foundation of all good human laws; or in giving them information and advice in regard to the arts, institutions, and usages of civilized nations.[1]

It must not, however, be supposed from the statements we have made, that all the foreigners in the Sandwich Islands were the patrons of licentiousness and the enemies of the mission. Among both the residents and the visitors there were honourable exceptions, and there has of late years been a great change for the better in the foreign community. Neither were the visits of all ships injurious. Commerce, on the contrary, rendered valuable aid to the cause of civilisation. The officers of some vessels, particularly of ships of war from England and America, conducted themselves with great propriety, and treated the missionaries in the most friendly manner. They bore honourable testimony to them and their labours, and were no less condemnatory of their enemies and accusers.[2]

[1] Miss. Her. vol. xxiii. p. 203; vol. xxiv. p. 104.—Rep. Board For. Miss. 1827, pp. 83, 95.—Ibid. 1841, pp. 210, 214.—Examination of Charges against the American Missionaries in the Sandwich Islands, p. 29.

[2] Hawaiian Spect. vol. i. p. 282.—Miss. Her. vol. xxx. p. 111; vol. xlii. p. 355; vol. xlvii. p. 335.—Rep. Board For. Miss. 1827, p. 96.—Ibid. 1830, p. 60.—Dibble's Hist. p. 212.

In 1829, the American frigate *Vincennes*, Captain Finch, visited the Sandwich Islands. The foreigners were as usual full of complaints against the missionaries; but he appears to have seen through their character and motives, and in an official document addressed to the Secretary of the Navy of the United States, he bears distinct testimony to the advance of the Sandwich Islands in civilisation, religion, and learning; and while he vindicates the missionaries, he denounces the selfishness, shortsightedness, and recklessness of the policy pursued by the foreigners, and the arrogance and injustice with which they treated the chiefs and people.—Stewart's *Visit to the South Seas in the United States ship Vincennes*, vol. ii. pp. 268, 271, 278.

In 1840, Lieutenant Wilkes, who commanded the exploratory expedition which was sent out by the United States government, visited the Sandwich Islands in the course of his four years' cruise; and he bears a similar honourable testimony to the missionaries, and a no less discreditable testimony in regard to their enemies and accusers. "As the natives," says he, "under the tuition of the missionaries, emerged from barbarism, instead of deriving encouragement from their intercourse with foreigners, difficulties were thrown in the way. The chief agents in the vexations to which the government has been exposed are the designing individuals who hold the situation of consuls of the

Romish Missionaries, and Interference of France and England.

In July 1827, two Roman Catholic priests, M. Bachelot and Patrick Short, an Irishman, and several seculars or mechanics, arrived from France at Honolulu, in the island of Oahu. It appears that a Frenchman of the name of Rives, one of the foreign residents, who, on the arrival of the first American missionaries, sought to have them prohibited from settling in the country, had some time before visited France, and pretending that he possessed immense wealth and unbounded influence in the Sandwich Islands, made application to the College of Picpus for priests to be sent thither, and not only promised to pay for their passage, but purchased pictures and other ornaments for their church, and a large amount of other goods, for all which he was to pay a high price on their delivery at the islands. The priests, contrary to law, landed without asking permission of the government, and as soon as Kaahamanu, the regent, heard of their arrival, she ordered them to leave the islands in the vessel that brought them; but the captain declared he had already had trouble enough with them and they should not go on board his ship again, and to make sure of this he sailed from the island.[1] The chiefs had thus no resource but to suffer them to

two great European powers [France and England]; and through their baleful influence the difficulties have been continually increasing. All the laws and regulations established by the king and chiefs for repressing immorality and vice were not only derided, but often set at open defiance, because they clashed with the interests of some of the individuals settled here. If attempts were made to enforce them, official remonstrances were resorted to, accompanied by threats of punishment; as this for a long time did not follow, the matter came to be considered as a systematic course of bullying, which soon lost its effect and remained unheeded."—Wilkes' *Voyage of the Exploring Expedition of the United States Government*, in *Miss. Her.* vol. xli. p. 172.

We feel ashamed to think that the consul of England should have been one of the leading and most constant opponents of the mission, and of all that was good. In the Report of the Board for 1828 it is stated that he threw "all his influence into the scale of vice and disorder, and against efforts of every kind for the benefit of the natives."—*Rep. Board For. Miss.* 1828, p. 55.

[1] Captain Plassad, according to the accounts given by him, had some ground for this declaration. The principal object of his voyage was to deliver the goods that Rives had bought, and get payment for them and for the passage of the priests; but he could find neither Rives nor any of his boasted wealth, nor anybody that wanted his goods, or who would pay for the passage of the missionaries. He therefore took advantage of the position of his vessel, which was beyond the range of the guns of the fort, sailed from

remain for the present; but they at seven different times gave them orders to return to the country whence they came; and at length, after having borne with them for four years, they said to them, "Go away, ye Frenchmen; we allow you three months to get ready." But they did not go during the three months; they remained eight months, saying, "We have no vessel to return in;" although in the meanwhile some ships had sailed to England, some to the United States, and some to other parts of the world.[1] Finding there was no other way of getting rid of the two priests, the chiefs fitted out a brig of their own, and sent her with them and their property to the coast of California at an expense to themselves of one thousand dollars. The removal of them in this manner was not a violation of either their natural or acquired rights.

the island, and left the priests to provide for themselves the best way they could. Rives was never afterwards heard of on the island.—*Rep. Board For. Miss.* 1841, p. 217.—Dibble's *Hist.* p. 358.

But though we have given these statements in regard both to Rives' liberal offers, and to the nonfulfilment of them, we are not sure, considering how much deception was practised by Romish missionaries in the South Sea Islands, whether the whole, from first to last, might not be artifice and trick. There is certainly a great degree of improbability on the face of most of the circumstances.

[1] The following statement will give some idea of the Jesuitry of these men. It is from the pen of M. Bachelot himself, who is dignified with the title of *Apostolic Prefect of the Sandwich Islands*:—"That we might *appear* to yield in some degree to the demands of the chiefs, and to avoid irritating them, *we took care*, when any vessel was about to depart, to request *in writing* of the captain *a gratuitous passage*. We did this in respect to several, and, *as they knew our intentions*, they *answered us also in writing* and *absolutely refused to grant our request;* for no captain was willing to engage in executing the sentence pronounced against us.

"A short time after, a Prussian vessel arrived, the captain of which brought presents from the King of Prussia to the young King of the Sandwich Islands. The arrival of this vessel furnished an occasion for a new attempt to compel us to leave the Archipelago. The Governor of Hawaii re-appeared. 'Here,' said he to me, 'is a ship from near your own country. It will conduct you to your own land.' '*What you say is reasonable*,' I replied, 'but who will pay my passage? I came here with nothing but my body and the Word of God; my heart has not been on the things of this world; I have amassed no money.' 'Perhaps he will take you for nothing.' '*It is possible;* but *ask him yourself*, and we shall see.' Kuakini retired with this answer. The captain came to see us [query, *was he sent for?*]; I explained to him our situation; he obligingly offered to receive us on board his vessel, *if we wished to depart;* but if not, *he told us to make application to him in writing*, and TO DICTATE THE ANSWER WHICH WE WISHED HIM TO MAKE; *which was done.* The Governor of Hawaii also went to see him, and urged him to take charge of us. The Prussian captain answered *that he would do it with pleasure*, but that before M. Patrick and I could come on board he must be paid 5000 dollars. The poor governor had a great desire to rid himself of us, but he was still more anxious to keep his money. He was therefore obliged to abandon his project."—*Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*, vol. x. p. 370, in *Rep. Board For. Miss.* 1841, p. 220.

No permission had ever been given them to remain on the islands; on the contrary, it was expressly refused, and they were time after time requested and even ordered to go away. The will and authority of the government being thus set at nought, it very legitimately exercised the right claimed by France herself, and by all civilized nations, of determining whether foreigners should be allowed to settle within her territories; and in a manner the most considerate and humane sent them to another country, professing the same religion with themselves, and where they met with a friendly reception. Though we condemn persecution, and civil disabilities of any kind on account of religion, provided the principles and the practice of its adherents are no way incompatible with the rights and liberties of the rest of the community; yet, in the present case, we apprehend that the residence of these Romish priests in the Sandwich Islands was not without great and certain danger to the government of the country, and to the civil and religious rights and privileges of the people. The past history of the Roman Catholic priesthood; its unchanged character wherever it had full power and freedom of action; the weakness of the Sandwich Islands government, in consequence of which it was unequal to the protection of itself against force or fraud; the opposition which the priests themselves had already shewn to the authorities, and the artifices by which they had evaded their orders; and the fact of them and their followers siding with a party in the country which sought to overthrow the government;—all these things taken together, we apprehend, fully warranted the step of the chiefs in sending them off the islands; and subsequent events shewed but too plainly the propriety of the measure, if they could only have been allowed to adhere to it. It may not be improper to state, that all that was done was, in the strictest sense of the word, the acts of the government, and that the American missionaries had nothing to do with them. They never, individually or collectively, gave any advice on the subject, either for or against sending away the priests.[1]

Though we apprehend that the government was perfectly justifiable, on civil grounds, in not granting the Romish priests permis-

[1] Rep. Board For. Miss. 1841, pp. 214, 216, 219, 221.—Miss. Her. vol. xxviii. p. 351.—Dibble's History, p. 359.—Wilks's Tahiti, p. 103.

sion to settle on the islands, and in sending them away when they resisted its authority, yet it must be acknowledged, that in doing so, it was partly influenced by religious considerations; and it must also be admitted that the few natives of the islands who followed the Romish worship were, partly on civil and partly on religious grounds, subjected to persecution. They were commanded to give up that form of worship, and had their crucifixes taken from them; and some were punished, on account of their continuing to adhere to it. After the departure of the priests, the practice of Romish rites and ceremonies was prohibited under still severer penalties than before. It was declared, that if any chief should observe these rites, he should be regarded as rebelling against the government; that if any landholder should follow that form of worship, his lands should be taken from him; and that if any of the common people should persevere in the practice of it, they should be punished. This we, of course, cannot but regret; yet, all circumstances considered, it is not wonderful, and much may be said in apology for the procedure of the rulers. The missionaries, it may be proper to remark, gave no countenance to anything like persecution; on the contrary, they expressed distinct and decided opinions against it; and at length, chiefly through the representations and influence of Mr Richards, the king issued orders to the chiefs that no further punishments should be inflicted on the score of religion; and that they should confine themselves to the use of moral suasion in their efforts to reclaim the followers of the priests.[1]

In April 1837,[2] the two priests, Messrs Bachelot and Short, setting at nought the Sandwich Islands government, returned to Honolulu. M. Dudoit, a foreigner from the Isle of France, re-

[1] Dibble, pp. 363, 374, 380.—Rep. Board For. Miss. 1841, p. 210.

[2] A few months previous to this (September 1836), an Irish priest, educated in France, named Robert Walsh, arrived at Honolulu, from Valparaiso. He was prohibited by the government from becoming a resident on the islands, teachers of the same faith having been already sent away from them. The English consul, Mr Charlton, interposed, however, in his behalf, claiming a residence for him, on the plea of his being a British subject. He received frequent notices to leave the islands; but in consequence of the weakness of the government on the one hand, and the protection of the English consul on the other, he persisted in remaining. He was prevented, however, from preaching to the natives, and from holding any meetings for public worship.—Dibble, p. 375. Walsh was probably sent as a pioneer to prepare the way for Messrs Bachelot and Short, or at least as a feeler to ascertain what prospect there might be of their being now allowed to settle on the islands.

siding in the Sandwich Islands, had sent a vessel, of which he was the owner, to bring them thither. Mr Short states that he endeavoured to land without being recognised; and that for this purpose, he had suffered his beard to grow long, and wore a broad-brimmed hat, and that on reaching the wharf he took a circuitous road to his former residence. They were, however, recognised immediately by the natives; and the report of their arrival having been carried to the proper authorities, they were ordered to return to the vessel, and the captain was required to receive them on board before any part of the cargo was discharged. These orders, however, they disregarded, and the vessel was nearly ready to put to sea again, when a peremptory order was given to put them on board. They accompanied the officer of the king to the wharf, stepped into the boat, and went on board the vessel. Now, however, the owner would not allow it to sail, nor would he furnish the supplies necessary for the voyage; and the priests were still on board when M. du Petit Thuars arrived in the *Venus*, and about the same time, her Britannic Majesty's vessel, the *Sulphur*, Captain Belcher. After a conference in regard to the demands of the priests, an agreement was entered into between the French captain and the king. M. du Petit Thuars "considered M. Bachelot only as a Frenchman, forced by necessity to call at Honolulu, to find an opportunity of going to his own country!" The king agreed to allow him to reside unmolested at Oahu, till he could find a favourable opportunity of going to Manilla, Lima, Valparaiso, or some other part of the civilised world. M. du Petit Thuars came under an engagement that he would seize the first opportunity of going thither; and in case such an opportunity did not present itself, that he should be received on board the first French man-of-war which should visit the islands; and Captain Belcher acceded to a similar arrangement on behalf of Mr Short, who was an Irishman. A few months afterwards, M. Maigret, pro-vicar of the Roman Catholic Bishop of Nilopolis, who was acting bishop in this part of the world, arrived at Honolulu; but he was not allowed to land.[1]

Soon after the departure of the priests, the king published "An Ordinance rejecting the Catholic Religion." The preamble

[1] Wilks's Tahiti, p. 52.—Dibble, p. 375.—Tracy's Hist. pp. 352, 356.

mentions the conspiracy against the government some years before, which had been abetted and countenanced by the Romish priests, together with the fresh troubles which had been suffered from others who had lately attempted to settle in these islands—all shewing the tendency of their religion—"to set man against man," in the kingdom. The ordinance, therefore, forbade all persons, natives or foreigners, to teach, or assist in teaching, that faith, in any part of the kingdom. It also forbade the landing of any teacher of that faith, except in cases of absolute necessity; and in such a case, it provided that a priest should "be permitted in writing to dwell for a season on shore, on his giving bonds and security for the protection of the kingdom." It also stated the mode of enforcing this law, and the penalties for the transgression of it. It might have been hoped that this question was now set at rest; but if any one thought so, he was grievously mistaken.[1]

In July 1839 the French frigate *L'Artémise*, M. la Place, commander, arrived at Honolulu, in order, he said, to put an end, either by force or persuasion, to the ill-treatment of which it was alleged the French had been the victims at the Sandwich Islands, referring specially, it would seem, to the restrictions laid on the Catholic religion, and to the sending away of the Romish priests.[2]

[1] Tracy's Hist. pp. 258, 260, 357.

The arrival of the first Romish priests on the Sandwich Islands was ascribed to a Frenchman of the name of Rives. Capt. Thomas A. C. Jones, of the United States navy, makes also the following statement:—"I happen to know something of the origin of the Catholics attempting to establish themselves at Oahu. It is the work of a British agent at Honolulu, to overthrow the American missionaries. That man did not conceal his sending to Europe for Catholic missionaries. He speaks of it openly there, and stated to me, that the pomp and show of the Catholic ceremonies, their holidays, and Sabbath feasts, would so take with the natives, that a short time would be sufficient to expel all other missionaries."—Tracy's *Hist.* p. 357. Between the two accounts there is no inconsistency or incompatibility. Both these men might unite in seeking the same object, or Captain Jones's statement may refer to the later missionaries only. It is not unworthy of remark, though the circumstance is by no means singular, that the profligate part of the foreigners supported the Romish priests, and cordially wished them success.—*Rep.* 1829, p. 60. In 1840 a pamphlet was published at Honolulu, the reputed author of which was Mr John C. Jones, who had previously been American consul at that place, in defence of the Catholic missionaries, and in opposition to the government; and in order to carry his point, the author, whoever he was, put forth utterly false and most deceptive statements.—*Ibid.* 1841, p. 213.

[2] The manifesto addressed by La Place, in the name of his government, to the King of the Sandwich Islands, was characterised by the grossest effrontery and falsehood. It required some face for a man, who was in the act of trampling on a feeble yet independent nation, to say:—"I hasten first to employ this last means" (persuasion) "*as the most conformable* to the political, *noble, and liberal, system pursued by France*

He now demanded, in the name of his government, as "the equitable conditions at the price of which the King of the Sandwich Islands shall conserve friendship with France:—

"1*st*, That the Catholic worship be declared free throughout all the dominions subject to the King of the Sandwich Islands; that the members of this religious faith shall enjoy in them all the privileges granted to Protestants.

"2*d*, That a site for a Catholic church be given by the government of Honolulu—a port frequented by the French—and that this church be ministered by priests of their nation.

"3*d*, That all Catholics imprisoned on account of religion since the last persecutions extended to the French missionaries, be immediately set at liberty.

"4*th*, That the King of the Sandwich Islands deposit in the hands of the captain of *L'Artémise* the sum of 20,000 dollars, as a guarantee of his future conduct towards France; which sum

against the powerless." As well might a robber talk to a man whom he was robbing, of his *honour* and his *honesty*. He speaks of the chiefs as deceived by the "*excessive indulgence* which the French government had extended towards them for several years"—a favour of which, we dare say, they, as well as everybody else, were utterly ignorant, and which did not exist, even in his own imagination, or that of his employers. He says:—"To persecute the Catholic religion, to tarnish it with the name of idolatry, and to expel, under this absurd pretext, the French from the Archipelago, was to offer an insult to France, and to its sovereign." And so Louis Philippe had become a knight-errant in behalf of the Papacy, and sent to the ends of the earth to vindicate its honour! Why did he not begin in France itself, over which he then reigned? He knew there were in her millions of Protestants and infidels, who also believed and called the Papacy idolatry. Why did he not send his fleets to England and Holland, and the other Protestant states of Europe, and call them to account for offering in the same way an "insult to France, and to its sovereign"? "It is, without doubt," he continues, "the formal intention of France that the King of the Sandwich Islands be powerful, independent of every foreign power, which he considers his ally." No doubt of this, forsooth; though, in the very act of using these words, he was seeking to weaken his power, and to crush his independence. "But," adds he, "she also demands that he conform to the usages of civilised nations. Now, among the latter, there is *not even one* which does not permit in its territory *the free toleration of all religions*." M. La Place had never, of course, heard of Austria or Spain or Italy; or perhaps he did not rank them among civilised countries. "Such a state of things" (denial of liberty of public worship) "is contrary to the law of nations." He afterwards expresses his hope that the king will "hasten to subscribe to the conditions proposed to him," and thus imitate the laudable example which the Queen of Tahiti has given, in permitting the free toleration of the Catholic religion in her dominions," though he knew full well, that whatever the Queen of Tahiti had done, could not be held to be her voluntary act, but was forced on her by himself, as it were, at the cannon mouth.—*Miss. Her.* vol. xxxvi. p. 95.—Wilks's *Tahiti*, p. 94. To set up her example for the king's imitation was, therefore, a pure and base artifice; and yet, we doubt not, M. la Place passed for an honourable man.

the government will restore to him when it shall consider that the accompanying treaty will be faithfully complied with."

Unless these conditions were complied with, he threatened to commence hostilities immediately; and the harbour was declared in a state of blockade. The king was then absent; a vessel was therefore sent to the island of Maui with despatches, requesting his presence at Honolulu; but as he did not arrive within the time originally fixed for the commencement of hostilities, Ke-kuanaoa, the governor of Oahu, delivered the sum of 20,000 dollars on board *L'Artémise*, and also the treaty, signed by the governess Ke-kauluohi and himself, on behalf of their sovereign. The king having afterwards arrived, another treaty, falsely called a treaty of commerce and amity, was brought to him at five o'clock on Tuesday afternoon; and he was told that if it were not signed by breakfast time next morning, such a representation would be made to the French government, that they would send a larger force, and take possession of the island. He requested time to advise with his chiefs; but reasonable as was this request, the threat was repeated; and he, fearing the consequences, signed it; and in doing so, virtually signed away much of his power and authority as a sovereign, and opened the way for any fresh demands and aggressions, however unjust and oppressive they might be, provided there was sufficient force to back them. Among the articles of this treaty were the two following:—

"No Frenchman, accused of any crime whatever, shall be tried except by a jury composed of foreign residents, *proposed by the French consul*, and approved of by the government of the Sandwich Islands.

"French merchandises, or those known to be French produce, and particularly wines and brandies, *cannot be prohibited*, and shall not pay an import duty higher than five per cent *ad valorem*."[1]

By the former article, any Frenchman, including Romish priests, for whose sakes chiefly it was perhaps introduced, might act as they pleased, set the laws and authorities at defiance, and even engage in plots against the government, or act as the tools and intriguers of France, without check or hindrance from the fear of being brought to punishment.

By the latter article, the admission of certain alcoholic liquors

[1] Hawaiian Spect. 1839, in Miss. Her. vol. xxxvi. p. 95.

was *forced* upon the government, which, as we shall afterwards see, had for many years been seeking to stop the use of them by the natives, on account of the injurious moral effects which they produced. This could scarcely have been done for the sake of any national advantage which it could be to France, considering how small comparatively could be the consumption of these articles in the Sandwich Islands; but the morals of the nation were, in this instance, to be sacrificed for the sake of profit to individuals among the foreigners; and perhaps too, it was thought, that if the king and the chiefs could be inspired with the love of drink, they might be rendered more subservient to their purposes.

Such is an example of "the noble and liberal system pursued by France toward the powerless;" but, as might easily have been foreseen, things did not stop here.

In August 1842, the *Embuscade*, a French sloop of war, commanded by Captain Mallet, arrived at Honolulu, and made heavy complaints to the king of the infringement of the treaties entered into with Captain la Place; particularly of French citizens and members of the Catholic religion having been insulted, and subjected to various unjust measures, concerning which his majesty had probably not been informed; that subordinate agents, ignorant or ill-disposed, had, without any special order from government, thrown down churches, threatened the priests, and compelled their disciples to attend Protestant places of worship and Protestant schools; that to effect this, they had pursued a course repulsive to humanity, notwithstanding the late treaty granted the free exercise of the Catholic religion, and equal protection to its ministers. Under the pretext of obtaining such measures as would protect the adherents of the Catholic faith from all future vexations, he made a variety of demands, most of which were in no way warranted by the La Place treaties, and several of which were contrary to the laws of the country.[1]

It may here be mentioned that the priests were so far from having any sympathy due to them on account of ill-treatment, that they occasioned the rulers more trouble and vexation than all other causes put together. They enjoyed perfect toleration in the discharge of their functions; but their political principles were subversive of all government which was not subservient to

[1] Miss. Her. vol. xxxix. p. 128.

their interests; and they frequently set themselves in opposition to the laws of the country. They seemed to delight in clashing with the officers of government; their party was a refuge for all natives who became disaffected to the rulers or the laws; and they boasted that France would protect them. Many of their people were insolent, and ripe for rebellion, and all that was wanting was the presence of a foreign power to lead them on. Of this the rulers were well aware, and it was a source of great perplexity to them.[1]

In February 1843, a captain of the British navy, Lord George Paulet, of her Majesty's ship *Carysfort*, arrived at the Sandwich Islands, and there enacted deeds of violence and oppression similar to those of the French in these and other islands of the Pacific Ocean. After a correspondence with the Hawaiian government, couched in a style of insolence which he would not have dared to employ toward a power capable of resisting him, he made various demands on the king in reference to certain alleged grievances and complaints of some British subjects, and to the future treatment of British subjects, and threatened to attack the town of Honolulu the following day should these demands not be complied with. In consequence of the application of *cannon* law, the king wrote to his lordship, that though some of the demands which he made were of a nature seriously calculated to embarrass his feeble government by contravening the laws which had been established for the benefit of all, yet they would comply with his demands; but that it must be under protest, and that they would represent the whole case to her Britannic Majesty's government, trusting that by it they would be justified.

Lord George Paulet now required the king to receive himself and her Britannic Majesty's representatives on the following Monday. Of what took place at their meeting we have no account; but four days thereafter, the king issued a declaration, in which he says,—"In consequence of the difficulties in which we find ourselves involved, and our opinion of the impossibility of complying with the demands of her Britannic Majesty's representatives in reference to the claims of British subjects in the

[1] Miss. Her. vol. xxxvii, p. 359; vol. xxxix. p. 131; vol. xl. pp. 47, 190; vol. xlii. p. 281.

manner in which they are made upon us, we do hereby cede the group of islands known as the Hawaiian Islands, unto the Right Honourable Lord George Paulet, representing her Majesty Victoria, Queen of Great Britain and Ireland;" the said cession being made with the reservation that it was subject to any arrangement that may have been, or that may yet be, entered into with the government of her Britannic Majesty. It is scarcely necessary to state that this was not a voluntary act on the part of the king: he found it was vain to resist, and was consequently forced to submit. When the last act, the signature of the papers, was to be performed, an affecting scene occurred. The chiefs sat silent for a season, struggling to suppress the emotions of their heaving breasts. One proposed prayer; they all kneeled down and prayed, and after the prayer was closed, they all remained kneeling for several minutes. After they rose, Ka-meha-meha (the king) and Ka-kauluahi (the premier) stepped forward, and with aching hearts signed the declaration ceding away their country to the Queen of England.

In a proclamation issued the same day, Lord George Paulet declared, that until the receipt of a communication from the British government, the government of the islands should be executed by the king and chiefs, and the officers employed by them, so far as regarded the native population, and by a commission consisting of the king, or a deputy appointed by him, Lord George Paulet, Duncan Forbes Mackay, Esq., and Lieutenant Frere, R.N., in all that concerns relations with other powers; and he further declared, "that the laws at present existing, or which shall be made at the ensuing council of the king and chiefs, after being communicated to the commission, shall be in full force so far as natives are concerned; and shall form the basis of the administration of justice by the commission, in matters between foreigners resident on these islands." But the commission proceeded to pass many acts in direct contravention of Lord George Paulet's declaration, and among other things, they virtually abrogated one of the existing laws of the islands, by forbidding the imprisonment of persons found guilty of fornication, except in certain cases not specified in the laws. Against these illegal acts of the commission, Dr Judd, the representative of the king, entered his solemn protest, and resigned

his seat in it; as he saw that the terms of the compact with the Hawaiian government would not in future be respected by the British commissioners, Lord George Paulet and his lieutenant John Frere, thereby withdrawing his Majesty Ka-meha-meha from all responsibility in regard to its councils and doings.

Having issued a proclamation approving of the protest and resignation of Dr Judd, his representative in the commission, and protesting in his own name against its proceedings, the king withdrew from the islands, and regardless of repeated solicitations addressed to him for the purpose of inducing him to return, enforced, it is said, by threats of bringing him in irons should he refuse to comply, he persisted in remaining absent till the arrival of the United States' frigate *Constellation*, when he visited Honolulu, and immediately entered into communications with Commodore Kearney, who in like manner issued a protest against the whole proceedings, as involving the interests of subjects of the United States.

Five days after the return of the king, Rear-Admiral Thomas, commander-in-chief of the British naval force in the Pacific Ocean, and consequently the official superior of Lord George Paulet, arrived at Honolulu. Immediately on receiving intelligence of the usurpation of that officer, the admiral, without waiting for instructions from England, sailed for the Sandwich Islands, and on inquiring into the circumstances of the case, he resolved to atone without delay for the tyranny and indignity exercised by Lord George Paulet toward the king and his people; and he accordingly proceeded to a formal restoration of Ka-meha-meha to the sovereignty of the Sandwich Islands. The British commission ceased; the English flag was taken down; the Hawaiian banners were again waving over the islands; the laws and institutions of the country were re-established; and a jubilee of ten days was ordered to be celebrated throughout the islands. Things again returned to their former course, and the excesses consequent upon the prostration of law were restrained; but it would take a long time to repair the evils which a few months of unrestricted indulgence had brought upon portions of the community. We rejoice that Admiral Thomas vindicated the honour of the British name, by thus immediately restoring the government of these islands to their rightful sovereign. His

whole conduct, indeed, appears to have been worthy of the highest praise. Whether Lord George Paulet was ever called to account for his conduct by her Majesty's government, we do not know; but officers in the British service should be taught that, if they will dishonour their sovereign and their country by outraging the rights of independent though helpless princes, or by other acts of violence and oppression, their sovereign and their country will not submit to have their honour stained by them; that their unrighteous deeds will not be allowed to pass with impunity.[1]

Meanwhile the Hawaiian government, with the view of protecting itself against the unjust and oppressive acts of foreign powers, had sent commissioners[2] to the United States of America, and to England, France, and Belgium, to obtain from them an acknowledgment of the independence of the Sandwich Islands. This having been granted by all these countries,[3] it was hoped that such arrogant and unrighteous demands as had of late years been

[1] Miss. Her. vol. xxxix. p. 291; vol. xl. pp. 20, 187, 189.

The proceedings of Lord George Paulet weakened the power of the Hawaiian government, and induced a spirit of insubordination on the part of multitudes of the natives. They began to imagine that they should no longer be required to pay taxes, and that they might practise any and every vice with impunity. The laws regulating morals were prostrate. Drunkenness and debauchery no longer sought a hiding-place, but were openly and shamelessly practised, and were increasing every day. Many returned to their old heathenish practices, and strenuous efforts were made in some instances to revive the idolatry of their ancestors.

Immediately before the arrival of Admiral Thomas, Lord George Paulet paid a visit in the *Carysfort* to Hilo in the east of Hawaii. He went directly to the prisons, and in spite of the remonstrances of judges, wardens, sheriffs, and others, turned loose a company of infamous men and women to spread pollution through the country. Even months after the restoration of order, it was curious, yet significant, to hear the natives take sides. The vicious would say, "We are Lord George's men;" while the sober and steady class said, "We are the admiral's men." What a compliment to both the one and the other!—*Miss. Her.* vol. xl. pp. 187, 189; vol. xli. p. 363; vol. xlii. p. 148.

[2] Haalilio, a native, and Mr Richards.

[3] In November 1843 the following engagement was entered into between the governments of England and France, and duly ratified:—"Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and his Majesty the King of the French, taking into consideration the existence in the Sandwich Islands of a government capable of providing for the regularity of its relations with foreign nations, have thought it right to engage, reciprocally, to consider the Sandwich Islands as an independent state, and never to take possession, neither directly nor under the title of protectorate, nor under any other form, of the territory of which they are composed."—*Miss. Her.* vol. xlvi. pp. 61, 65. How the spirit of this engagement was observed by France is yet to be seen.

repeatedly made on the Hawaiian government would not be again renewed; but this, though a natural, proved a vain expectation.

In August 1849, Admiral de Tromelin arrived at Honolulu, with two ships of war under his command, to enforce the demands of the French consul, M. Dillon, in regard to the duties on spirituous liquors, and a variety of other measures. The Hawaiian government, conscious of having right and justice on its side, had refused to accede to the consul's demands, notwithstanding his threats and vexatious proceedings; but it had, several months before, sent a special commission to the United States, and to England and France, with a view to the settlement of these matters. But the admiral and consul had no disposition to wait for the resolution even of their own government; they presented to the Hawaiian government a series of demands on a variety of points, commercial, civil, and religious, and required a categorical answer to them, accompanying them with serious threatenings should they not be acceded to. The demands were generally unreasonable; many of them related to trivial matters. Some of them, as usual, regarded the power and position of the Romish priests; but all of them, except the first, which merely referred to the fulfilment of a treaty that had never been called in question, trenched on the independence or authority of the Hawaiian government, and if yielded to, would have had the effect of laying it open to fresh aggressions. The Minister of Foreign Relations in reply refused, on behalf of the government, to grant one and all of them, with the exception of that now referred to, and shewed the unreasonableness of them in a way that would have done credit to any civilised country. He proposed, however, in case the reference made to France should not be satisfactory, to refer all matters in dispute to the friendly mediation and adjustment of some neutral power, by whose award the king and government would engage to abide. He then concluded as follows:—"With this answer and proposition, solemnly conveyed to you in the king's name, it will be for the admiral and consul of France to answer to their own government, to their own consciences, and to the world, for the use they make of the large force at their disposal. The king has ordered that no resistance whatever shall be made to such force."

Disregarding this representation of the Hawaiian government,

the French admiral took military possession, in the afternoon of the day on which it was made, of the fort of Honolulu, the government offices, and the customhouse, and seized the king's yacht, and other vessels sailing under the Hawaiian flag. The British consul-general and the American consul both protested against the proceedings of the French admiral. Negotiations were renewed; but the Hawaiian government stood firm, and the admiral would yield nothing of any consequence. Meanwhile the dismantling of the fort went on; and after a few days more, the admiral, with M. Dillon and his family on board, sailed for San Francisco, having sent away the king's yacht as a prize the day before. In consequence of the king's strict orders, not an angry look or word was given to any French officer, sailor, or marine during the military operations of landing, taking possession of, occupying, and dismantling the fort, the destruction of arms and powder, the posting up of proclamations, and the final retirement on board. It was supposed that the injury done to the property of the government, including the value of the yacht, amounted to about one hundred thousand dollars. In the days of heathenism such aggressions would probably have roused in the natives the spirit of revenge, and the lives of many on both sides might have been sacrificed in the combat which it is likely would have ensued.[1]

Temperance.

Long previous to the arrival of the missionaries, intemperance had prevailed to a great extent in the Sandwich Islands; but after Christianity began to prevail in the country, the chiefs made very commendable efforts at different periods to restrain the evil. In these efforts they received encouragement and support from some of the foreign residents and captains of vessels, as well as from the missionaries; but from others they met with strong and unceasing opposition to the measures they employed for checking the sale and use of spirituous liquors. Foreigners still claimed the privilege of distilling and selling ardent spirits, and natives were to some extent carried away by their influence

[1] Rep. Board For. Miss. 1843, p. 159.—Ibid. 1844, p. 211.—Ibid. 1850, p. 210. —Miss. Her. vol. xxxix. p. 90; vol. xlvi. p. 61.

and example. It was at once interesting and painful to witness the struggle which was carried on for many years between the chiefs of the islands on the one hand, and the foreigners on the other; the former just emerging from a state of heathenism and barbarism, the latter representing England, France, and America, countries which, of all others, lay high claims to liberty, civilisation, and religion. There was at times a relaxation of the laws on the subject; some of the chiefs themselves fell into the snare, but yet they returned to the conflict, and they appear at times to have gained to a great extent their object. The La Place treaty, however, by which "wines and brandies could not be prohibited, and should not pay a higher duty than five per cent. *ad valorem*," was followed by a large importation and sale of these articles by the French consul and others. The quiet town of Honolulu, in the island of Oahu, which was the seat of government, and the chief place of trade in the islands, now became the resort of the vicious, and a scene of revelry and noise never before surpassed. The example set at the capital spread to other parts of the island. The people began to manufacture intoxicating drinks from various saccharine vegetables, which the island produces in great abundance; and even in remote places they gave themselves up to drunkenness and revelry. The class of persons most seriously injured by this relaxation of the law were the chiefs and those connected with them. Some even of the highest rank were at times utterly unfit for business for several days together. Many members of the church were drawn into the vortex; the congregations dwindled; and with the introduction of intoxicating drinks, other kindred vices of heathenism were revived. The whole circumstances furnished sad evidence of the truth, that reformed drunkards cannot easily resist the temptation to return to their cups when the intoxicating draught is again presented to their lips.

In October 1840, when the evil was at its height, the king came on a visit from Maui to Oahu, and the state of matters having been represented to him, he, supported by Commodore Wilkes, his officers, and the American consul, published a law prohibiting his subjects from making and using intoxicating drinks. He himself took the temperance pledge of total abstinence from all intoxicating drinks. Others of the chiefs did the

same, as did also many of the people, among whom were some of the stoutest veterans in the cause of drunkenness. A national temperance society was formed, of which the king was president, and some of the other chiefs members of committee. After this, he ordered his cellar to be cleared of whatever of the deadly poison it contained. Seven barrels of rum, brandy, gin, &c. were rolled out and returned to the merchant who had furnished them, and who thought it best, on the whole, to take them back. He now looked and acted like a new man; he was prompt and attentive to business, and seemed to take pleasure in it. He frequently addressed temperance meetings, and though not much of an orator, yet, being king, his addresses had a good effect. It was now as much as a native's character was worth to be seen drinking a glass of rum. The inability of the government to prohibit the introduction of spirituous liquors into the country was a hindrance to the success of the temperance cause; but yet the existing laws and regulations tended to confine the use of them within the narrowest possible limits.[1]

Besides labouring to put down intemperance in the Sandwich Islands, the missionaries sought to discountenance the cultivation

[1] Miss. Her. vol. xxviii. pp. 75, 115; vol. xxix. p. 169; vol. xxxi. p. 149; vol. xxxv. p. 146; vol. xxxvii. p. 357; vol. xxxviii. p. 474; vol. xxxix. p. 258; vol. xli. p. 31. —Rep. Board For. Miss. 1831, p. 55.—Ibid. 1837, p. 102.—Ibid. 1843, p. 156.—Ibid. 1848, p. 231.

The article in the La Place treaty relative to spirituous liquors was afterwards altered; but in 1846, the following stipulation was introduced into treaties between the governments of England and France and the Hawaiian government:—"Wines, brandies, and other spirituous liquors," "shall be liable to such reasonable duty as the Hawaiian government may think fit to lay upon them, provided always that the amount of duty shall not be so high as absolutely to prohibit the importation of said articles." The king objected to the stipulation, but he did not dare to refuse his assent to the treaty. He gave his signature, however, under protest, throwing himself "upon the equity, justice, honour, magnanimity, and philanthropy of those two great nations," and expressing his hope that they would take into their favourable consideration this and other objectionable stipulations. Immediately after the treaty was concluded, the Hawaiian government imposed duties on the different kinds of intoxicating drinks, varying according to their strength; but against this scale of duties the representatives (we presume the consuls) of England and France protested, the former objecting to the duties on ale, porter, beer, and cider, and the latter to the duties on spirituous liquors!—*Miss. Her.* vol. xliii. p. 140; vol. xlvi. p. 61. We blush to think that England should have been a party to such a treaty. What title has she, or any other country, to *force* her commodities on another nation in opposition to the will of the government? Is it a principle of her policy that *might* is *right*; that the *strong* may oppress the *weak*; that for the sake of *profit* to her manufacturers and traders she may sacrifice the *morals* and *happiness* of other countries?

and use of tobacco by the natives. This, some may think, was carrying the principle of abstinence to an undue length; but the smoking of tobacco was carried to such an extent by the Hawaiians, men, women, and children, as to be absolutely a vice, and there can be no question that the abandonment of the practice would save them from much evil. It is singular how readily some thousands of them gave it up when its evils were represented to them, though this cost them an effort similar to that required of a tippler to abandon his cups.[1]

Progress of Civil Government and Civilisation.

When the first missionaries arrived in the Sandwich Islands, the will of the king and the chiefs was the only law. The people had no rights that were respected; they could hold no property that might not be taken from them; they had no security even for their lives. A chief, for example, might *tabu* a field of talo or other food at any time, by simply placing a stick of sugar-cane in one corner of it. Hence the people had no inducement to industry, no encouragement to cultivate the ground, or to accumulate property of any kind. The system of government under which they lived was, in every respect, most oppressive; they were ground to the very dust.

The king and chiefs, after some years, made various laws against murder, theft, drunkenness, adultery, gambling, perjury, Sabbath-breaking; but the laws made by them were more, as is usually the case in the infancy of society, with the view of putting down existing evils than of promoting the improvement of the people. Still the rights of the commonalty were not acknowledged or provided for.[2]

The government was often blamed by friends as well as by enemies, by its own subjects as well as by strangers, for the continuance of that system of oppression which had been handed down to them from their ancestors. But here, as well as in more enlightened lands, it was found easier to discover the faults of the old system, than to devise a new and better one which could be

[1] Miss. Her. vol. xxix. pp. 165, 169.

[2] Miss. Her. vol. xxviii. p. 75; vol. xxxi. p. 149; vol. xxxvi. p. 101.

carried successfully into execution. So strongly did the chiefs feel their own incompetence to the task, yet so sensible were they of the importance of the object, that in 1836 they applied to their friends in America to send out a civilian to instruct them in the science of government, in the same way as teachers had been sent to instruct them in the principles of religion; but this application not having been successful, they applied to Mr Richards, one of the missionaries, to become their chaplain, teacher, and interpreter, and engaged to provide for his support. With this request he felt it his duty to comply, and in this he had the decided approbation both of his brethren and of the committee. He wished that his connexion with the Board might continue; but the committee, while their confidence in his judgment, zeal, and devotedness was unabated, wisely judged that he would prosecute his new duties with less embarrassment, and give less occasion of offence to those who desired occasion, by being unconnected with them. In this new office, Mr Richards appears to have been exceedingly useful; he was, a few years afterwards, as we have already mentioned, appointed Minister of Public Instruction, and in this capacity had the superintendence of the whole system of education in the Sandwich Islands. Upon his death, shortly after, Mr Armstrong, another of the missionaries, was appointed his successor. Dr Judd, a medical missionary, also entered into the service of the Hawaiian government, as interpreter and counsellor; and he also was, in consequence of this, released from his connexion with the Board.[1]

In June 1839, the king and chiefs published a body of laws with a view to the better government of the islands, and the protection of their subjects. As they were purely of native origin, without any foreign help, it is not wonderful though they were in many respects injudicious and defective; yet, whatever might be their imperfections, they were a material improvement on the previous state of things. The people were now under law, and were protected in their rights. They were secured in their property and in the fruits of their labours. Neither king nor chiefs might take what was not their own; all, from the highest to the lowest ranks, enjoyed equal protection under one and the same

[1] Miss. Her. vol. xxxvi. p. 101; vol. xxxviii. p. 476; vol. xli. p. 174; vol. xlv. p. 67.—Rep. Board For. Miss. 1839, p. 129.—Ibid. 1843, p. 144.—Ibid. 1848, p. 228.

law. The preamble to these new laws contained an acknowledgment of some of the most important rights of the people equally as those of the chiefs, and they carried on the face of them abundant evidence of a just and honourable design. In the course of a few years the system of laws in the Sandwich Islands was greatly extended and improved; their institutions generally were becoming, in a remarkable degree, conformed to the usages of civilized communities. A legislature was constituted on the model of that of England, consisting of a house of nobles, mostly hereditary, and of a house of representatives chosen by the people. The general influence of the rulers and the government was decidedly favourable to education, to good morals, and to the Christian religion. The hindrances to the steady execution of the laws for suppressing vice, and carrying into effect the school system, arose chiefly out of the evil influence of the Papists, and of a portion of the other foreign residents, rather than from a want of good intention on the part of the rulers, or the indisposition of the people to obey them. Great praise is due to the high chiefs of the nation for yielding to the people rights similar to those enjoyed under the most liberal governments.[1]

[1] Miss. Her. vol. xxxvi. p. 101; vol. xlv. p. 23.—Rep. Board For. Miss. 1845, p. 185. —Ibid. 1852, p. 137.—Cal. Christ. Obser. vol. xv. p. 813.

The following account of the meeting of the legislature must appear very remarkable, when we take into account the condition of the Sandwich Islands only twenty-five years before, when the first missionaries landed upon them :—" The legislative council of the Sandwich Islands, consisting of a house of nobles and a house of representatives, convened on the 20th May (1845?). This native parliament appears to have been organized after the English forms, with the usual ceremonies, a throne, seats for the ministers of state, foreign consuls, nobles, representatives, clergy, commanders of vessels of war, &c. The king was dressed in a new military suit, and the queen in a figured straw-coloured silk dress, bonnet of the same colour, with white ostrich feathers. The fort announced his majesty's entrance into the legislative hall by a national salute of twenty-one guns. The foreign vessels of war responded with the same number of guns. When their majesties had ascended the throne, the Rev. Mr Richards offered up prayer, which being ended, the king ordered the assembly to be seated, and then read the following speech :—

" ' Nobles and representatives of the people—

" ' We have called you together to deliberate on matters connected with the good of our kingdom. In the exercise of our prerogatives we have appointed Gerrit P. Judd, Esq., to be our minister for the interior affairs of our kingdom; Robert C. Wylie, Esq., to be our minister for foreign relations; and John Ricord, Esq., to be our law adviser in all matters relating to the administration of justice. We have ordered our ministers to lay before you reports of their several departments.

" ' The independence of our kingdom has been most explicitly recognized by the United States, Great Britain, France, and Belgium. From each of these powers we have received the most friendly assurances.

To this may be adduced the following testimony by Mr Lee, the chief justice of the islands, as to the protection afforded to persons and property :—"It is our duty," he says in a report to the government, "to add the universal remark, that in no part of the world are life and property more safe than in these islands. Murders, robberies, and the higher class of felonies, are quite unknown here, and in city and country, we retire to our sleep, conscious of the most entire security. The stranger may travel from one end of the group to the other, over mountains, and through woods, sleeping in grass huts, unarmed, alone and unprotected, with any amount of treasure on his person, and, with a tithe of the vigilance required in older and more civilized countries, go unrobbed of a penny and unburdened of a hair." "Where,"

"'It is our wish to cultivate the relations of peace and friendship with all nations, and to treat the subjects of all with equal justice.

"'With this view we recommend to your consideration the better organization of your courts of justice, the division of powers, and a careful revisal of the laws.

"'The laws regulating licences, the tenure of lands, the registration of vessels, the harbour regulations, the duties, the fines for the punishment and correction of offences, the laws for the collection of debts and taxes, generally deserve your attention.

"'Our minister for the interior will lay before you the estimate of the expenses required for the ensuing year, for which it is incumbent on you to provide, with a due regard to economy and the means of the people.

"'It is our desire that you take measures to ascertain whether the number of our people be diminishing or increasing; and that you devise means for augmenting the comforts and the happiness of the people of our islands.

"'We consider it the first of our duties to protect religion and promote good morals and general education. It will therefore be your duty to consider by what means these blessings can be best promoted and extended among the people of these islands, and also among the foreigners resident in our dominions. We are well aware that the Word of God is the corner-stone of our kingdom. Through its influence we have been introduced into the family of the independent nations of the earth. It shall, therefore, be our constant endeavour to govern our subjects in the fear of the Lord, to temper justice with mercy in the punishment of crime, and to reward industry and virtue.

"'The Almighty Ruler of nations has dealt kindly with us in our troubles in restoring our kingdom, together with special guarantees for its existence as an independent nation. May He also aid you in your deliberations, and may He grant his special protection to us, to you, and to our people.'

"On the next day, May 21, both houses replied to the king's address, concluding with 'God preserve the king!' The ministers presented their reports and estimates on the same day, and the ordinary business of the session commenced.

"The 31st of July was to be observed as a day of thanksgiving for the Divine favour towards the islands."—*New York Observer* in *Cal. Christ. Obser.* vol. xv. p. 813.

The statute laws organizing the general government and courts of justice, the criminal code, and reported trials in the courts, printed in the English language, make five octavo volumes in the library of the American Board.—*Rep. Board For. Miss.* 1853, p. 143.

he justly asks, "does the world afford a parallel of equal security?"[1]

We formerly stated that the hereditary chiefs of the Sandwich Islands were a higher order of men than the common people, both in their physical structure and in the character of their minds; but among the changes which are going on in Hawaii, it is not the least remarkable that the old chiefs were no longer the governors. All the principal officers in that island were taken from among the common people, particularly from those who had been educated in the seminary at Lahainaluna. It was a new thing in Hawaii to have the governor and the principal officers under him selected from the common people; and it was hoped that many benefits might flow from this new order of things. The common people had now before them a striking proof of the advantages of education in connexion with good moral character. Chiefs were no longer to be rulers as a matter of course. Persons to be rulers must possess the necessary qualifications; and parents began to see the importance of having their children duly educated, as education might open up to them the first offices in the state.[2]

The Christianization of the Sandwich Islands, it is matter of notoriety, has outstripped their civilization. Even book-knowledge is in advance of almost everything connected with the arts of civilized life. There were many whose knowledge of reading, writing, geography, book-keeping, history, and theology, is quite creditable; but a good mechanic or tradesman was not yet to be found among them. Many could do some mason, blacksmith, carpenter, cabinet, and shoemaker's work, but there was not one who could produce a first or even a second-rate article. Hard labour, daily care, regular habits, are what a Hawaiian dislikes. To live with the least possible amount of work, is what he likes. If a horse or a bullock is to be caught, many with *lasso* in hand are ready to take the job; and from a quarter to half a dollar an hour, is often the pay demanded for such a piece of service.[3]

But yet, the people have of late years been making greater progress than ever before, as regards the arts and comforts of

[1] Rep. Board For. Miss. 1853, p. 143. [2] Miss. Her. vol. xlv. p. 73.
[3] Miss. Her. vol. xlvi. p. 403.

civilized life, especially at those points where Christianity and commerce exerted their combined and direct influence, though a certain amount of improvement might be seen in even the most remote parts of the islands, and among the obscurest portion of the population. Many were purchasing land as their personal property, erecting neat and durable houses for themselves, providing useful articles of furniture, as tables, chairs, bedsteads, chests, writing-desks, and stationery, cutlery, hardware, glass and earthenware, including a variety of culinary and domestic utensils. Some had even clocks, and began to understand the value of time. Their scanty native coverings were disappearing; a man or woman in the ancient costume was seldom to be seen; in their dress and manners they were gradually conforming to the practice of Europeans. Many, both males and females, were dressed in articles of English manufacture, some of them even according to the latest fashions. On the Sabbath, one would discover no very wide difference between a Hawaiian and an American congregation. They were also providing themselves with the more necessary implements and tools for working with. Some were beginning to keep horses, oxen, cows, sheep, goats, and to make use of milk in their families, a very recent improvement. Others were cultivating various kinds of grain and vegetables. The numerous ships which touched yearly at these islands for supplies, bore witness to their agricultural improvements. The erection of fences, the making of new and repairing of old roads, the employment of carts and cattle in carrying burdens instead of doing it themselves, families subscribing for the native newspaper and paying for it, were further indications of progress. Their new wants were rendering them more industrious, and as a result of this they were improving fast in their temporal condition.[1]

[1] The following statement of the commercial statistics of the Sandwich Islands for 1849, which appeared in the *Times* newspaper, furnishes further gratifying proof of the advances they are making:—"The gross value of imports was 729,739 dollars, and the nett receipts at the customhouse 71,943 dollars, being an increase of more than 20 per cent. These imports were chiefly from the United States, California, Great Britain, China, and Chili. The amount of domestic produce exported was 190,000 dollars. The number of whale-ships that entered the ports was 274, of which 261 were American; and the number of merchant ships furnished with supplies was 148. Of 13 ships of war that entered, 7 were American, 3 British, 2 French, and 1 Russian. During the past year the demand for the produce of the islands was beyond what could be sup-

There was, however, a strong disposition among some of them to indulge in extravagance of dress, and to purchase articles which ministered more to their vanity and love of display, than to their health, morals, or even real comfort. In many cases this became quite a passion. They would neglect their children, leave them without suitable food or clothing, and live in the meanest huts, while their little all was spent in buying riding horses, costly apparel to adorn their persons, or other artificial ornaments.

Still, however, the people were poor; most of them very poor. All we mean to state is, that in their temporal condition they had improved more rapidly, and to a greater extent than the most sanguine mind could have anticipated; but yet their poverty and degradation were still very great, and there was ample room for other and still greater improvements.[1]

When the first missionaries arrived on the islands, marriage, considered as involving solemn and lasting ties, was unknown. A man might have as many wives as he could feed, and he might turn them away when he chose. A woman might also have as many husbands as she wished, and she could turn them off and take others at pleasure, or they might leave her if they chose. Polygamy was one of the characteristics of that age. The king had five wives, one of them the widow, and two of them the daughters, of his deceased father. Parental affection was rarely seen, and filial affection was still more rare. No obligation was felt on the part of parents to take care of their children, or on the part of children to obey their parents; and children were often destroyed before or after birth, to save the trouble of providing and caring for them.

plied, and many vessels were obliged to sail without being able to complete their cargoes."

The following statement we also extract from the *Times*:—"At a large public meeting the contemplated Royal Hawaiian Agricultural Society was organized, and resolutions were adopted, recommending improvements of the public roads, the extension of inter-island navigation by steam vessels, the annual distribution of premiums for the promotion of agriculture, the employment of a competent person to undertake a geological and agricultural survey of the islands, and the establishment of a public nursery for plants and fruit trees."

[1] Miss. Her. vol. xxx. p. 371; vol. xli. pp. 79, 86, 159, 362, 366; vol. xlii. p. 184; vol. xliii. pp. 219, 361; vol. xlv. pp. 22, 75, 81, 86; vol. xlvi. pp. 112, 400, 408; vol. xlvii. pp. 335, 397; vol. xlviii. p. 322.

Now, marriage, according to the Christian form, was general throughout the islands; all the natural and domestic relations were respected, and the duties of each were in some measure regulated by good and wholesome laws. Husbands and wives, parents and children, masters and servants, were recognized by the laws of the country, and the neglect of the duties attached to these various relations was punishable by fine, imprisonment, or other disabilities.[1]

Decrease of Population.

It is, however, a melancholy fact that the native population of the Sandwich Islands is in the course of rapid diminution, and there is reason to fear that it will, at no distant period, become extinct, unless this downward course shall be checked by the progress of civilization and the influence of Christianity. When Captain Cook discovered these islands, the population was estimated at about 400,000, and though there can be little question that this was an over-estimate, yet the accounts of the older and more intelligent natives, as well as the indications of a country once extensively cultivated, would go to shew that the population was formerly much greater than it is at present. In 1832, according to a census taken by the school teachers, under the direction of the missionaries, the population was 130,313; and according to another census taken in 1836, it was 108,579. In January 1850, according to a new census of the population taken by order of the government, it was only 84,165. How far these successive enumerations are to be relied on, we do not know; but it appears to be an admitted fact that the population of the Sandwich Islands is rapidly on the decrease. According to this ratio of decrease, should it go on, no long period will be required to effect the extinction of the whole aboriginal population.[2]

[1] Miss. Her. vol. xlv. p. 22.

[2] Haw. Spec. vol i. p. 53.—Dibble, p. 50.—Miss. Her. vol. xlvi. p. 397.

The census of 1850 brought out some remarkable facts as to the native population. The following is the classification of the males and females according to their age :—

	Males.	Females.
Under 18 years,	12,983	10,383
From 18 to 31 years,	7,995	7,752
From 31 to 53 years,	11,018	11,047
Above 53 years,	10,207	9,154

From this it appears that the males exceeded the females by 3867, or nearly one-

Though it is not difficult to point to various causes of depopulation in the Sandwich Islands, such as wars, infanticide, human sacrifices, intemperance, the licentious intercourse of the sexes, the introduction of the venereal disease by Europeans,[1] the great mortality which prevailed among children in infancy, the oppressive character of the government, and the heavy burdens of the people;[2] yet there is still a mystery hangs over the subject. Some of these causes have, since the introduction of Christianity and civilization into the island, been passing away; yet the process of depopulation is still going on. Epidemics sometimes commit fearful ravages in the Sandwich Islands; and these, in consequence of their increased intercourse with other countries, are probably now more frequent than in former times. In 1848 there was a succession of such epidemics: first, measles, which came from Mexico; then hooping-cough, from California; diarrhœa succeeded, and last of all influenza. In the course of eight months, these epidemics, it was conjectured, cut off not less than one-tenth of the inhabitants of the Sandwich Islands, among whom were a large portion of the children born that year.[3]

tenth; that the excess was greatest among the young and the older portion of the population; and that of those under 18 years of age it was no less than 2,600. It further appears that in the preceding year (1849), which, however, was a year of much sickness, the deaths were 4320, and the births 1422, being an excess of 2898 deaths, *i. e.*, the deaths were fully three times more than the births. It also appears that there were 505 blind, or nearly 1 in every 160 of the population, and 249 deaf, or less than one-half the number of blind.—*Miss. Her.* vol. xlvi. p. 397.

[1] Of the ravages of the venereal disease in the Sandwich Islands, we have a fearful picture in the *Hawaiian Spectator*, vol. i. p. 257; but supposing that picture not to be overdrawn, it appears now to have lost much of its original virulence. In 1839, the physicians connected with the mission, in a report relative to the health and disease of the islands, say, "The venereal disease, which probably did once make considerable havoc among this people, seems now to have so far worn itself out, that we seldom see it as recently contracted, except about the harbours, and there not extensively; and very few deaths from it have occurred in our practice. Neither do we perceive that this disease materially retards the increase of population on these islands.—*Rep. Board For. Miss.* 1840, p. 149.

[2] The Sandwich Islanders, like other barbarous tribes, laboured under great disadvantages from want of the means of diminishing, yet facilitating, labour, which are so common among civilized nations. Not only was the tillage of the land carried on wholly by the hand, but all heavy burdens, house-timber, fuel, food, and other articles which in England and America are conveyed from place to place by carts, waggons, horses, or other mechanical means, were carried on their backs. Though they appeared to consider this as a matter of course, yet the consequences of it were seen in the decrepit forms, the broken-down constitutions, and the early graves of multitudes of the common people.—*Haw. Spect.* vol. i. p. 54.

[3] Haw. Spect. vol. i. pp. 54, 60, 262.—Miss. Her. vol. xxv. p. 371; vol. xlv. p. 359; vol. xlvi. 109, 166.– Rep. Board For. Miss. 1845, p. 186.

To these causes of depopulation, we may add, that the Sandwich Islanders, with few exceptions, do not regard, either in health or sickness, the established laws of the Great Creator as to their manner of living. All their habits are wrong. They exercise little forethought, pay no regard to cautions for preserving health, live amidst filth and vermin, wear clothes in dry weather but take them off when it is wet and cold, sleep abroad in the night air, indulge freely in unwholesome food, and have nothing as suitable diet in sickness. When labouring under a raging fever, or suffering from influenza, they even plunge into cold water to allay the heat of their bodies. Indeed, cold water is their main specific for every kind of sickness.[1]

The future destinies of the Sandwich Islanders it is impossible to predict; but there is room for apprehension that they may dwindle away like many of the American Indian tribes, until few or none of them are left, or they become merged in a foreign race. There is now growing up in the Sandwich Islands a new and increasing class, the children of foreigners by Hawaiian mothers, who are a more vigorous and enterprising race than the pure natives, and are perhaps destined to succeed or supersede them, though not for a generation or two to come.[2] This is a painful thought; but a change of race will probably before long take place in many parts of the world. The Anglo-Saxon races, in particular, are spreading themselves everywhere, and from their superior intelligence, vigour, and enterprise, they are likely to supersede the native tribes of many of the countries in which they settle.

In May 1853, the whole number of persons admitted into the church on examination and profession of their faith in Christ, since the commencement of the mission, as then reported, amounted to 38,544; the number admitted the preceding year was 1644, and the whole number of members remaining in regular standing was 22,236.[3] The number of the members who became the subjects of church discipline was a striking feature in the

[1] Miss. Her. vol. xlvi. p. 166. [2] Rep. Board For. Miss. 1848, p. 230.

[3] These returns, however, appear to be incomplete. In May 1851, two years before, the whole number of members admitted on examination, was stated to be 39,201, and the whole number of children baptized was 14,173; while by the returns of 1853, it was 13,387.—*Rep. Board For. Miss.* 1852, p. 130.—See also p. 140.

mission to the Sandwich Islands; yet too unfavourable a conclusion must not be drawn from this circumstance. It should be remembered, that many of them were taken from the lowest depths of ignorance and moral debasement; that habits of sin had become with them a second nature; that they were surrounded by numerous and powerful temptations; that they had very indistinct and often erroneous moral perceptions; that they were without any proper sense of the worth of character, and were not under those other multiplied influences which co-operate so powerfully with the grace of God in restraining converts from sin in Christian lands; and that, as a natural consequence of all this, cases requiring the discipline of the church might be expected to be much more numerous than in countries where these evils are comparatively unknown.[1] These observations will apply very generally to churches gathered from among the heathen, especially if their numbers are considerable; and wherever Scriptural church discipline is faithfully administered, we shall probably find not a few subjected to it.

The congregations on the Sabbath were now much smaller than in the early years of the mission; there were many more of them, but the average attendance was not greater than is common in England or America. The churches were, in general, much more numerous than the congregations. One, that of Hilo, in Hawaii, included upwards of 6000 members scattered over a district of five or six hundred square miles, the travelling from one part of which to another was rendered exceedingly difficult by intervening mountains, precipices, ravines, and rivers. It is plain that both the congregations and the churches needed far more instruction and care than it was possible for the missionaries to bestow; but their lack of service was made up in some degree by native assistants. Though the attempt to raise up a native ministry had to a great extent failed, yet there were several who were ordained as pastors of congregations, and others were licensed as preachers. There was a still greater number, who, though not ordained or licensed, exercised their gifts in preaching, exhorting, and in watching over sections of churches. They were good, pious, evangelical men, and were of great service in carrying on the work in the large, and often widely-

[1] Rep. Board For. Miss. 1853, p. 149.—Miss. Her. vol. xxxvii. p. 195.

scattered congregations; though they were still too deficient in knowledge and discretion, as well as in patience and stability of character, to render it safe to invest them with all the duties and responsibilities of pastors, and to leave them without superintendence and control. It is stated that they failed in government most, and that their intellectual resources were soon exhausted. Besides these, there was a numerous body of deacons, and a still more numerous class denominated fellow-helpers, consisting of persons of both sexes. The women conducted female meetings, and visited among the female portion of the community.[1]

An important change has been effected of late in this mission. The Sandwich Islands were considered as so far evangelized, that it was deemed advisable to put them as far as possible on the same footing as stations of a home missionary society. Arrangements were accordingly made between the Board and the missionaries, by which a number of them are to be supported wholly by the people themselves; others are to be supported partly by them, and partly by the Board, while there are still a few of the agents who continue to derive their support entirely from the Board.

Besides doing much to support the gospel among themselves, the Hawaiians now raise considerable contributions for various Christian and benevolent objects, and they have lately commenced efforts for sending the gospel to other islands of the sea. During the year 1852, the churches in the Sandwich Islands contributed upwards of 24,000 dollars for these various objects.[2]

There are few things which we find more difficult than to form a correct estimate of the religious and moral results of missions. Physical changes, which are perceptible by the senses, it is com-

[1] Miss. Her. vol. xlii. p. 420; vol. xliii. pp. 136, 160; vol. xliv. p. 75; vol. xlv. pp. 19, 79, 85, 87; vol. xlvii. p. 336.—Rep. Board For. Miss. 1845, p. 177.

[2] Rep. Board For. Miss. 1853, pp. 139, 142, 151.

In 1852, three missionaries from America, and two of the natives, proceeded to Micronesia, distant about 2000 miles, and settled on two of the islands, Strong's Island and Ascension Island. This mission, though sent out by the Board, is to be supported in part by the Sandwich Islanders, who contributed to it very liberally. In 1853, a mission consisting entirely of natives was sent by the Hawaiian Missionary Society, which had been lately formed, to one of the Marquesas Islands, and is to be wholly supported by it.—*Miss. Her.* vol. xlviii. pp. 326, 354; vol. xlix. pp. 81, 83, 85, 87, 90. —*Rep. Board For. Miss.* 1853, p. 151.

paratively easy to estimate and to describe; but religious and moral changes, involving as they do the state and movements of the human heart, it is impossible for man to determine and delineate with certainty. This difficulty we have felt, in a very peculiar manner, in regard to the American mission in the Sandwich Islands. In its earlier stages, exceedingly favourable accounts were given of its state and prospects; but after some years, it was found that much which had been taken for gold turned out to be dross. The aspect of the mission was, in fact, from time to time, very changeable; like a summer day in some countries, it was now sunshine, now cloud. Even at the same period it would present different aspects, a bright side and a dark. Much also depended on the point from which it was viewed, whether from the state of heathenism and barbarism previously existing in the Sandwich Islands, or from the state of Christianity and civilization in such countries as England or America. It strikes us, too, that many American missionaries are apt to make strong statements, not, we are persuaded, with the design of giving false or exaggerated views of things, but yet in some degree with this effect. The accounts of the mission in the Sandwich Islands often appear, in fact, scarcely reconcileable with each other. The statements of the good done, it is not easy to reconcile with the statements given at another time, or even at the same time and by the same writer, of the evils still existing among the islanders, and even among the church members. Never perhaps were the homely yet emphatic lines of Ralph Erskine more fully realized than in the Sandwich Island converts:—

> "To good and evil equal bent,
> I'm both a devil and a saint."

But after making all reasonable allowances, we cannot conclude without giving it as our opinion, that the American mission in the Sandwich Islands is one of the most remarkable missions of modern times. We know of no example of a nation raised, in so short a time, from the depths of heathenism and barbarism to such a place in the scale of Christianization and civilization as the Sandwich Islanders have reached. We are quite aware that the mighty change is not to be attributed wholly to the missionaries, particularly as regards their civilization; other causes contri-

buted to this; but while they were the main instruments of their Christianization, even those other causes which promoted their civilization would have had comparatively little effect, had it not been for their presence, labours, and influence. One would have thought that civilized nations would have hailed with wonder and delight the progress made by the savage inhabitants of the Sandwich Islands, and would have rejoiced to nurse and strengthen their infant Christianity and civilization. What, then, are we to think of the government of France, which has never ceased to pursue measures destructive of the new religion and the improved morals of the people, of the power and independence of the government, and, as a consequence, of all the improvements going on in the islands;—and all this with a view to base, selfish, paltry ends? What are we to think of certain representatives of England who pursued a similar mischievous course? Even America is not altogether guiltless on this head, though her representatives did, for the most part, act a righteous and honourable part.

SECT. VI.—NORTH AMERICA.

ART. I.—CHEROKEE COUNTRY.

1.—*East of the Mississippi.*

In 1817, the Rev. Cyrus Kingsbury, and Messrs Hall and Williams, settled in the district of Chickamaugah, in the Cherokee country, with the view of forming an establishment for promoting among the Indians the arts and habits of civilized life, as well as the knowledge of Christianity.

In the preceding year, Mr Kingsbury, when on his way to the Cherokee country, with the view of making preparations for the establishment of the mission, passed through Washington, in pursuance of his instructions, communicated the design of the Board to the heads of departments, and solicited their patronage. They gave him a favourable hearing, expressed their decided approbation of the design, and their disposition to render it every facility and aid which the laws would permit. The Secretary at War, by order of the President of the United States, informed him

that, in the first instance, the agent for Indian affairs would be directed to erect a comfortable school-house, and another house for the teacher and the scholars who may board with him, in such part of the nation as may be selected for the purpose, and also to furnish certain agricultural implements, with the view of introducing the art of husbandry among the pupils; that whenever he was informed that female children were received into the school, and that a female teacher was engaged capable of teaching them to spin, weave, and sew, he would furnish a loom and spining-wheels, and pairs of cards, for their use; and that he would be directed, from time to time, to cause other school-houses to be erected, as they should become necessary, and as the prospects of ultimate success should justify the expenditure. The government subsequently gave the Board assurances of similar aid in establishing missions among the Choctaws, Chickasaws, and Creeks, and expressed a particular desire that the instruction of these four tribes, by far the most numerous within the then limits of the United States, should go on at the same time. The attention of the Board was now specially directed to the establishment of missions among the Indians, and it was prepared to enter into measures for this end with great energy and zeal.

With the view of carrying out these enlarged designs, a plantation was purchased for the purposes of rural and domestic economy; and the missionary settlers in a short time erected upon it a commodious dwelling-house, a school-house, a mill, and some other buildings: they also cultivated the land, and stocked it with the most useful domestic animals. Soon after their arrival, they also began to receive children into their family, to teach them the rudiments of the English language, the principles of Christianity, and the arts of civilized life. The progress of these youths in learning was uncommonly rapid: many of them, as has often been remarked of the Indians, learned faster than an equal number of English children. Besides attending school daily, the children, male and female, had their regular hours of labour; and it may be remarked that they worked much more cheerfully and constantly than could have been expected. They were remarkably mild and gentle in their tempers, and were much less apt to quarrel than an equal number of White children. It is said, indeed, to be a general characteristic of the Cherokees,

that they are of a mild disposition, and not apt to quarrel, except when inflamed by whisky. The whole establishment was conducted with the strictest attention to order; the missionary settlers and their wives had each their appropriate employments; the children also had their time regularly devoted to particular pursuits.[1]

The mission had not, however, been long begun, when a dark cloud threatened to come over it. It had been the intention of the United States government to procure an extended exchange of lands with the Cherokees and other Indian nations residing on the east of the Mississippi, and to remove them into the wilderness of the Arkansas and of the Missouri. The Cherokees being urgently pressed with proposals in reference to this measure, were in great consternation and distress, and a delegation of twelve of their chief men was appointed by the council of the nation to proceed to Washington, to confer with the government relative to it. In the course of the negotiation, a principal argument employed by the Cherokees was, that their removal from their own country—where they had begun to cultivate the land, and had already made considerable progress in the arts of civilization, and where a system of instruction for their general improvement had commenced with the fairest prospect of success—into a boundless wilderness, where everything would invite and impel them to revert to the hunting, wandering, and savage life—would frustrate the desires of the better part of the nation, and destroy the hopes of their benevolent friends, and in effect doom them to extermination. This argument appears to have had weight with the government; and the delegation, instead of finding themselves obliged to sign a virtual surrender of their country, had the satisfaction of putting their signatures to a treaty of a very different description. This treaty, after a cession of lands by the Cherokees, in consideration of a portion of the nation having emigrated to the Arkansas, and having had lands assigned to them in that quarter, secured to them the remainder of their country in perpetuity; and of the ceded lands, an appropriation was made of about 100,000 acres, for a perpetual school fund, to be applied,

[1] Rep. Board For. Miss. 1816, p. 10.—Ibid. 1817, p. 15.—Ibid. 1818, p. 17.—Ibid 1819, p. 32.

under the direction of the President of the United States, to the instruction of the Cherokees on the east side of the Mississippi. This was considered by all who wished well to the American aborigines, as a signally auspicious event. The United States government appeared to be at this time anxious to promote the civilization and improvement of the Indian tribes. Congress shortly afterwards passed an act appropriating 10,000 dollars annually, to be applied, under the direction of the President, to the instruction of the Indian tribes.[1]

In the course of a few years the mission was considerably extended, as will appear from the following table of the principal stations that were established:—

Begun.	Stations.
1817.	Brainerd.
1820.	Carmel.
1820.	Creekpath.
1822.	Hightower.
1823.	Willstown.
1823.	Haweis.
1825.	Candy's Creek.
1827.	New Echota.

With the view of carrying on the various objects of the mission, the Board sent, not only missionaries, but teachers, both male and female, farmers, and mechanics, as blacksmiths and carpenters, among the Cherokees. The missionaries, besides preaching the gospel in their immediate neighbourhood, made extensive tours through the Cherokee country, for the purpose of extending the knowledge of it more widely among the Indians. Besides the boarding-schools, there were village schools established in different parts of the nation, the pupils of which still resided with their parents. The teaching of English to the Cherokees had been a favourite scheme with the Board; but experience shewed that it was a more difficult thing to teach English, even to children, than they had imagined; and though the teaching of it was

[1] Tracy's Memoir of Jeremiah Evarts, Esq., p. 128.—Rep. Board For. Miss. 1819, p. 38.—Ibid. 1820, p. 68.

not given up, yet it was found necessary to teach the Cherokee language more generally in the schools. Considerable dissatisfaction was created in the minds of some of the parents, as well as of the children in the boarding-schools, on account of the labour and restraint, and also the correction, to which they were subjected. Some parents took their children away on this account, and some of the scholars themselves, who, like children in all uncivilized countries, are little under the control of their parents, went away without their permission. The departure of pupils was often at that period of their education when it was of most consequence that they should remain, being then prepared to make more rapid and more important progress than before. This is one of the trials to which those who labour for the benefit of a heathen and uncivilized people are greatly exposed. The girls in the schools received very particular attention in regard to instruction, not only in the ordinary branches of education, but in the common domestic employments of women, it being justly deemed a matter of great importance to prepare them for the future duties of wives and mothers, and for being an example to other females in the nation. Considerable advantages resulted from the farming and other secular labours of the mission, particularly in the way of affording employment to the pupils in the schools, and in furnishing the means of subsistence to the families of the missionaries, and to the children in the boarding-schools.[1]

It was, however, no easy task to carry on the varied and complicated measures necessary for the evangelization, education, and civilization of the Indians; the secular cares and operations of the mission appear to have been, in a peculiar manner, a source of difficulty. To carry on the work of moral and religious instruction —to teach, provide for, and take care of a large number of children who had never before been either taught or governed—to manage farms and workshops and mills—to erect buildings, take journeys, and meet the various exigencies of the mission settlements, required a considerable number of persons, and they of different classes, for the various departments of the work. Now, it is scarcely possible to bring together a number of persons,

[1] Rep. Board For. Miss. 1822, pp. 35, 44, 50.—Ibid. 1823, pp. 69, 75.—Ibid. 1824, pp. 52, 54, 62.—Ibid. 1831, p. 60.—Evarts's Memoir, p. 250.

male and female, from different ranks of life, and of different employments, and to get them to act together harmoniously and efficiently in the prosecution of a common object, even though it should be in different departments of the work, while on terms of perfect equality, and impelled only by the influence of Christian principle. The qualities, both of head and heart, which are necessary for this end, are much more rare than is commonly imagined. In old societies, whether civil or religious, the path in which each individual is to walk is marked out by law and custom, or it is regulated by authority or positive contract, and there are a thousand salutary influences which preserve the peace and harmony of such communities. But it is very different with a missionary body, composed of different ranks and classes, especially if they are located in a wilderness, or are removed to a far distant land. There new circumstances exist, new relations are called into being, and new duties devolve on the members; they are brought into close connexion with each other, and this is apt to give rise to collisions, particularly if they were previously, as is probably the case, strangers and unknown to one another. It would appear that something of this kind occurred among the agents engaged in the mission among the Cherokee Indians, and that other evils arose out of the location of so many persons at the same place, and of their being so much engrossed with secular cares.

After the experience of several years, the Board were led to draw, among others, the following conclusions, which we are persuaded are of much importance in the conduct of missions:—

1. That as the instruction of the heathen in Christian knowledge and true piety is the great object of missions, this end should be held continually in view from the very commencement of a mission, and it should never be merged under a mass of secular cares.

2. That the number of missionaries and assistants in one place should be as small as is consistent with the duties of the station.

3. That the secular labours of each station, even the largest, should be as few and simple as possible.

4. That, therefore, it is better that the natives should get mechanics to live among them, unconnected with any missionary

station, than that the attention of missionaries should be distracted by various and complicated labours.[1]

Within the last thirty years the Cherokee Indians had made very considerable advances in civilization. Agriculture was now their chief employment, and their principal means of support. Few or none of them lived by the chase; husbandry was the dependence of almost every family. The ground was uniformly cultivated by means of the plough, and not as formerly, by the hoe only. Towards the end of the 18th century there was scarcely a plough seen in the nation; now there were 2923. They had also 7600 horses, 22,000 cattle, 46,000 swine, 2500 sheep, 172 waggons, 31 grist-mills, 62 blacksmiths' shops, and a number of public roads. Though many still failed in habits of industry, and the more indolent sometimes trespassed upon the hospitality of the more industrious, yet most families provided, by the cultivation of their fields, for the supply of their own wants, and many raised considerable quantities of corn for sale. Suf-

[1] Rep. Board For. Miss. 1824, p. 45.

In reference to differences and other evils among missionaries, we cannot refrain from here giving an extract from a letter written by Mr Evarts, the admirable secretary of the Board, to a missionary among the Indians, in which he enters with great minuteness into the discussion of various perplexing questions that embarrassed the operations of the mission. In the conclusion of the letter, after referring to a want of brotherly love, and of a public spirit, in regard to the common interests of the mission, and to a disposition to blame one another, confessedly prevalent in some missions, he proceeds in the following strain of earnest expostulation:—"The Prudential Committee are appealed to most particularly for a remedy. Now, if the committee were much wiser than they are, how could they apply a remedy to such a case as this, when it is confessed that the parties live in habitual disregard of some of the plainest commands of the New Testament, such as those that require them to 'love one another,' and to be 'of the same mind and of the same judgment;' and when, as is too apparent, each one 'seeks his own good,' and few of them 'the things which are Jesus Christ's'? I do not apply these questions to any but those who have made the most ample confessions. The New Testament is the grand Directory; and where that fails of regulating the lives of missionaries, what can be done?

"One solemn appeal I would desire to make to every individual who reads or hears this letter. It is this:—If every other individual connected with missions should fail in his duty, I charge *you* to see that the souls of these poor Indians be not lost through *your* neglect. If your schools should be relinquished, and your mission-houses abandoned to the owls, and weeds should take undisturbed possession of your fields; if the government should become discouraged, and the enemies of the Red Men should triumph in their hopeless degradation; if the failure of Indian missions should bereave other nations of spiritual knowledge, and the tide of Christian benevolence should experience a most disastrous ebb; if this course of calamity should be seen, to the dismay of Christ's friends, and the exultation of his foes—resolve that *you* will have no share in producing

fering for want of food, it was believed, was as rare as in any part of the civilized world.

The arts of spinning and weaving were generally practised by the Cherokee women. There were in the nation 2488 spinning wheels, and 762 looms. Most of their garments were of their own spinning and weaving, from cotton, the produce of their own fields; though considerable quantities of cotton goods brought into the country were also worn by them, and even silk articles were not uncommon. Numbers of the men were dressed in cloth of foreign manufacture, as English broad cloths; but the greater part wore clothing of cotton, or a mixture of cotton and wool, the manufacture of their wives. Many of the Cherokees were now as well dressed as the Whites around them; the manner of dress of both was for the most part substantially the same. Formerly, young persons felt awkward and ashamed to be seen in the dress of the Whites; now, they felt awkward and ashamed to appear without it. A part of the old people, both men and women, re-

it; that *you* will clear *your* hands of it utterly; that *you* will not spend *your* time in finding fault with others, but in a cheerful and thorough devotion of your strength to *your own work*, in your appropriate sphere of action.

"The plan of missions among the Indians may have defects which we have not yet discovered, and there are some already discovered which do not admit of an immediate remedy; but I am convinced there is no such defect of plan as will excuse from blame in case of an utter failure. A great responsibility rests on those who are in the field—a responsibility from which they cannot escape if they would, and from which they ought not to wish an escape possible. This responsibility consists, not in forming new theories so much as in taking up the cross *daily*, and following Christ in the regeneration. It appears to me that the spirit of a true missionary would prompt to the exclamation—'*Woe is me if the gospel be not preached to these heathen! Woe is me if the souls of these Indians perish! Let me do anything—let me be anything, to subserve this glorious purpose of saving them from ruin!*'"

In another letter, written in 1824, he says—"The concerns of the Indian missions lie with great weight on my mind. Their situation is very critical. I do not apprehend their immediate danger of extinction; but, unless I mistake, they are in great danger of coming far short of our reasonable expectations.

"The question recurs—How shall this danger be averted? Let this question be well pondered. The Lord must build the house, or it will never be built. But how will he build it? In my opinion, he will build it by *an improved character, a more holy and self-denying service* in those whom he employs, in every department of the work. I do not believe a mere alteration of plan will do much. Some improvements suggested by experience may be valuable; but the great improvement to be desired in the Christian public, in the committee, and in missionaries, is *greater love for the souls of the heathen, which will lead to a more active, cheerful, and successful prosecution of the work.*"

It is a weighty saying he has elsewhere—"It is not an easy thing to conduct missions." The weight of these words can be understood only by those who have had much practical experience of the work.—Evarts's *Memoir*, pp. 199, 203, 264.

tained not indeed the original Indian dress, but that nearly which prevailed ten or twenty years before; but when those who were now in the decline of life should pass away, the dress of the Cherokees, it was probable, would scarcely distinguish them from the White people. The improvement in dress had extended even to the children. Formerly, most of the children of both sexes went entirely naked during most of the year. Now, there were few or no families in which they were not habitually clothed. A Cherokee girl especially without decent clothing was rarely seen. There yet remained room for improvement in dress, but that improvement was going on with surprising rapidity.

Except in the arts of spinning and weaving, but little progress had been made by the Cherokees in manufactures. A few, however, were mechanics.

The houses of the Cherokees were of all sorts, from an elegant painted, or brick mansion, down to a very mean log cabin. Of the mass of the people, it may be stated, that they lived in comfortable log houses—generally one, but frequently two storeys high—sometimes of hewn, sometimes of unhewn logs—commonly with a wooden chimney and a floor of puncheons, or what in New England is called slabs, conveniences which were unknown to them in former times.

In the furniture of their houses, perhaps, the mass of the Cherokees suffered more than in almost any other respect, by comparison with their White neighbours. Many of their houses were furnished decently, and a few even elegantly; but they were not generally well furnished; numbers had scarcely any furniture. Improvement in this respect, however, was making rapid progress.

In no respect, perhaps, was the progress of the Cherokees in civilization more evident than in the station assigned to woman. Though there was here room for improvement, yet in general they were allowed to hold their proper place.

Polygamy, which had prevailed to some extent, was becoming rare. It was forbidden by law; but the law, being as yet without any penalty annexed to it, had probably less influence than public opinion, which considered the practice as highly disreputable. A few were still living in a state of polygamy; but almost no one entered into it.

Superstition still bore considerable sway among them; but its influence was rapidly declining. Customs which it was once infamous to violate were fast disappearing. Most of the young men appeared to be entirely ignorant of a large portion of their former superstitions. Ancient traditions were fading from memory, and could scarcely be collected if any one wished to commit them to paper. Conjuring, however, was still practised to a considerable extent by the old, and believed in by the less enlightened among the young.

As to education, the number who could read and write the English language was considerable, though it bore but a small proportion to the whole population. The number who could read their own language was much greater; not less, it was supposed, than a majority of those between childhood and middle age could read it with more or less facility. The progress of education, however, could scarcely be called rapid; but an increasing desire for the education of their children was apparent among them.[1]

The Cherokees had even established among themselves a well organized system of government, consisting of three branches, the Legislative, Executive, and Judicial, with the safeguard of written laws and trial by jury.[2]

To these interesting statements, we have to add the singular fact of the invention of an alphabet for the Cherokee language, syllabical in its form and remarkably easy of acquisition, by a Cherokee of the name of George Guess, a circumstance which was at once a striking indication of the progress of the Cherokee mind, and a powerful instrument of its further improvement. He had seen books, and it was said he had an English spelling-book in his house; but he had no knowledge of any language except the Cherokee. Having, however, become acquainted with the principle of the alphabet, that written marks could be made the symbol of sounds, he conceived the idea that all the syllables in the Cherokee language might be represented by distinct marks or characters. In collecting all the syllables in it which he could remember, he found they amounted to eighty-two, which were afterwards increased to eighty-five. In order to express these, he took the letters of the English alphabet for part of them, par-

[1] Miss. Her. vol. xxiii. p. 116; vol. xxvi. p. 154; vol. xxvii. p. 80.

[2] Miss. Her. vol. xxiv. pp. 193, 390.

ticularly the capitals, though not employing them to express the same sounds as in English; others of our letters he modified, while some appear to have been purely of his own invention. With these symbols he set about writing letters; others of the Indians learned the use of them, and a correspondence was very soon begun between some of the Cherokees east of the Mississippi, and those in the west, at a distance of 500 miles. The invention excited great interest among the Cherokees, and young men would travel great distances to be taught the new alphabet, and on returning to their native villages would teach it to others. So easy was the acquisition that an active Cherokee boy could learn to read his own language in a day, and not more than two or three days were ordinarily required for this purpose. He would not, indeed, at first read fluently; but he would soon do so by practice. Within two or three years after the alphabet was invented, a very large portion of the Cherokees learned to read by means of it, though it was not known that there had been such a thing as a school in which it had been taught; and while as yet there were no printed books in it, there was no part of the nation, it is said, where it was not understood. Mr Worcester, one of the missionaries, gave a decided preference to Guess's alphabet over such an alphabet as the English, even though it were to be constructed on philosophically perfect principles. In respect of simplicity it was greatly superior; and in no language, probably, could the art of reading be acquired with nearly the same facility. For writing, the characters were less adapted in point of form; but it might be hoped they would be so improved as to get over this disadvantage, while they possessed a great advantage in the small number that were required: they were in fact a kind of short hand. The Cherokees became quite enthusiastic in favour of their own alphabet. In their national council they rejected a proposal for substituting the English alphabet; they gave a medal to the inventor of so wonderful a method of writing their language; and in order that the nation might enjoy the full benefit of it, the government ordered at its own expense a fount of types in it, and also a fount of English types, a printing press, and the entire furniture of a printing office. A prospectus was issued for a newspaper, under the title of the *Cherokee Phœnix*, to be printed partly in Cherokee, partly in English; and the proposal

was immediately carried into effect. Elias Boudinot, a Cherokee young man, who had received a good education, was appointed editor, with a salary of 300 dollars. The government also hired a printer to superintend the printing office, to whom they gave 400 dollars a year, and another printer who received 300.

We thus see among the Cherokees the first printing press ever owned and employed by any tribe of Indians in North America; the first effort at writing and printing in characters of their own; the first newspaper printed among them, and for their own special benefit; the first editor of their own nation; the commencement, in short, of an organised system for diffusing useful knowledge among them.[1]

We have entered into these details in regard to the progress of the

[1] Miss. Her. vol. xxii. p. 47; vol. xxiii. pp. 212, 382; vol. xxiv. pp. 162, 331.—Rep. Board For. Miss. 1828, p. 71.

In March 1828, Mr Evarts was introduced at Washington to Graves, John Rogers, James Rogers, Black Fox, and George Guess, who formed part of a delegation from the Arkansas Cherokees to the United States government. "In Guess," says he, "I felt a particular interest. He is very modest in appearance, a man about fifty years old, dressed in the costume of the country; that is, a hunting frock, pantaloons, moccasins, and a handkerchief tied round the head. *The others were dressed as well, and appeared in every respect as well, as members of Congress generally.* The Rogerses speak good English; but Graves, Black Fox, and Guess spoke in Cherokee only. I asked Guess, by David Brown as an interpreter, to tell me what induced him to form an alphabet, and how he proceeded in doing it.

"Guess replied, that he had observed that many things were found out by men and known in the world; but that this knowledge escaped, and was lost for want of some one to preserve it; that he had observed White people write things on paper, and he had seen books, and he knew that what was written down remained and was not forgotten; that he attempted therefore to fix certain marks for sounds; that he thought if he could make things fast on the paper, it would be like catching a wild animal and taming it; that he found great difficulty in proceeding with his alphabet, as he forgot the sounds which he had assigned to marks; that he was much puzzled about a character for the hissing sound; that when this point was settled, he proceeded easily and rapidly; that his alphabet cost him a month's study; and that he afterwards made an alphabet for the pen, that is, for speedy writing, the characters of which he wrote under the corresponding characters of the other. The two alphabets have no great resemblance to each other."—Evarts's *Memoirs*, p. 305.

In an early number of the *Cherokee Phœnix*, there is a curious and more detailed account of the process by which Guess formed his alphabet, but we do not know on what authority it rests:—"Mr Guess," says the writer, "is in appearance and habits a full Cherokee, though his grandfather, on his mother's side, was a White man. He has no knowledge of any language but the Cherokee, consequently in his invention of the alphabet he had to depend entirely on his own native resources." "He at first thought of no way but to make a character for each word. He pursued this plan for about a year, in which time he had made several thousand characters. He was then convinced that the object was not attainable in that way; but he was not discouraged.

Cherokees, because they are the most remarkable example of improvement known among the Indians, and thus afford an interesting passage in the history of the human family, particularly in the New World. After the attainments which the Cherokees had made, there is no reason to question their capability of improvement; and had they been allowed to go on unmolested, there is no ground for doubting that they might yet have attained, in their descendants, as high a stage of civilization as the most civilized nations of the world; and what was realised in the Cherokees, there is every reason to believe might have been effected as to other Indian tribes.[1]

But interesting as was the progress of the Cherokees, a dark cloud now came over their prospects. Though the proposal which

He firmly believed that there was some way in which the Cherokee language could be expressed on paper as well as the English; and after trying several other methods, he at length conceived the idea of dividing the words into parts. He had not proceeded far on this plan before he found, to his great satisfaction, that the same characters would apply in different words, and the number of characters would be comparatively few." "In forming his characters, he made some use of the English letters as he found them in a spelling-book which he had in his possession. After commencing on the last-mentioned plan, I believe he completed his system in about a month."—*Miss. Her.* vol. xxiv. p. 330.

To persons contemplating the formation of a syllabic alphabet for other languages, the following observations by Mr Worcester may not be without their use:—"The applicability of the syllabic method of writing to any particular language may always, as it appears to me, be decided by the answer to a single inquiry, Does every syllable, or nearly every syllable in the language, terminate with a vowel sound? This is true of the Cherokee language. No syllable ends with a consonant." "If the syllables of any language are all open, that is, all end in a vowel sound, then the syllabic method is practicable; if not, it is out of the question." "But here, I may remark, that if I found *most* of the syllables open, the analogy of the Cherokee language would lead me to suspect that the exceptions were only apparent. A White man would not unfrequently write a Cherokee word with a consonant terminating a syllable; but let him get a good Cherokee scholar to divide the word for him distinctly into syllables, and he would find a vowel after the consonant which he had not perceived. Thus the word for the number *seven*, a White man would write *gul-quo-gi*; but a Cherokee would write it *ga-le-quo-gi*, or *ga-lu-quo-gi*, the *e*, or, as a minority would have it, *u*, being scarcely perceptible to an unpractised ear."—*Church Missionary Intelligencer*, vol. iv. pp. 66, 67.

Of late years a syllabic alphabet has been formed by the Rev. James Evans, one of the Methodist missionaries in the Hudson's Bay Company's territory, for the language of the Cree Indians; a fount has been cast of the characters, and a translation of the Gospel of John printed with them.—*Ibid.* vol. iv. p. 68.

[1] Most of the improvements of the Cherokees which we have detailed they had made since 1796, and particularly since 1803.—*Panoplist*, vol. ii. (N. S.) p. 475. They were the result partly of missionary influence, but still more of other causes.—*Miss. Her.* vol. xxvii. pp. 80, 82.

was made some years before to remove them from their ancient seats had been given up at the time by the United States government, it had been evident for several years past that the affairs of the Southern Indians, including the Cherokees, Creeks, Choctaws, and Chickasaws, were drawing to a crisis.

The State of Georgia originally claimed, under a charter from the King of England, the whole country between its present western boundary and the river Mississippi. Large tracts of land in the western part of this territory had been sold under a law of that State. The law was then repealed on pretence of some fraud in its enactment, the records of the State relating to it destroyed, and all titles under it were declared void and null. By this "Yazoo fraud," as it was commonly called, many who had purchased land on the faith of the State were reduced to poverty. Others took legal measures to defend their rights, and, in the end, the Supreme Court of the United States decided that Georgia could not, by repealing her own law, deprive the purchasers of their right to what they had honestly bought, and that their claims were valid against the State. To procure the means of meeting these claims, Georgia ceded to the United States all her right, title, and claim to the jurisdiction and soil of the lands now comprising the States of Alabama and Mississippi. The United States agreed to pay to Georgia the sum of 1,250,000 dollars from the first net proceeds of said lands, as a consideration for the expenses incurred by it in relation to said territory, and also to extinguish at their own expense, for the use of Georgia, as soon as the same could be obtained "peaceably, and on reasonable terms," the Indian title to all lands then occupied by the Indians within the present lands of Georgia. This agreement was usually called the "Compact of 1802," and was "ratified and confirmed" by the legislature of Georgia "in all its parts," and declared "to be binding and conclusive on the said State, her government, and citizens, for ever." In pursuance of this compact, the United States had acquired for Georgia, by several treaties with the Cherokee nation, by far the greater and more valuable part of their lands within the present lands of Georgia. But for several years past, the Cherokees had refused to sell any more of their country, and they had even enacted a law for punishing with death any chief who should attempt to do so. Georgia did not need the

lands, for her population was not more than seven inhabitants to a square mile; but she was afraid, that as the Cherokees were advancing so much in knowledge and civilization, they would soon so understand their own rights and interests that it would become impossible to get them to sell or exchange their country; and the avaricious part of her citizens coveted it, for money could be made by trading in its lands, and some parts of it contained gold mines. It was proposed that the State should take possession of it, divide the whole into small lots, and distribute them among her citizens by lottery. This plan appealed directly to the avarice of every voter, for it promised him the chance of drawing an excellent farm, or perhaps a mine of gold. Scarcely a politician in the State, therefore, dared do otherwise than be in favour of the measure, lest he should lose his place at the next election. The State clamorously urged the General Government to remove the Cherokees, reproached it with bad faith for not having done it sooner, and threatened to take the work into her own hands.[1]

In December 1827, the legislature of Georgia accordingly did proceed to assert the claim of that State to the Cherokee country in a different way, and on different grounds, from any which had been previously attempted. It was now discovered that the Cherokees had no title to their lands, that they were mere tenants-at-will, and that Georgia might take possession of them by force whenever she pleased! A long report containing these doctrines was adopted by both branches of the legislature, approved by the governor, and by him officially communicated to the President of the United States.

In December 1828, the legislature of Georgia, proceeding on these principles, passed an act dividing that part of the Cherokee country which lay within the chartered limits of the State into five portions, and attaching each of these portions to a contiguous county of the State, extending the laws of Georgia over the Whites resident within the limits now mentioned, and declaring, that after the 1st of June 1830, all Indians "residing in said territory, and within any one of the counties aforesaid, shall be liable and subject to such laws and regulations as the legislature may hereafter prescribe." It further declared, "that all laws, usages, and customs, made, established, and in force, in the said

[1] Tracy's Hist. p. 228.

territory by the said Cherokee Indians, be, and the same are hereby, on and after the 1st day of June of 1830, declared null and void;" and "that no Indian, or descendant of Indian, residing within the Creek or Cherokee nations of Indians, shall be deemed a competent witness, or a party to any suit, in any court created by the constitution or laws of the State to which a White man may be a party."

This was injustice and oppression with a witness;—to rob the Indians of their country; to overturn their government and annul their laws; to subject them to laws to be made by their enemies; and yet to place them, in a great measure, beyond the protection of all law!

Such proceedings were not confined to Georgia. After she had passed this iniquitous act, the States of Alabama and Mississippi adopted the same principles, and with a view to the same ends, namely, to make the condition of the Indians in their own country so intolerable, as to compel them to give up their lands, and remove to the west.

Hitherto the Indians had usually found a protector in the General Government, and they had been accustomed to speak of the president as their Father. But General Jackson, who had lately entered upon the office of president, early shewed that he was ready to carry out the views of their enemies. On the passing of the act of Georgia, a deputation of the Cherokees, then in Washington, addressed a remonstrance to him against it; but they were officially informed in reply that Indian nations residing within the chartered limits of any State, were subject to the legislation of that State, and that the president had no power to protect them from it. This was an entirely new doctrine to the Cherokees, and was utterly at variance with the whole intercourse which they had held with the United States government during a period of more than half a century.[1]

The four south-western tribes of Indians, the Cherokees, Creeks, Choctaws, and Chickasaws, now resided upon lands which came down to them from their forefathers through immemorial ages. These lands had never been in the possession of the Whites, nor had the title of the original possessors ever been abandoned by them, or in any way transferred to others. The

[1] Evarts's Memoir, pp. 338, 342.—Tracy's Hist. p. 229.

simple statement of these facts is enough to shew that the law of nations, and the fundamental principles of morality, forbid that these original possessors of the soil should be deprived of their inheritance without their own consent.

Besides, numerous treaties were made between the United States and the Cherokees, by which their national character was acknowledged, and various reciprocal engagements entered into. The Cherokees placed themselves under the protection of the United States, implicitly reserving to themselves all their rights and interests not expressly surrendered. A definite national boundary was fixed; they were left under their own government; an express and solemn guarantee was given them of all their lands not ceded to the United States; and in one treaty this guarantee was declared to be FOR EVER. Among other things, the Cherokees engaged not to form compacts with any foreign power, *with any separate State of the Union,* or with individuals. They agreed that citizens of the United States should have a right of way, but only in one direction, through their country; and that if an Indian should do injury to a citizen of the United States, he should be delivered up to be tried and punished. On the other hand, the United States offered them protection; engaged to punish citizens of the United States who should do any injury to them; abandoned White settlers on Cherokee lands to the discretion of the Cherokees; stipulated that White men should not hunt on their lands, nor even enter their country without a passport. These treaties with the Indians were uniformly ratified with the same solemnity as treaties between the United States and the great powers of Europe; and at the commencement of General Washington's administration, the great principles which were to be adopted in negotiating with the Indians received the deliberate sanction of the senate before they were embodied in treaties with them. Among these principles were an inviolable guarantee, and the free consent of the Indians to terms fairly proposed and fully understood.

Thus the matter stood on the basis of treaties; and with these the laws of the United States were in strict conformity. While intruders into the Cherokee territory were subjected to heavy penalties; and this territory was described in the intercourse laws as not being within the jurisdiction of the United States, or

within the jurisdiction of any territorial district of the United States, and of course not within the jurisdiction of any State. Intruders were repeatedly expelled from the Cherokee territory, in pursuance of treaties and the Intercourse law, by the armed force of the United States, facts which shew undeniably the independence of the Cherokees as a nation, and that no White man had any right to settle on, much less to take possession of, their lands.

In this manner were the United States bound to the Indians; and by the constitution of the national government, whenever the United States were bound as a whole, each State belonging to the Union was bound as a part. It was not denied, even by those who took part against them, that, according to the plain meaning of the treaties with the Cherokees, and of the intercourse law, they were to be protected by the whole power of the United States against the laws of Georgia; and all this was plain, even if Georgia had never consented to these treaties, but had uniformly protested against them. The fact, however, is, that Georgia had in numerous instances approved of the whole system of treating with the Indians, and had bound herself to that system as strongly as it was possible for a community to bind itself by the most solemn acts.

Alabama and Mississippi were equally under such engagements. It was stipulated, in the Compact of 1802, between the United States and Georgia, that whenever the territory between the west line of Georgia and the river Mississippi should be formed into a new State, it should not be admitted into the Union, unless it formally agreed to be received upon the basis of the ordinance of 1787 in all respects, except in regard to the article forbidding slavery. When Mississippi, so late as 1816, and Alabama, in 1819, applied to be admitted into the Union, congress prescribed, among other things, that these States should expressly agree to be received upon that ordinance; and the acts admitting them severally declared that they had expressly agreed to be received on the basis of that ordinance. Now, in that ordinance there is a provision that the States thus admitted should never encroach upon or invade the lands, customs, rights, property, or liberty of the Indians, unless in a just and lawful war, which could of course be declared only by the United States government.

It may here be proper to add, that the right of extinguishing the Indian title to territory, or what was usually called the right of pre-emption, belonged, by the constitution of the United States, to the General Government only. The very Compact of 1802, on which Georgia so much insisted, and which, by a solemn legislative act, she declared to be binding on all her citizens for ever, debarred her from claiming the extinguishment of the title of the Cherokees to their country in any other way than by means of treaties, to be negotiated with them by the United States.[1] These circumstances rendered it necessary, or at least made it be considered as advisable, in the further prosecution of the object in view, to have some regard to constitutional forms.

In May 1830, an act was passed by the Congress of the United States, providing for an exchange of lands with the Indians residing in any of the States, and for their removal west of the Mississippi. It placed in the hands of the executive half a million of dollars, to commence the work of removing them, according to a plan very imperfectly sketched in the act itself, but nowhere else described by the laws of the land, and never before sanctioned by the legislative and executive branches of the government. The words of the act professedly contemplated the voluntary removal of the Indians, but it was perfectly well known that they were utterly opposed to removing, and it was certain they would never remove with their free consent. This was well understood by their enemies, and they could have no hope of effecting their purpose unless by bribery and fraud, by false promises and unmanly threatenings, by oppressive laws and cruel deeds, and similar base and dishonourable means; but they were prepared to stick at nothing by which they might accomplish their base and perfidious ends.[2]

Mr Evarts, the Secretary of the Board, watched the proceedings in reference to the Indians, with the deepest interest, and exerted himself most strenuously in their behalf; he threw his whole soul into their cause. By his writings, by his counsels, by his correspondence, by his influence, he excited considerable interest in their behalf throughout the country, and among the better-principled members of congress. To General Jackson and his party, and the whole tribe of the supporters of Georgia, his ex-

[1] Evarts's Memoir, pp. 333, 360, 434, 445. [2] Ibid. p. 423.

posures of the injustice, the oppression, the baseness, the rapacity, the perfidy, the political depravity of their measures, must have been most galling. Seldom have the oppressed found such a friend; but this able and noble-minded man sunk under his exertions. His health had often been feeble, it now broke down, and after a few months more, he died.[1]

Georgia, finding herself supported by both the Executive government and the Congress of the United States, lost no time in carrying out her unprincipled plans. The Cherokee government was nearly prostrated; their council was forbidden to assemble; their laws declared null and void; their magistrates prohibited, under severe penalties, from enforcing them; intoxicating drinks were introduced without restraint; their country was traversed by armed troops; their property plundered; their persons arrested and imprisoned; their land claimed by others and surveyed, and they themselves threatened with immediate ejectment. The Cherokees bore their wrongs with much more patience and resolution than could have been expected, yet great anxiety and despondency prevailed among them. All enterprise and improvement were for the present at an end. They were careless about enlarging and cultivating their fields, or building themselves more comfortable houses, when they knew not but some of the Georgians might reap the fields which they had sown, and occupy the houses which they had built. Some abandoned themselves to idleness and intemperance. Their uncertainty and insecurity as to the future greatly aggravated their present sufferings. If they could not hold the country which had come down to them from their forefathers, and which had been secured to them by solemn treaties and established laws, where could they hope to obtain a permanent dwelling-place? If they could not trust the pledges already given them, what pledges could they trust? They found themselves to be under the control of a power which they could not resist, and in which they could not confide. Yet, amidst all their distresses they were still firm in their resolution never to abandon their homes, a striking proof of their attachment to their country, and of their unwillingness to exchange it for any other. To meet this state of feeling, Georgia had enacted a law that any Cherokee who should endeavour to prevent the selling of his

[1] Evarts's Memoir, pp. 269, 319, 324, 328, 336, 357, 374, 409, 417.

country, should be imprisoned in her penitentiary not less than four years.[1]

In March 1831, Mr Worcester, missionary at New Echota, Mr Wheeler, the printer of the *Cherokee Phœnix*, and Mr Gann, another White man residing at that place, Mr Thompson, missionary at Hightower, and Mr Proctor, teacher at Carmel, were arrested by a party of the Georgia military guard, and conducted to Laurenceville, a place more than a hundred miles distant, where the court for the county of Gwinnet was then sitting. These arrests were made without a warrant from any magistrate, or any civil precept whatever: the whole proceedings were entirely of a military character. That part of the Cherokee country in which the missionary stations were situated, had been lately declared by the authorities of the State of Georgia to be within its limits and under its jurisdiction, and it was enacted, among other things, by the legislature, that all White persons residing within the limits of the Cherokee nation without a licence from the governor, or such agent as he might appoint, and who should not have taken an oath to support the constitution and laws of the State, and to demean themselves uprightly as citizens thereof, should be punished by confinement in the penitentiary, and employed in hard labour for a term of not less than four years.[2] This law, which was recently enacted, was made, there was ground to believe, with the special view of getting rid of the missionaries under the false idea that they endeavoured to persuade the Cherokees not to leave the country. The fact is they had abstained from all political interference with the Cherokees in the way of counselling or influencing their proceedings; but yet they had, with great propriety, made known to the people of the United States their views of the injustice and cruelty of compelling them either to give up their country and remove to the west of the Mississippi, or to submit to the laws of the State, under which they would in no long time inevitably perish; and they also exposed the false statements which were put forth by their enemies for the purpose

[1] Rep. Board For. Miss. 1831, p. 63.—Miss. Her. vol. xxvii. p. 247.—Evarts's Memoir, p. 444.

[2] This oath was understood as not only *including*, but as *particularly intending*, an obligation to support the jurisdiction of Georgia over the Cherokees; the recognition of this jurisdiction being the immediate design of the requirement.—*Miss. Her.* vol. xxix. p. 183.

of justifying their own iniquitous measures. But this was not the only ground of quarrel with the missionaries. The authorities of the State of Georgia had charged it upon the government of the United States as a violation of the compact with it, that they had encouraged and aided efforts for the instruction and civilization of the Cherokees, inasmuch as the progress of knowledge among them had the effect of attaching them to their country and rendering them unwilling to part with their lands, which the government was conditionally bound to purchase for the benefit of that State! The authorities of Georgia therefore wished to expel the missionaries from the country, because they were employed in communicating instruction to the Indians.

On the missionaries and their fellow-prisoners being brought before the court, which was presided over by Judge Clayton, their counsel applied for a writ of *habeas corpus* on the ground that the new law of Georgia was inconsistent with the constitution of the United States. The judge set aside this defence; but he declared that as Mr Worcester held the office of a postmaster, and as all the missionaries had been employed in expending appropriations of money by the United States for civilizing the Indians, they were in some sense agents of the general government, and that consequently they did not come under the new law, the agents of the United States government being expressly exempted from the operation of the act. He denied the right of the General Government to appoint such agents within the State of Georgia; yet the legislature had shewn so much complaisance to it as to make an exception in their favour. Messrs Worcester, Thompson, and Proctor, were accordingly discharged, while the others who were arrested with them were bound over to the next term of the court.

With this decision the executive government and the legislature of Georgia were dissatisfied. One member of the legislature stated, that so far from its having been their intention to exempt the missionaries from the operation of the law, the very object of it was to compel them to leave the country. It was, therefore, not to be expected that the matter would be allowed to remain where it was. Inquiry was now made at the Secretary of War, whether that department considered the missionaries as its agents; and though he evaded giving a direct answer, he stated circum-

stances from which he intimated a negative conclusion might be drawn. Mr Worcester was also removed from the office of postmaster, so as to destroy the special plea in regard to him. The difficulties in the way of applying to them the laws of Georgia being thus removed, the governor of that State addressed letters to them, intimating, that unless they left the country without delay, they would be again arrested.

The Rev. Mr Worcester and Dr Butler were accordingly arrested shortly after, as were also the Rev. Messrs Trott and M'Leod, two Methodist ministers. It might have been supposed that they would be treated with all the civility and humanity which were compatible with their situation as prisoners; but instead of this, the grossest indignities were heaped upon them. After travelling three or four days, the last of which was the Sabbath, they reached Camp Gilmer, the head-quarters of the Georgia guard; and though it was the day of holy rest, they were marched into it with sound of fife and drum. Here they were thrown into jail; but Mr M'Leod, whose arrest had been incidental, was dismissed two days after, and Messrs Worcester, Butler, and Trott, were, after near a fortnight's imprisonment, liberated, on giving bail for their appearance at the next term of the Superior Court.

Having, according to their engagement, appeared in court at Laurenceville, Mr Worcester and Dr Butler were brought to trial, as were also Mr Trott, the Methodist missionary, and other eight persons, on a similar charge. The jury soon brought in a verdict of *guilty* against them all, and they were sentenced to four years' imprisonment and hard labour in the penitentiary at Milledgeville. On their arrival at the penitentiary, the governor offered to pardon them all on condition that they would not again violate the laws of Georgia; that is, that they would either take the new oath involving an obligation to support the jurisdiction of Georgia over the Cherokees, or leave the country. Mr Trott and the other prisoners promised to comply with this condition, and were released; but Mr Worcester and Dr Butler nobly refused to give any such promise, and were shut up in prison to be treated as felons, associated with felons, and worked as felons for four years, their only crime, as stated in the bill of indictment, consisting in being found where they had been expressly authorized by the

government of the United States to be, quietly prosecuting those labours for the improvement of the Cherokees which they were authorized by it to pursue, and their progress in which they had annually reported to it, and received from it, from time to time, expressions of its approbation, and, till within the last year, its pecuniary aid.

In the penitentiary there were about a hundred other prisoners. Mr Worcester and Dr Butler were confined at night in separate rooms, in which there were twenty-eight or thirty other prisoners; they were clad in a shirt and trowsers of coarse cotton, with the initials of their names and the term of their imprisonment painted on the breast in large characters; a blanket was furnished to them for a bed and covering at night; their food was coarse, but wholesome and sufficient in quantity. Mr Worcester was employed chiefly in a shop as a mechanic, and Dr Butler in turning a lathe wheel; but their work was not severe, and it is only due to the keeper of the penitentiary to state that he shewed them, during their confinement, great and unvaried kindness, and allowed them every indulgence which could be expected in their circumstances. Notwithstanding their confinement, they were cheerful and happy, supported by the testimony of a good conscience, and by the consolations which the gospel affords to those "who are persecuted for righteousness' sake."[1]

The Board of Missions now addressed a memorial to General Jackson, the President of the United States, shewing that the mission among the Cherokees had been originally established with the sanction of the United States government, and had all along been carried on with aid received from it; stating the circumstances of the arrest and imprisonment of the missionaries; and exposing the fallacy of the grounds alleged in vindication of these acts, by a reference to the treaties with the Indians, and other official documents, and even to the late Indian bill, in which it was provided, that no part of it should be so construed as to authorize measures in violation of any of the treaties existing between the United States and any of the Indian tribes; complaining of the invasion of their property by soldiers under the authority of the State of Georgia, laying claim to the buildings, improvements, and other

[1] Miss. Her. vol. xxvii. pp. 79, 165, 248, 251, 283, 299, 363, 395; vol. xxviii. p. 19; vol. xxix. pp. 113, 184.

property at the missionary stations, and ejecting, or threatening to eject, the mission families; and praying that the arm of the Executive may be interposed for the protection and deliverance of the missionaries, and that they may be secured in the peaceful prosecution of their labours among the Cherokees; and further, that the Attorney-General may be directed to commence a suit in the courts of the United States against the offending officers of the State of Georgia, for the false imprisonment and other injurious treatment of the missionaries in violation of the treaties and laws of the Union, and of their rights as citizens of the same.

To this memorial, the President directed the following answer to be returned:—"That having, on mature consideration, satisfied himself that the legislatures of the respective States have power to extend their laws over all persons living within their boundaries, and that, when thus extended, the various Acts of Congress providing a mode of proceeding in cases of Indian intercourse inconsistent with these laws, become inoperative, he has no authority to interfere under the circumstances stated in the memorial." [1]

There was yet another tribunal in the United States to which an appeal might be made, the Supreme Court of Law. The case of Messrs Worcester and Butler was accordingly brought before it, by a writ of error, and, upon consideration thereof, the Chief-Justice Marshal, who presided over this court, issued a mandate declaring the lately enacted law of the legislature of Georgia, under which they were imprisoned, to be contrary to the constitution, treaties, and laws of the United States, and reversing and annulling the sentence passed upon them, and requiring that they should be immediately set at liberty.

This mandate was immediately laid before the court in Georgia by which they had been tried and condemned, and a motion was made by the counsel of the missionaries that the court reverse its former decision. But after the case had been argued at length, the motion was rejected. The court even refused to permit the motion or its own decision regarding it, or anything by which it might appear that such a motion had ever been made, to be entered on its records.

[1] Rep. Board For. Miss. 1832, pp. 169, 174.

Immediately upon the refusal of the court in Georgia to obey the mandate of the Supreme Court of the United States, the counsel for the missionaries presented a memorial in their behalf to his Excellency, W. Lumpkin, the governor of that State, shewing in what manner the mandate of the supreme court had been rejected by the State court, and praying him to use the executive power entrusted to him, and discharge the prisoners. To this he refused to give any written reply, but he stated verbally that the prayer of the memorialists would not be complied with.

Measures were now adopted for bringing before the Supreme Court of the United States the refusal of the court in Georgia to obey its mandate. The missionaries had previously been visited by a number of highly respectable gentlemen (among others, by the late Attorney-General of the United States), and pressed not to appeal to the supreme court; and they were now again urged from various influential quarters to withdraw their suit, and it was intimated to them that in that case they would immediately be set at liberty. The governor of Georgia himself appears to have felt much anxiety on the subject, and though he made no direct or official communication to them, they were often and earnestly solicited by persons in his confidence, and who came from him, to desist from the prosecution of their suit, and assured that if they did so, they would not long remain in prison. This was a course which they were long unwilling to take; but it would seem as if serious apprehensions were entertained, that in the then perplexed state of national affairs, their perseverance in their suit might be attended with hazard to the public interests of the country, and that, in particular, the authority of the Supreme Court of law would in all likelihood be prostrated, whereas if they yielded, it would be only not tested, and that if this was to be put to the test, it ought to be at a more favourable juncture. Considerable good had already accrued from the stand which they had made; little good, probably much evil, would arise from the further prosecution of their cause. They had gained a decision in the supreme court which might be of much importance to the Cherokees; the law under which they had been imprisoned had lately been repealed, and if released, they would now be at liberty to return to their stations and resume their labours. Having taken all these circumstances into account, Messrs Worcester and

Butler agreed to withdraw their suit, and having made intimation of this to the governor, they were set at liberty after an imprisonment of sixteen months, and returned to the scenes of their former labours among the Cherokees.[1]

It is impossible to contemplate these proceedings of Georgia and of the United States government toward the Indians and the missionaries, without mingled feelings of indignation, and grief, and shame. We blush for the land of the "Pilgrim Fathers," for the country of Penn and Washington, with its much-boasted republican institutions,—the vaunted asylum of Liberty, whither she was thought to have fled, when persecuted and proscribed in the Old World, but where, when her place was now sought, she was not to be found. We know of nothing equal to these proceedings in the United States, except some of the worst doings of the worst governments in the worst times. They deeply implicate the character of the country throughout the civilized world, and not of the country only, but of republican institutions, of which she is the great representative and model in modern times. America should know, that whatever may be the extent of her territory, whatever the number of her population, whatever the amount of her power, whatever the magnitude of her trade and commerce, whatever the amplitude of her wealth, she will never be a great

[1] Rep. Board For. Miss. 1832, pp. 93, 176.—Ibid. 1833, pp. 96, 99.—Miss. Her. vol. xxviii. p. 129; vol. xxix. p. 109.—Tracy's Hist. pp. 250, 280.

We cannot but here notice the humiliating position to which the government of the United States, and also that of Georgia, were brought by their procedure regarding the Indians and the missionaries. We have already seen their acts pronounced by the Supreme Court of law of the United States to be "contrary to the constitution, laws, and treaties" of the republic. We now find both of them *suppliants* to the Prudential Committee of the Board of Foreign Missions. Shortly before the missionaries had agreed to withdraw their suit, a letter was written, offering, on "informal authority, in behalf of the government of Georgia," that if the committee will station the missionaries anywhere beyond the limits of Georgia, they shall be immediately discharged, "in a manner which shall not attach to them the reproach of pardoned criminals;" and, "in behalf of the government of the United States, that the relief which the consent of the Prudential Committee to the foregoing proposition will give to the constituted authorities of Georgia, by enabling her, in the most efficient manner, to come to the support of the government and laws of the United States, *will be gratefully acknowledged*, and that the Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions *will possess the confidence, and will largely partake of the appropriations of the general government for the amelioration of the condition of the Indians.*"

To explain the above reference to Georgia being enabled "to come to the support of the government and laws of the United States," it may be necessary to state, that the doctrine of *nullification*, that is, of the right of a State to declare a law of the United

country unless her greatness is founded on truth and righteousness, on integrity, justice, and benevolence. She has already done much to stain her honour by her treatment of the Indian and the Negro races. That stain can never be wiped away; but she may yet redeem her character by a future course of just and honourable conduct toward her hitherto oppressed and miserable victims. If this, however, is ever to be effected, it must be chiefly through the instrumentality of the people themselves, individually and collectively. In no country, perhaps, is the government so much a reflection of the character of the population as in the United States. It is a concentration of their features—their picture in miniature. Every man has thus something to do with the character of the government; every man, therefore, should do his duty and exert himself to the utmost not to support party or party interests, but to choose wise, intelligent, just, benevolent, honourable men to make their laws and rule over them.

Meanwhile, the work of taking possession of the Cherokee country went on. The whole of the Cherokee territory lying within the chartered limits of Georgia was surveyed and divided into lots of 140 acres each, and distributed by lottery among certain citizens of that State; the law, however, forbidding the person drawing any lot on which there was the house or field of

States unconstitutional, and to prevent its execution within her limits, had become predominant in South Carolina. A convention, called by the legislature of that State, had published an ordinance nullifying the existing revenue law of the United States, forbidding the courts of the United States, their officers, and all other persons, to attempt to enforce that law in South Carolina; and declaring, that if the general government should attempt to enforce it, that State would withdraw from the Union; and it had drafted men, and provided military stores, to sustain its ordinance by force. If the missionaries should persevere in their suit, and the Supreme Court of the United States should attempt to enforce its decision in their favour, it was feared that Georgia, and also Alabama and Mississippi, would join the *nullifiers;* and then there would be four contiguous States leagued together to resist the general government by force. If the president should sustain the supreme court, all these States would turn against him; if he should permit Georgia to triumph over the court, this would strengthen the cause of South Carolina. Georgia wished to support him against the *nullifiers*, but she did not dare to do so while it was so likely that she herself would soon find it expedient to join them.—Tracy's *Hist.* pp. 280, 282.

Such were the difficult and perplexing circumstances—such the dilemma—in which the government of the United States now found itself. General Jackson, his cabinet, and Congress, had pursued a course "contrary to the constitution, treaties, and laws of the United States;" and it was not long before they found others following the example which they had themselves set. Such is the consequence of political depravity!

a Cherokee, to take possession of it, until his claim should be extinguished. This prohibition, however, it was said, was in many instances disregarded. The laws of Georgia were also to some extent established. Counties were organized, courts held, and magistrates and other civil officers appointed.

Hitherto the Cherokees, though they had been so much harassed and distressed, were almost unanimous in their resolution not to remove from their country, unless they were driven away by force. When an agent of the government recently appeared in their council, and proposed to them to meet commissioners from the United States government, for the purpose of making a treaty for ceding their country, they unanimously rejected the proposal without even a debate. But, after a time, much division of opinion arose among them on the question, whether it was expedient for them to make a treaty with the United States, and remove from their country. The parties who advocated and who opposed a treaty were both numerous, and manifested much warmth of feeling on the subject. Tempting offers had been made to induce the nation to cede their country, but without effect. Enrolling agents had been sent among them to induce as many as possible to enrol as emigrants; and through their efforts considerable numbers were led to remove to the west of the Mississippi. Others, after having their wrongs and sufferings laid before the tribunals of the United States, without obtaining redress, and despairing of being reinstated in their rights, came to the conclusion, that ultimate removal would be unavoidable, and that it was expedient for them to make the best terms they could, without protracting a wasting and unsuccessful opposition. The White settlers on the Cherokee lands were said already to outnumber the Cherokees themselves. The most corrupting examples were continually set before them, and no art was left untried to draw them into intemperance, and every kind of debauchery. The continuance of this unsettled and distracting state of things for several successive years, and the great and increasing temptations to which they were constantly exposed, were destroying more and more all motives to industry, undermining their morals, rendering them familiar with scenes of iniquity, and augmenting among them the amount of poverty, vice, and wretchedness.

In the winter of 1834 two delegations were sent by the Cherokees to Washington, with a view to make some arrangements with the government of the United States for the protection and preservation of their rights as a people. The one was appointed by the council of the nation, and represented that portion of it which was opposed to removing from their present country, and which was understood to embrace a large majority of the whole. Their object was to obtain some stipulation from the United States, by which, if they could not be reinstated in all their former rights and privileges as an independent people, they might secure a guarantee of the lands which they still had in their possession, and relief from various evils under which they suffered. The other delegation was appointed by that portion of the tribe which, though opposed to removal, if they could be restored to their former state, thought that, under existing circumstances, this was not to be expected, and that it was therefore expedient for them to remove to the west of the Mississippi rather than remain in their present country, under the laws of Georgia. The object of this delegation was therefore to secure for themselves, and those in whose behalf they acted, suitable remuneration for the property which they must leave behind them, adequate provision for their comfortable removal, a good title to a sufficient quantity of land in their new country, &c. Nothing was accomplished by the former delegation; but with the latter, outlines of a treaty were agreed upon, the Rev. J. F. Schermerhorn acting as commissioner on the part of the United States government. When, however, it was laid before the Cherokee nation, they refused to accede to it, and so it was broken off.

There appears now to have been some kind of reconciliation between the two parties, and delegates belonging to both, including Mr Ross, the principal man in the party opposed to removal, proceeded to Washington, to carry on negotiations directly with the Secretary of War.

In December 1835, after the departure of this deputation, another council was called by the Rev. J. F. Schermerhorn, the commissioner of the United States, which was attended by a portion of the Cherokees who were in favour of removal. With these the outlines of a treaty were agreed upon, and another delegation was appointed to proceed to Washington, where, after

some modifications, it was approved by the president, and ratified by the senate, though Mr Ross, and the delegates associated with him, protested against it at every stage of its progress, as being unsatisfactory in its provisions, made contrary to the will of the nation, and with persons wholly unauthorized to transact such a business, circumstances which ought surely to have invalidated it with just and honourable men.

By this treaty the Cherokees ceded the whole of their country to the United States, and they were to be removed within two years to a territory west of the Mississippi. For their lands, improvements, buildings, &c. they were to receive 5,000,000 dollars, and 650,000 dollars to defray the expenses of their removal, and of sustaining them one year after arriving at their new homes. The buildings and improvements at the missionary stations were to be valued, and paid for in the same manner as the property of the Cherokees; and such missionaries and assistants as a committee of the Cherokees should designate, were to be allowed the same sum each from the public funds, as was allowed to the Cherokees.

The great majority of the Cherokees were still decidedly opposed to the treaty, and expressed their determination never to submit to it. Efforts were repeatedly made by them to negotiate a new treaty, or to have some modifications of those features of the one already made which were most obnoxious to the great body of the people. A new delegation repaired for this purpose to Washington at the opening of congress; but though their cause was represented by them in a most able and lucid manner, and though their endeavours were seconded by a remonstrance signed by almost the entire population of the tribe, and by numerous remonstrances from various portions of the citizens of the United States, no important alteration in the treaty complained of was obtained.[1]

It will be recollected that the act of congress on which the

[1] Rep. Board For. Miss. 1832, p. 96.—Ibid. 1833, p. 95.—Ibid. 1834, p. 106.—Ibid. 1835, p. 90.—Ibid. 1836, p. 88.—Ibid. 1837, 104.—Ibid. 1838, p. 120.—Miss. Her. vol. xxxi. p. 201; vol. xxxiv. p. 136.

In the memorial which the delegation presented to both houses of congress, praying for an investigation of the facts relative to the treaty which they alleged was negotiated with persons wholly unauthorized by the Cherokees to act in their behalf, and which, they asserted, had ever been, and still was, disapproved by nine-tenths of their people, they say, "Under our present impression, we feel it due to ourselves frankly to state

whole of these proceedings were founded, professed to contemplate the *voluntary* removal of the Indians.[1] What a commentary is the whole of this history on the words of the act!

Early in the winter of 1837 preparations began to be made for the removal of the whole of the Cherokees from their father-land; and as apprehensions were entertained that they would not submit without resistance, numerous fortifications were erected in different parts of their country, and large bodies of troops were collected and stationed in them. Still the Cherokees could not be persuaded but that some event would occur which would prevent the execution of a treaty which in their eyes appeared so iniquitous and oppressive. They therefore remained quietly at their homes, making no preparations for their removal. They were, it was said, even more prompt and industrious than usual in planting their grounds and preparing for a crop the ensuing harvest. General Scott was sent to command the troops and remove the Cherokees, and on arriving in the country he issued a proclamation entreating them to yield without resistance, and spare him the painful necessity of shedding blood. The day fixed by the treaty for their removal (May 23, 1838) arrived, and the troops immediately commenced their operations. Families were taken from their houses and farms, leaving their furniture, fields, and stock as they were, unprotected, to be possessed by they knew not whom, and were marched under strong guards to camps, which were to be their starting-places for a distant and a strange land. In the course of the following month nearly the whole of the tribe were gathered into camps, and some thousands set out by land or water on their way to the Arkansas country.

Owing to the severe heat of the season, the emigration of the others was then suspended till the autumn. Meanwhile Mr Ross and other principal men returned from Washington, and arrangements were understood to be made between them and the agents commissioned by the government of the United States to carry

that the Cherokee people do not and will not recognize the obligation of the instrument of December 1835. We reject all its terms; we will receive none of its benefits. If it is to be enforced upon us, it will be by your superior strength. We shall offer no resistance; but our *voluntary* assent never will be yielded. We are aware of the consequences; but while suffering them in all their bitterness, we shall submit our cause to an all-wise and just God, in whose providence it is to maintain the cause of suffering innocence and unprotected feebleness."—*Miss. Her.* vol. xxxiv. p. 137.

[1] Evarts's Mem. p. 433.

the treaty into effect, by which the removal of the remainder would be accomplished in a manner more satisfactory to the Cherokees. Companies consisting of about a thousand each, were to follow one another, after intervals of a few days, till all were on their way. Each company was to be attended by a physician, with waggons or boats for carrying supplies, and also the young, the aged, and the sick. Individuals selected by themselves were to provide supplies for them, and to have the chief direction of their movements. They were about 16,000 in number, and were divided into fourteen companies. The distance they had to travel was six or seven hundred miles; and the several companies were from three months and a half to five and a half on the way. When it is considered that they embraced all classes of the people, male and female, old and young, the sick and the healthy; that they had been detained within the narrow limits of their encampment four months before starting, meanwhile living on a diet to which they were unaccustomed, inactive, and exposed in various ways; that their journey was performed during the severest part of winter; that in the course of it they were sheltered only by tents; that many of them were without adequate clothing, and sometimes in want of suitable and sufficient food, it will not appear wonderful that great distress and mortality were the result. In the ten months which elapsed, from the day when they began to be gathered into camps to the time when the last company arrived in the Arkansas country, it is stated that there died no fewer than 4000 or 4500, being, on an average, from thirteen to fifteen deaths a day, out of a population of 16,000, or more than one-fourth of the whole. Nor does it appear that this dreadful sickness and mortality were owing to any negligence or bad treatment, or unnecessary exposure on the part of those who were engaged in carrying their removal into effect. All the arrangements were perhaps made and executed in as humane, careful, and efficient a manner as the nature of the measure admitted; and the Indians received not a few acts of Christian kindness and hospitality from portions of the people in the States through which they passed on their way to their new quarters. The sickness and mortality which prevailed among them were probably the natural consequence of the measure itself, and could not have been avoided by any precautions that might have been taken. Their sufferings,

however, were greatly aggravated by lawless Georgians, who rushed ravenously into the country, seized their property as soon as they were arrested, appropriated it to their own use, or sold it for a trifle to each other, before the eyes of its owner; thus reducing even the rich to absolute indigence, and depriving families of comforts which they were about to need in their long and melancholy march.[1]

During the long period of agitation and anxiety which preceded the removal of the Cherokees to the Arkansas, it could not be expected that the mission should make progress. All its operations were greatly deranged and embarrassed by the state of the political affairs of the Indians, and by the arrest and imprisonment of the missionaries. Several of the stations it even became necessary to relinquish. The mission premises at Haweis, whither Dr Butler had returned after his release from prison, were taken possession of, partly by force, partly by fraud, by the person claiming, under the lottery system, the land on which they stood. Mr Worcester was compelled, in like manner, to give up those at New Echota. The Cherokees, considering themselves to be oppressed and spoiled of their most valued rights by a Christian nation, extensively imbibed a deep prejudice against Americans and their religion, and against the missionaries as citizens of the United States, and as, therefore, in some degree, accessory to the injuries done to themselves. Instead of advancing as a nation in civilization, as they had been doing in former years, they appeared to go backward. Idleness, gambling, intemperance, and lewdness prevailed among them to an alarming degree. The members of the churches, as yet but partially instructed, and many of them living remote from their teachers, were daily exposed to numerous and powerful temptations; and a number of them fell before them, particularly through partaking of intoxicating drinks, to which they were artfully allured. Indeed, almost the whole nation were so much engrossed with their political troubles and prospects, that they were unable to give a profitable attention to any other subject. Most of the church members, however, held fast their integrity, and not a few "adorned the doctrine of God our Saviour by a life and con-

[1] Rep. Board, 1837, p. 104.—Ibid. 1838, p. 120.—Ibid. 1839, p. 135.—Tracy's Hist. p. 371.

versation becoming the gospel." The schools also were carried on, and the desire of the people to have their children educated was obviously increasing. Besides the schools previously in existence, circulating schools were now established, under native teachers, in different parts of the country. Each teacher had under his care a number of schools, which he taught on successive days of the week. In this way, many, both old and young, learned to read their own language. The plan was peculiarly applicable to the teaching of the Cherokee language, which was of so easy acquisition by means of its Syllabic Alphabet.[1]

Some of the missionaries and teachers followed the Cherokees to their new country,[2] and of the mission in that quarter we shall proceed shortly to give an account; but before closing the history of that in the east of the Mississippi, we must relate a very tragical event, though it took place in the country to the west.

In June 1839, shortly after the close of a council, in which much party heat had been manifested, Major Ridge, his son John Ridge, and Mr Elias Boudinot, the editor of the *Cherokee Phœnix,* were assassinated. The first was waylaid on the road, forty or fifty miles from home, and shot. His son was taken from his bed early in the morning, and nearly cut in pieces with knives. Mr Boudinot was decoyed away from a house which he was erecting a short distance from his residence, and then set upon with knives and hatchets; he survived his wounds just long enough for his wife and friends to reach him, but he was then speechless and insensible to surrounding objects. All these murders were committed on the same day, so that they were probably the result of combination, and were the deeds of different actors. The treaty of December 1835 had been made in violation of a law of the Cherokees, forbidding any chief, on penalty of death, to treat for the cession of their lands. The three individuals now mentioned took an active part in negotiating the treaty with the United States government, and in carrying it into effect, in opposition to the views of the Cherokee government, and a large majority of the people. Threats against their lives had often been uttered, and now they were treacherously

[1] Rep. Board For. Miss. 1832, pp. 89-92.—Ibid. 1833, p. 95.—Ibid. 1834, pp. 102, 106.—Ibid. 1835, p. 88.—Ibid. 1836, p. 87.—Miss. Her. vol. xxx. p. 193.

[2] Rep. Board For. Miss. 1839, p. 137.

executed. The troops of the United States patrolled the Cherokee country for many months, for the purpose of apprehending the murderers, but without success.[1]

II.—*West of the Mississippi.*

In July 1820, the Rev. A. Finney and C. Washburn, and Messrs J. Hitchcock and J. Orr, after a long and toilsome journey, arrived in the Arkansas territory, among a portion of the Cherokee nation, about 6000 in number, who, within the last four years, in consequence of an exchange of lands with the government of the United States, had emigrated to the west of the Mississippi. Here they commenced a station, which they called Dwight; but the circumstances attending a settlement in a new country, presented for some years serious obstacles to the successful establishment of schools, and to the progress of Christianity among the people.[2]

In May 1828 a new treaty was entered into on behalf of the Cherokees of the Arkansas with the United States government, for an exchange of the country then occupied by them for other lands lying to the west. During the preceding winter nine of their principal men had proceeded to Washington as a delegation from the nation, chiefly for the purpose of obtaining a survey of their territory, and a definite settlement of its limits; but the United States government had already formed the scheme of removing the various tribes of Indians, whose country lay east of the Mississippi, to a territory west of that river; and though the delegates had no authority to make any new treaty of this kind, they were induced at Washington to agree to it. The news of it, when first received by the people, created great dissatisfaction among them, as the delegates were not authorized to sell or exchange their land, but, on the contrary, were prohibited from doing so by a standing law of the nation. Afterwards, however, when matters were more fully considered by them, the exchange

[1] Miss. Her. vol. xxxv. p. 361.—Rep. Board For. Miss. 1839, p. 139.—Ibid. 1840, p. 171 —Tracy's Hist. p. 400.

[2] Rep. Board For. Miss. 1820, p. 57.—Ibid. 1821, p. 71.—Miss. Her. vol. xxiii. p. 382.

was generally thought to be advantageous, and they became reconciled to it. Besides various grants of money to the Cherokees, to the amount of nearly 70,000 dollars, the United States government agreed to pay 2000 dollars annually for ten years, to be expended, under the direction of the president, in the education of their children in letters and the mechanic arts, and 1000 dollars towards the purchase of a printing press and types, and also 500 dollars to George Guess, for the benefit he had conferred on the nation by the invention of an alphabet for their language; and it promised to remove from the new territory all Whites, and every other description of persons who might be unacceptable to the Cherokees, and to prevent them intruding upon them ever after.[1]

Though the Cherokees had to remove to no great distance, and the difficulties of the journey were inconsiderable, yet the consequences of their removal were most disastrous. Many of them died in consequence of exposure and fatigue, want of suitable food and clothing, and comfortable dwellings. Nor did the evils end with their journey. No sooner had the poor Indians taken possession of their new territory, where they were to enjoy protection from White men, than a host of traders, understanding that they were shortly to receive a considerable sum of money from the United States government for the lands they had lately given up, came into the neighbourhood with large quantities of whisky, in the hope of robbing them of it in exchange for their "fire water." In this they were but too successful. The engagement of the government not being fulfilled at the time expected, and no provision being made by law for fulfilling it hereafter, the Indians sold their claims for what they could get, and expended most of the avails in the purchase of whisky. There was more drunkenness in six months than in the whole six years before. Men, women, and children, were daily to be seen in a state of brutal intoxication. Gambling, fighting, debauchery, murder, and every evil work, were among the sad results. Happily, however, the agent of the United States interposed, and enforced the laws against the introduction of spirituous liquors, and succeeded, to a great extent, in checking their sale.[2]

[1] Miss. Her. vol. xxiv. p. 291.—Rep. Board For. Miss. 1828, p. 88.

[2] Miss. Her. vol. xxvi. pp. 254, 299.—Rep. Board For. Miss. 1830, p. 86.—Ibid. 1831, pp. 84, 86.

Several stations were established in the new territory, and meetings for religious worship were held regularly at each of them on the Sabbath, and occasionally at other times. The congregations were respectable as to numbers, and the attention was very encouraging. Great seriousness prevailed among the people, and a number, it was hoped, became partakers of divine grace. Some of these were men of much intelligence and firmness of character; they possessed the respect and confidence of their nation, and promised to exert a salutary influence upon the intellectual and religious condition of their countrymen. Improvement in the social and moral habits of the people was everywhere visible. They were enlarging their farms, building more comfortable dwellings, and beginning to enjoy most of the conveniences of life. Of the pupils educated in the school at Dwight, a number were employed by merchants as clerks; one was a physician; one the national secretary; one a district judge; and two clerks of the two houses of the national legislature.[1] These names may convey to our minds higher ideas than the reality; yet still they do indicate a very considerable improvement in the character and condition of a tribe of Indians.

In 1838 and the year following, a great accession was made to the Cherokee tribe west of the Mississippi by the immigration of the great body of the nation from their country east of that river. The jealousies and animosities which had of late years prevailed so much in the old country were brought to the new territory, and other causes of disagreement now arose between the old and the new settlers as to how they should be governed; but after some time their political divisions appeared to be healed. A general government was organized, the constitution and laws in force in the old country having been revised and adopted by all parties. Still, however, the Indians were in a very distracted state. A propensity to outrage and regardlessness of law extensively prevailed; neither life nor property was safe; assaults and murder were acts of frequent occurrence. Fresh animosities broke out among them, particularly on the part of the old settlers against the new; they alleged they had been wrongfully dealt with by the introduction of the whole body of the nation into the

[1] Rep. Board For. Miss. 1831, p. 84.—Ibid. 1832, pp. 105, 108.—Ibid. 1833, p. 102.—Ibid. 1834, 109.

territory which rightfully belonged to them; but though these dissensions threatened at times the dismemberment of the tribe, and the division of the country, matters were at length settled on principles which appeared to be satisfactory to the several parties. Such dissensions, however, added to all the hindrances growing out of a new settlement in an uncultivated country, could not fail to exercise a very unfavourable influence on the mission, and check its progress. The number of missionaries and other labourers in the mission was also greatly reduced from what it was in former years, and though two or three other stations were occupied, it was never afterwards placed on the same efficient footing it was before.[1]

Though the mission among the Cherokees has not fulfilled the hopes inspired by its early promise, yet the disappointment which has been experienced in regard to it, is to be attributed much more to the White people, and their iniquitous acts, than to the Indians themselves. Had they been allowed to remain undisturbed in their own country, or had they even removed, cordially and harmoniously, to the territory which they now occupy, we might not improbably have witnessed one of the most interesting examples of the progress of the gospel and of civilization which the world has ever seen. But when we turn to the scenes through which they passed; when we call to mind the wrongs which they suffered; when we think of the dissensions, and animosities, and deadly strifes which were sown among them; when we take all these circumstances into account, the wonder is, not that so little has been accomplished, but that all has not been lost.

We are not even yet without the hope that, provided they are not disturbed by the United States government, or by the intrusion of unprincipled White people, a foundation has already been laid for their future and permanent improvement. The Cherokees are still a numerous tribe, being estimated at about 18,000 souls, and they are in advance of all other Indians in intelligence and civilization. Their government is before that of any other tribe, and it is said to be in the main well administered. Justice is meted out to criminals with a good deal of promptness and energy. The progress made by the nation in temperance was

[1] Rep. Board For. Miss. 1839, p. 139.—Ibid. 1840, p. 171.—Ibid. 1841, pp. 175, 177.—Ibid. 1846, p. 206.—Ibid. 1847, p. 190.—Tracy's Hist. p. 400.

very encouraging. There were about 3000 members of the Cherokee Temperance Society, who had pledged themselves to entire abstinence from all intoxicating drinks; and the general sentiment of the people was against the sale of intoxicating liquors within their territory. Indeed, the introduction of such liquors was rigorously prohibited by law; and though legal enactments were, as in other countries, sometimes evaded, the chief blame of this lay at the door of their White neighbours. Schools were established and maintained among them at the expense of the nation. In ability to read and write, there were not many portions of the civilized world which will bear comparison with them. The structure of their alphabet furnished great facilities for taking the first steps in acquiring knowledge. By means of it, reading and writing were learned at the same time. Some of the more wealthy Indians sent their children to schools of a higher order in the United States. A number of works had been printed in the Cherokee language, among which were various books of the New Testament, and a small portion of the Old. Many of the people were fond of reading, and some were able to read English as well as their own language.[1]

In 1852 the members of the churches in the Cherokee nation, five in number, amounted to 231. The progress of religion among them was less satisfactory than the state of education and civilization.[2]

Art. II.—Choctaw Country.

In May 1818, the Rev. Mr Kingsbury and Mr L. S. Williams left the settlement of Brainerd, in the Cherokee territory, east of the Mississippi, and proceeded to the Choctaw country, about 400 miles to the south-west, with the view of forming a similar establishment among the Indians in that quarter, a measure to which the United States government had promised its aid and encouragement. To this station they gave the name of Eliot, in memory of the venerable "Apostle of the Indians." Here, after much anxiety and toil in clearing the land, and in erecting houses, they

[1] Rep. Board For. Miss. 1844, p. 219.—Ibid. 1845, p. 58.—Ibid. 1848, pp. 255, 287.—Ibid. 1850, p. 189.—Ibid. 1852, p. 149.—Miss. Her. vol. xlvii. p. 387.

[2] Rep. Board For. Miss. 1850, p. 189.—Ibid. 1852, p. 148.

opened a school for the children of the Choctaw Indians. In this department of the mission, the Indians themselves manifested the deepest interest, and of this they gave such unequivocal proofs as are perhaps without a parallel among unenlightened and uncivilized tribes. Three or four years before, the Choctaws had sold a tract of country to the United States, for which they were to receive 6000 dollars annually for seventeen years. The nation was divided into three districts, called the Upper, the Lower, and the Six towns; and each of these districts voted the sum of 2000 dollars, the proportion due to it, for the establishment of a school similar to that at Brainerd, only it was provided by the Six towns' district, that the half of its annuity should be appropriated to the erection and support of a blacksmith's shop, with iron, and the necessary utensils, for the accommodation of the Indians. Besides these sums, the Choctaws appropriated other considerable contributions to the schools. According to these resolutions, they were to contribute about 100,000 dollars to the education of their children. It was the endeavour of the missionaries to impress on their minds the advantages of instruction, and the propriety of their contributing towards the education of their own children, as they considered it as in every point of view of great importance that they should learn to help themselves. By commencing on a liberal and extensive scale for their improvement, they drew forth a spirit of liberality on their part, as unexpected as it was encouraging.[1]

In conformity with the grant of the Choctaws, a new settlement was begun in the district of the Lower towns, at a place about 100 miles south-east from Eliot. To this station was assigned the appropriate name of Mayhew; and another was afterwards formed in the district of the Six towns. The Choctaws, of the Upper and Lower towns, or as they are otherwise called, the western and north-eastern districts, made great advances, in the course of a few years, in civilization and good morals. It may fairly be questioned whether there has ever been witnessed, in any part of the uncivilized world, a greater improvement than was effected in the civil and moral condition of the Choctaws in these two districts. Their fields were never before cultivated with so

[1] Rep. Board For. Miss. 1818, p. 23.—Ibid. 1819, pp. 41, 45.—Ibid. 1820, p. 52.—Panoplist, vol. xiv. p. 389.—Miss. Her. vol. xvi. p. 188.—Evarts's Memoir, p. 128.

much industry, or kept in so good order. They now possessed great numbers of cattle, horses, hogs, and other animals. They had also among them blacksmiths, carpenters, and coopers' shops; ploughs, spinning-wheels, and looms. At councils and other large meetings, they appeared comfortably, and some of them richly, dressed. A great desire was manifested by them to obtain furniture for their houses, and some were already supplied in a manner not inferior to new settlers in other parts of the country. They had organized a regular civil government, and enacted a code of laws, embracing, among other points, murder, infanticide, theft, marriage, polygamy, trespass, false testimony, enclosures of fields, making of wells, and settling of estates. They also abolished some old and injurious customs, though interwoven with their strongest prejudices and superstitions. Formerly intemperance was general among them. Not only money, but when that was wanting, clothes, blankets, guns, in short, every kind of property, would be freely given in exchange for whisky. Now intoxication was scarcely to be seen among them, except on the borders of the White Settlements; not that they had all lost their appetite for whisky, or that a majority of them were restrained from intemperance by the force of moral principle; but so sensible were the General Councils of the nation of the evils of the "fire waters," as they were not inappropriately called, that they passed laws strictly prohibiting the introduction of them into the country as an article of traffic. It must not indeed be supposed that all these improvements were the direct results of missionary labours. Enlightened chiefs took the lead in the work of reformation, and it was through their influence and exertions that some of the most important of these changes were effected. Yet it must also be admitted, that whatever of good these chiefs did for their people was owing, in a considerable degree, to the enlightening and sanctifying influences of the gospel.[1]

But though the Choctaws, in the western and north-eastern districts of the nation, made great advances in civilization, they for many years manifested in general much indifference to religious instruction. After ten years, however, of comparatively fruitless labour, there was the appearance of a richer harvest.

In August 1828 there commenced a remarkable awakening on

[1] Miss. Her. vol. xxv. p. 121.—Rep. Board For. Miss. 1823, p. 180.

the subject of religion among the Choctaws in different parts of the country; it extended even to the south-eastern district, where the gospel had hitherto excited little attention. They now manifested great desire for instruction; no listlessness nor indifference was to be seen among them. Some who before were violent opposers of the gospel, now became its zealous friends. Old men, whom once it was thought nothing could move, were among the first who were affected. Warriors, who had never before been known to weep, were now dissolved in tears. Many anxiously inquired what they should do to be saved. They laid aside, not only their vices, but their amusements. Instead of assembling for ball-plays and dances as formerly, they now met for prayer and praise, and to converse on subjects connected with their moral and religious improvement. It was delightful to hear the fervent prayers which were poured out from hearts so lately the seat of folly and every vice. In their meetings there was a solemn stillness, broken only by a deep sob or sigh. Parental influence was now exerted, to a considerable degree, to encourage and sustain those principles and habits which were inculcated on the children at school, one of the last things which ordinarily takes place in the process of improvement among a savage or half-civilized tribe. In the course of about two years from the commencement of this awakening, there were 332 of the Indians received into the church.[1]

In September 1829, a proposal was made by the United States government to the Choctaw nation, that they should remove from their present country to the west of the Mississippi, in accordance with the policy which it had of late adopted of removing the Indians generally from the Eastern States to the western parts of the American continent. Though the government of the United States had equally, as in the case of the Cherokees, acknowledged by the most solemn treaties with the Choctaws, and also by its own laws, that the property and the sovereignty of their country belonged to them, and that they should not be brought under the laws of the United States unless with their own consent, yet with the view of compelling them to remove to the west of the Mississippi, they were now officially informed that General Jackson, the president, did not consider himself as having power to protect

[1] Miss. Her. vol. xxv. pp. 121, 187; vol. xxvi. pp. 21, 49, 113, 156, 252, 350.

them, or to prevent the State of Mississippi extending its laws over them; though there can be no question that the general government did possess such a power, and that it was bound to exercise it in behalf of the Indians. To the proposal of removing, the Choctaws manifested the utmost aversion; the chiefs and the people were equally opposed to it. But opposed as they were to removal, they early yielded in the struggle. A council was called to consider the proposal: the general feeling seemed to be that resistance was vain. A proposal for a treaty was then produced with all the articles written out. It was in the handwriting of Dr Tally, the most prominent of the Methodist missionaries, who with one exception were all present. This document, which contained the basis of a treaty, having been read to the people, was afterwards copied, and then approved and signed by a large number of individuals. The terms of the proposed treaty were not published; but it was sent to the President of the United States, and was transmitted by him to the senate, and was to be obligatory on the Choctaws if ratified by the American government.

Soon after the proceedings of the council became known, a chief, named Mooshoolatubbe, who had been obliged to resign his office a few years before on account of his dissoluteness and incompetency, together with a party who adhered to him, made loud complaints in regard to them, and, it must be admitted, not without very good reasons.

As the measure had been brought forward by the aid of the Methodist missionaries, all those who had been opposed to the progress of the gospel and to the restraints of intemperance, had a new and very popular topic to dwell upon. They said that the treaty, which was so framed as to favour a few chiefs, was the genuine fruit of the new religion; that Mooshoolatubbe and his adherents had always maintained that the Choctaws would be ruined by the introduction of Christianity; and that every friend of his country and of its rights ought now to set his face against the missionaries and their followers. Thus, by setting patriotism, which they could all feel and understand, against religion, of which many were entirely ignorant, the enemies of the gospel obtained a great advantage. In the south-eastern district, where Christianity had only of late obtained some footing,

the re-action was most lamentable. At a council held in that district, nine captains were removed from office on the ground that they were friendly to religion, and it was resolved that no professor of religion should be eligible to any office whatsoever. A law made only some months before for the observance of the Sabbath was annulled, and a resolution was taken that, instead of attendance on public-worship, ball-plays, dances, and all kinds of sports should be encouraged.

There can be no doubt that the Choctaws consented to the proposal for a treaty under the compulsion of necessity; the terror of being trodden down by unknown and oppressive laws, enacted and to be enacted by men who had little sympathy and no interests in common with the Indians. The legislature of Mississippi did, in fact, extend its laws over the Choctaws, with the view, there is little doubt, of forcing them to give up their country, well knowing how averse they were to live under laws made by White men.[1]

The late treaty was not ratified by the United States government, but it lost no time in renewing negotiations with the Choctaws, with the view of obtaining their lands on more favourable terms. Commissioners on the part of the United States visited them shortly after, for the purpose of inducing them to sell their country and remove to the west of the Mississippi. The Choctaws, when the proposals were made to them in council, appointed a committee of sixty, twenty from each district, to consider the subject and make a reply. They reported almost unanimously against making any treaty. Their report was approved by the whole body of the Choctaws assembled, and an answer was returned to the commissioners accordingly. Supposing the negotiation to be concluded, a large portion of the people returned home. The commissioners, however, assembled the remainder the following day, and after threatening to withdraw the government agent, to make them pay the expenses of the treaty, to take the land which they owned west of the Mississippi, and leave them to the operation of the laws of that State, they produced a treaty of a modified character, in which large quantities of land were promised to the chiefs and their relatives, with salaries in their new country. The Choctaws knew not what to do. They were told and believed

[1] Miss. Her. vol. xxv. p. 377; vol. xxvi. pp. 82, 253, 384.

that the treaties existing between them and the United States would not avail for their protection. They were certain that they would be ruined if the laws of the State of Mississippi were extended over them; and they feared that this was the last overture which the United States would ever make to them. Some probably were also influenced by the salaries and the large reservations of land which were offered them. The treaty was finally signed.

Though the mission had been undertaken in accordance with the wishes, and had been carried on with the aid of the United States government, yet no provision was made in the treaty for refunding any part of the moneys expended by the Board in establishing and sustaining it, amounting, since its commencement, to upwards of 60,000 dollars. The mission property was now of very considerable value.[1] The missionaries of the Board were, much to their honour, expressly forbidden by the commissioners, in writing, to be present at the treaty ground, though the presence of all other persons was allowed.

When it was known to the people that their country was sold, it produced a general feeling of indignation. A large majority of the captains and warriors were decidedly opposed to it. The chiefs who were instrumental in forming it were deserted, except by a small number, and others were elected in their places. It is impossible to describe the distraction and despondency which prevailed among them at the view of being compelled to leave the land of their fathers, and to seek a new home in the western wilds of Arkansas, of which they knew nothing. They felt, as well they might, that great injustice had been done them. They said their land had been taken from them without their consent. In the Six towns, which contained a population of 2600, only one individual voted for the treaty. He was the principal captain of the Six towns; and afterwards succeeded, by his intrigues, in bringing over three or four of the other captains to his opinion. In the Chickesahe, which contained a population of at least 1000, only one captain and a very few of the common people were in favour of it. The country had been sold by a few individuals not only without the consent, but contrary to the will of the nation.

[1] The government afterwards ordered the property to be appraised; but all that was received for it was 4611 dollars.—*Rep. Board For. Miss.* 1833, p. 111.—Ibid. 1836, p. 94.

Multitudes were so distressed that they sat down in a kind of sullen despair. They knew not what to do. Some said, "We will not go to the west: we may as well die here as there." Some were for going soon, whose motives, it was feared, were no other than to become savages and hunters. Hundreds wandered away, some to their new country, some into the Spanish dominions, and some to other places. Many gave themselves up to intemperance, and were fast plunging themselves in ruin. Fraudulent speculators were overrunning the country. The laws of the Choctaws, excluding intoxicating liquors from their territory, having been abolished by the extension of the laws of the State of Mississippi over them, these unprincipled men introduced them in great quantities, and employed them, with too much success, in effecting their own base and nefarious ends. It was painful to witness the decline of religious feeling among the people. There was a very great falling off even of the church members. Little had the missionaries looked for so many spurious cases among those who once appeared to run well. This, under the circumstances, need scarcely excite our wonder. As that part of the nation which was opposed to Christianity attributed the loss of their country, and all their present calamities, to the introduction of the gospel among them, and the change of their customs, those who professed themselves Christians were on this account subjected to much reproach and persecution, which to young converts must have proved a severe trial of their sincerity and steadfastness.[1]

In 1831, and the two following years, the great body of the Choctaws, amounting, it was estimated, to about 15,000 persons, removed from their own country to the new territory assigned to them west of the Mississippi. The agents who were employed in removing them, it is stated, were generally faithful and kind; but when the Indian population of a whole district had to be gleaned up, including the men and the women, the old and the young, the healthy and the sick, the naked and the well-clad, and removed to another land, there could scarcely fail to be much suffering among them. The journey was long; a great part of the way was through an uninhabited wilderness, and large bodies of them travelled in the depth of winter. Some parties, scantily

[1] Rep. Board For. Miss. 1831, p. 82.—Miss. Her. vol. xxvi. p. 385; vol. xxvii. pp. 18, 186, 285.

provided with food, barefooted and poorly clad, without shelter by day or by night, were overtaken by snow storms in the wide forests; others, in crossing the swamps of the Mississippi, were with their horses surrounded by the rising waters, from which there were no means of escape. The captain of a steamboat who took off one company, which had been six days in this perilous condition, and were nearly starved, said that he saw at least a hundred horses standing frozen dead in the mud. Many were attacked with sickness and died, a considerable portion of whom were young children and aged and infirm persons, who were not able to stand the fatigue and exposure of the journey; a number also died of cholera, which was then ravaging the country.[1]

In March 1832, the Rev. Mr Williams arrived among the Choctaws in their new country, and commenced a station among them, which he called Bethabara, and, in the course of a few years, a considerable number of stations were formed in various parts of the country. The people appeared to be generally satisfied with their new country, and laboured with a good degree of industry in preparing for themselves fields and comfortable habitations, and manifested generally considerable public spirit, though they had obviously suffered in their habits and moral character by their exposures to temptation while preparing to remove, and while on their long and perilous journey.[2]

The expectation had been held out to them, that by removing to this distant country they would escape from the society and influence of bad White men; but it was astonishing to see how many of these vultures flocked about them, getting either among or as near them as possible, in order to make a prey of them and of their little all. Intemperance, as a consequence of this, made sad havoc among them. Sometimes the nation seemed to yield to this the great enemy of their race, and deaths occurred

[1] Miss. Her. vol. xxviii. p. 117; vol. xxix. pp. 133, 206.—Rep. Board For. Miss. 1832, p. 100.—Ibid. 1834, p. 112.

After the migration of the great body of the Choctaw nation to the Arkansas, there still remained about three or four thousand in the southern part of their former country, and others were scattered over various parts of it. These, as they had no tract of land reserved to them, were in a very poor and wretched condition, and were exposed to many and powerful temptations.—*Rep. Board For. Miss.* 1834, p. 112. But after about twelve or fourteen years the remnant of the tribe emigrated to the westward, and joined their brethren.—*Ibid.* 1846, p. 205.

[2] Rep. Board For. Miss. 1832, p. 109.—Ibid. 1833, p. 114.

on every hand from violence, or the casualties which it occasioned. Again public sentiment was roused, and strenuous and successful efforts were made to suppress the use of all intoxicating drinks. The temptations, however, were great, and nothing but the most energetic and unremitting exertions were likely to prevent this scourge from desolating their country.[1]

In November 1842, a bill was passed by the National Council for establishing three boarding academies for boys, and four for girls, and appropriating for the support of the three boys' academies the sum of 18,500 dollars annually, and of the four girls' academies 7800 dollars yearly, making together the sum of 26,300 dollars as a public annual appropriation for the education of the young. In the academies for boys, agriculture and the mechanic arts were to be taught; in those for girls, household and domestic economy. The general supervision of all these academies was to be with the National Council, and one of those for boys was by law to be under its immediate management. The others were placed under the management of the missionaries of the Board, and of other missionary bodies. The system of education pursued in these schools, was in the English language; the pupils were not allowed to use their own language unless in a very few excepted cases. The Choctaws also set apart a fund for the collegiate education of a number of their sons, the interest of which they proposed, after it should have accumulated for a few years, to apply annually to this purpose. The pupils were expected to pursue their preparatory studies at their own schools, and to be subsequently sent to colleges in the United States. The Choctaws thus set an example of enlarged views, and of liberal provisions for the education of their youth of both sexes, which is nearly without a parallel among a people who, less than thirty years before, were reckoned as savages, having no schools, and incapable of appreciating their value.[2]

For some years after the removal of the Choctaws to their new country, the progress of religion among them appeared to be checked. The state of agitation into which they were thrown by the proposals made for their removal, the engagements arising out of their settlement in an uncultivated wilderness, and the

[1] Rep. Board For. Miss. 1832, p. 110.—Ibid. 1839, p. 141.
[2] Rep. Board For. Miss. 1843, p. 166.—Ibid. 1846, p. 199.—Ibid. 1848, p. 251.

various temptations to which they were exposed, could scarcely fail to have an injurious influence in regard to their spiritual interests. But, of late years, religion made great advances among them; at times there appeared to be seasons "of refreshing from the presence of the Lord, and from the glory of his power." Many were added to the churches, of such as, it is hoped, "will be saved."[1]

Besides school-books and numerous other works, the whole of the New Testament, and some books of the Old, were printed in the Choctaw language; and as the number of readers is constantly increasing, the call for books may be expected to increase in proportion.[2]

In 1852, the members of the churches in the Choctaw nation, ten in number, amounted to 1290. They appeared to be becoming every year more perfectly "grounded and settled," and "established in the faith" as they had been taught. "The Bible," Mr Hotchkin, one of the missionaries, says, "is producing a wonderful change in the character of the people." "I do not know a single individual among professors of religion where family prayer is neglected." "There is more of system," says Mr Stark, "in attending to Christian duties. There is more of it in the religion of the closet, and of the family, and of the sanctuary; more of it in the training of children and in benevolent efforts; more of it on the farm, and in providing for the household; more of it, in fact, in everything."

Of the same pleasing character is the testimony in regard to the industry of the Choctaws. Their natural aversion to labour, which they share in common with all Red men, is constantly diminishing, and it is fast becoming a disgrace to be idle. Not only are agricultural pursuits greatly on the increase, but the spinning-wheel and the loom may often be seen in active operation. These results appear in different districts just in proportion to the progress which the gospel has made. Some neighbourhoods are almost entirely transformed from an indolent, ignorant, thriftless people, into an industrious, intelligent, thriv-

[1] Rep. Board For. Miss. 1846, p. 201.—Ibid. 1848, p. 246.—Ibid. 1849, p. 204.—Ibid. 1850, p. 182.

[2] Rep. Board 1848, p. 288.—Ibid. 1849, p. 208.—Ibid. 1850, p. 185.—Ibid. 1852, p. 145.

ing population. The laws are enforced with increasing strictness and impartiality; and intemperance, the great bane of the Indian tribes, is in a manner put down by the law and by public opinion.[1]

Art. III.—Osage Country.[2]

In April 1820, the Rev. W. F. Vaill and E. Chapman, Dr Palmer, physician, four farmers, one carpenter, one blacksmith, several females, and some children, in all twenty-one persons, set off from New York on a mission to the Little Osage Indians in the Arkansas territory. The Osages had been previously visited by a deputation from the Society, and had very cordially agreed to the establishment of a mission among them, the object of which was to promote among them not only the knowledge of Christianity, but the arts of civilized life. Besides the ordinary branches of learning taught at school, it was intended that the boys should be instructed in agriculture and the mechanical arts, and the girls in spinning, weaving, sewing, knitting, and domestic economy.[3]

The journey, or rather the voyage (for they sailed the greater part of the way) on the Ohio, the Mississippi, and the Arkansas, was upwards of 2000 miles. In the course of it, most of them were attacked by fever, and two of the females died; but after encountering these and many other difficulties, they reached the place fixed on for the missionary station, which, in allusion to the name of the Board, was called *Union*. A war, which soon after broke out between the Osages and the Cherokees, proved a serious obstacle to the progress of the infant settlement; but after some time the United States government interfered, and required

[1] Rep. Board For. Miss. 1851.—Ibid. 1852, p. 142, 145.

[2] This mission, and that at Mackinaw, the subject of the next Article, were originally established by the United Foreign Missionary Society, which was instituted at New York in July 1817, and consisted chiefly of members of the different Presbyterian bodies in America. The missions of the New York Missionary Society, and of the Western Missionary Society, among the Indians, were afterwards transferred to that Society, which, with all its missions, was merged in the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in June 1826.—*Rep. Board For. Miss.* 1827, p. 126.

[3] Third Report of the Unit. For. Miss. Soc. pp. 13, 16, 18.—New York Christ. Her. vol. vi. p. 757; vol. vii. pp. 24, 407.

them to lay down the hatchet, though the Osages, not being satisfied with the terms of the treaty, acceded to it with great reluctance.[1]

In March 1821, the Rev. N. B. Dodge, B. Pixley, and W. B. Montgomery, Dr Belcher, physician, several persons as teachers, mechanics, and farmers, who with their wives and children amounted to forty-one individuals, set off from New York with the view of establishing a similar mission among the Great Osage Indians of the Missouri. The principal chiefs of that branch of the Osages had visited Washington the preceding summer, and had expressed an anxious wish that the same privileges might be conferred on them as were about to be communicated to the Osages of the Arkansas. After a voyage of about five months, they reached the place of their destination, about 150 miles north from Union, and commenced a settlement which they called Harmony. Immediately on their arrival, a council of about seventy chiefs and warriors was held, and presented them with a tract of land consisting, it was supposed, of about 15,000 acres. But sickness soon arrested the labours of the settlers. Heavy and incessant rains coming on before a single building could be erected, the tents in which they lived were found insufficient to prevent them from being continually wet, and frequently drenched by the rain. Almost all of them were attacked by fever: no fewer than eight of the men, and twelve of the females, were ill at one time; six died, including four infants. The confidence of the tribe, however, appeared to be secured beyond expectation; many of them manifested a strong disposition to cultivate the soil, and to live as White men.[2]

The following table will shew the stations which were established among the Osage Indians:—

Begun.	Little Osages.	Begun.	Great Osages.
1820.	Union.	1821.	Harmony.
1823.	Hopefield.	1824.	Neosho.

[1] New York Christ. Her. vol. vii. pp. 434, 632.—Miss. Reg. vol. ix. p. 165; vol. xi. p. 77.—Miss. Her. vol. xx. p. 257.

[2] Miss. Reg. vol. x. p. 110; vol. xi. p. 77.—Miss. Her. vol. xvii. p. 26.—Morse's Report on Indian Affairs, pp. 218, 222, 230.

This mission was carried on with much labour and patience, amidst many cares and interruptions, much sickness, and many deaths. The Osages were a people whom it was not easy to bring under the influences of either religion or civilization. Their wandering and predatory habits rendered it exceedingly difficult for missionaries to have much intercourse with them; and what little instruction was communicated to them was soon forgotten on their periodical hunting and war expeditions. It was with great difficulty that even a few of them could be got to meet for religious instruction. When spoken to on the subject of religion, they manifested utter indifference to it. Even the idea of happiness after death appeared offensive to some, and trifling and visionary to others. The schools opened by the missionaries were in like manner attended by few of the children; their parents had no desire to have them educated, but trained them up, both by precept and example, to follow their own wandering and predatory habits as the only honourable course of life. The whole of their conduct to the missionaries seemed to be contrived to throw as many obstacles in the way of their labours as could consist with keeping up friendly appearances toward them.[1]

In 1836 the mission among the Osage Indians was given up. It had long been carried on under many difficulties and discouragements, and these were now much increased, in consequence of treaties with the United States government for removing them from their lands. When the mission among them was begun, they had had comparatively little intercourse with White men; and though some of the vices and diseases of civilized nations had been introduced among them, yet intemperance, the great inlet of all evil and the barrier against all good among the Indians, was entirely unknown among them. But within the last few years White men had been settling in their country, and intoxicating liquors were introduced in great quantities, and the Osages, like other Indian tribes, contracted a fondness for them. The traders, who had great influence with them, employed it to prevent them adopting the habits of settled agricultural life, and to lead them to give themselves up more entirely to hunting, and to wandering further and further west, as the game retired in that direc-

[1] Rep. Board For. Miss. 1827, p. 127.—Miss. Her. vol. xxvi. p. 285; vol. xxviii. p. 257; vol. xxix. p. 134.

tion. In consequence of these circumstances they were more idle and vicious in their habits, more poor and wretched than ever, and more hopeless as regarded both their evangelization and civilization.[1]

Art. IV.—Mackinaw.

In October 1823, the Rev. W. M. Ferry proceeded to Mackinaw, an island situated in the straits which connect Lake Huron with Lake Michigan, for the purpose of commencing an establishment, with a view to the civilization and evangelization of the surrounding Indian tribes. Mackinaw was the centre of the operations of the American Fur Trade Company. The principal agent of the company resided here; and here were congregated every summer not only numerous White traders, but great numbers of Indians of various tribes from around Lake Huron, Lake Michigan, and Lake Superior, and from beyond them, north and west, to Hudson's Bay and to the head waters of the Missouri, giving to the village a very crowded and bustling appearance. Sometimes no fewer than 1500 or 2000 of these children of the wilderness might be seen encamped on the island; some of them sheltered by their canoes turned upside down, and others by tents of mats or skins; all of them nearly destitute of clothing, except their blankets, and exhibiting almost every indication of poverty and wretchedness, as well as of the lowest degradation, intellectual and moral. Here might be seen the Indian in his native character, dress, and manners, as much as on the Rocky Mountains, wholly unchanged by any meliorating influence of Christianity or civilization, engaging in his dances and songs with all the wild and savage airs which characterized the inhabitants of these forests three centuries ago.

In consequence of Mackinaw being a place for the annual rendezvous of such numbers of the Indian tribes, children could be obtained almost as easily from a distance of many hundred miles as from the immediate neighbourhood. It was therefore selected for a central missionary station, at which there should be established a large boarding-school, consisting of children collected from all the north-western tribes who, it was designed, should re-

[1] Rep. Board For. Miss. 1831, p. 90.—Ibid. 1836, p. 95.

main in it such a length of time as would be sufficient for their acquiring a knowledge not only of the branches of a common school education, but also of the various kinds of manual labour which appeared to be appropriate to their situation and circumstances. With this view, mechanics' shops were erected and furnished, and land was obtained for cultivation, which the boys were to labour a portion of their time; while the girls were to be instructed in the various household employments suited to their sex.

In connexion with the central school at Mackinaw, it was proposed to form small stations among the several bands of Indians in the interior, at which should reside a preacher, a teacher, and a farmer and mechanic, with a view to the improvement of the particular tribes among which they were placed. Around these stations, it was hoped, the youths who might leave the Mackinaw school would be induced to settle, and that, while they were watched over and preserved from relapsing into their former habits, they would aid by their example in introducing a knowledge of the arts of civilized life, and also of Christianity among their benighted countrymen.

Immediately after his arrival, Mr Ferry opened a school with twelve Indian children; and the number afterwards greatly increased. Children were brought to it from the shores of Lake Huron, Lake Michigan, and Lake Superior, from the head waters of the Mississippi, and even from the Red River, Lake Athabasco, and Hudson's Bay. Some were brought from tribes not less than 2500 miles distant, including the Ottawas, Ojibwas, Putowatomies, Winnebagoes, Menominies, Kinnestenas, Sacs and Foxes, and Sioux. The number of pupils rose sometimes as high as 170 or 180, of whom about 120 were clothed, fed, and lodged by the mission family. The others were day-scholars, and were provided for by their parents, or other friends who resided on the island. Some of them were full-blooded Indians, but the greater number were of mixed blood, the progeny of Indian mothers and men of English or French descent. This class of children were no less in need of instruction than the pure Indian, and their being well educated was of great importance; for the Indians of mixed blood never fail, as a body, to have more influence with their own people than the pure aborigines. As a matter of course,

they get more knowledge, and aspire to a higher style of living; and, as regards the extension of civilization and Christianity among the Indians, they are likely to exert a very important influence. Most of the children from a distance came in a very destitute state, covered with filth and rags, ignorant of the English language, and untutored in their manners. They were generally, however, easily subdued, became docile and amiable, and made good proficiency in their studies, and in the various kinds of labour which were assigned to them. The whole number of pupils educated in the school was about 300, of whom three-fifths were boys. More or less knowledge of agriculture was imparted to all the boys, and a considerable number of them were also taught some mechanical trade. All the girls were employed in household labours, in which the older ones exhibited a good degree of skill. Some of both sexes were well qualified to act as teachers, and were successfully employed to some extent in this way.

Previous to the arrival of Mr Ferry at Mackinaw, there was no Protestant worship on the island; and the Sabbath was entirely disregarded, being devoted wholly to business or to pleasure. But now a commodious place of worship was erected, chiefly at the expense of the residents and the traders, where from two to three hundred assembled for Divine worship. The Sabbath was as strictly observed as in almost any village in the land; a number both of the Whites and of the Indians were hopefully pious; vice and immorality were generally discountenanced; the Christian form of marriage was extensively introduced among those connected with Indian women; and the use of ardent spirits, as a drink and as an article of barter with the Indians, was almost wholly abandoned.[1]

In 1837, the establishment at Mackinaw was given up. The number of boarders in the school had previously been greatly reduced, the scheme being found to be very expensive, and to involve many difficulties, without accomplishing to the extent that was expected the chief ends in view. The business of the American Fur Company having been removed from the island, it was now no longer the resort of the traders and the Indians; and the

[1] Monthly Papers of Board For. Miss., No. 20, p. 78.—Rep. Board For. Miss. 1827, p. 138.—Ibid. 1829, p. 82.

opportunities of exerting an extensive influence over the tribes, far and near, were thus at an end. Even the Indians who were scattered over the neighbouring country had lately ceded their lands to the United States; and, until their removal, the government, with a view to their instruction and benefit, was to furnish them with farmers, mechanics, and teachers, who were to be supported out of the funds due to them for their lands, so that in this way they were provided with schools; while the resort of great numbers of White people to the island of Mackinaw, particularly during the summer months, broke in upon the quiet and retirement of the place, and rendered it an unsuitable location for the mission-school.[1]

Art. V.—Oregon.

In March 1836, the Rev. Henry H. Spalding, Dr M. Whitman, and Mr H. Gray, set off for the Oregon territory, and after travelling, partly by water, partly by land, about 3600 miles, the greater part of the way through a country barren and desolate beyond description, they reached Fort Walla-walla, on the Columbia river, about 300 miles from the Pacific Ocean. Here, at a place named Waiilatpu, about 25 miles from the fort, Dr Whitman began a station among a small tribe of Indians, called Kayuses; and Mr Spalding began another station, named Clear Water, among the Nez Perces Indians, about 100 miles to the east of Dr Whitman's. A third station was afterwards established by Messrs Eells and Walker among the Flathead Indians, at a place about 70 miles from Fort Colville.[2]

Seldom have missionaries been made more welcome or met at at first with more encouragement than these to the western Indians of North America. "We might as well hold back the sun in his course," says Mr Spalding, "as hold back the mind of this people from religious inquiry. When they return from their tents, after the services of the Sabbath, they sometimes spend the whole night in perfecting what they but partly understood.

[1] Rep. Board For. Miss. 1833, p. 123.—Ibid. 1835, p. 105.—Ibid. 1836, p. 103.—Ibid. 1837, p. 120.

[2] Miss. Her. vol. xxxii. p. 162; vol. xxxiii. pp. 123, 349, 423, 476.—Rep. Board For. Miss. 1840, p. 177.—Ibid. 1848, p. 239.

I am sometimes astonished at the correctness and rapidity with which several will go through many of the events recorded in the Scriptures; but no history is listened to with such profound attention as the story of the cross of Christ. A paper with His name upon it, is clasped to the bosom with all the apparent affection of a mother embracing her darling child.

"Nothing but actual observation can give an idea of the indefatigable application of all classes, old and young, to the instruction of the school. From morning to night they are assembled in clusters, with one teaching a number of others. Their progress is surprising. Usually about 100 attend school. A number are now able to read a little with us at morning prayers.

"They appear very handy at every kind of work in which they have yet engaged, are remarkably kind, possess industrious habits, with scarcely the appearance of the savage or heathen about them. We consider them perfectly honest, and do not fear to trust them with any article we possess. If the least thing is found out of place, it is immediately returned."

When Dr Whitman and Mr Spalding made excursions through the country, they were often followed for days by hundreds of Indians, eager to see the missionary, and to hear him discourse to them on the truths of the Bible, when he encamped at night.[1]

It is truly remarked by Mr Eells that a missionary, on his first acquaintance with the Indians, is apt to judge much too favourably of them, and to give an extravagant account of their readiness to receive the gospel.[2] Of this we suspect the statements now given are an example. Indeed, we have little faith in extraordinary accounts of missions; and we have rarely found that our incredulity was ill-founded. If the friends of religion would look more to the constitution of human nature, to the character and condition of the heathen, to the nature of the Christian revelation, and to the ordinary course of the Holy Spirit's operations, and would exercise a little more of common sense in forming their opinions, they would be preserved from much error in judging of the progress and the prospects of Christianity among the nations. The love of the marvellous has been very injurious to the cause of missions, both at home and abroad.

There is little doubt that much of the desire which was mani-

[1] Rep. Board For. Miss. 1838, p. 126. [2] Miss. Her. vol. xxxvi. p. 438.

fested by the Indians for missionaries arose out of mere selfishness. It was not usually the common people who expressed much desire for them; it was principally the chiefs, who expected, through their means, to increase their influence, and sustain their dignity among the people. Many were also actuated by a hope of temporal gain. Some of the Indians had come into contact with Americans in the mountains, and had received more from them for their beaver skins than they did from the Hudson's Bay Company; and this had raised a hope among them of gain from missionaries.[1]

In 1839 a small printing press was set up at the station of Clear Water, and an elementary school-book printed for the use of the Nez Perces Indians. This was the first book printed in the Nez Perces language, and the first printing known to have been executed on the western side of the Rocky Mountains. Though this will probably come to be an interesting circumstance in the history of Oregon, yet the establishment of a printing press is so common an occurrence in the annals of missions, that we would scarcely have thought of noticing the fact, were it not that in the present instance the printing press, with the types, paper, ink, and binding apparatus was the gift of the first native church at Honolulu, in Oahu, one of the Sandwich Islands, which twenty years before were involved in all the darkness and pollution of heathenism. The value of the whole was estimated at about 450 dollars, or nearly £100.[2]

The Kayuses and the Nez Perces Indians continued for some years to attend on the instructions of the missionaries, and to manifest more or less interest in them, and also in the schools, and in agricultural and other improvements; but they never realized the hopes which were originally formed of them. At times, indeed, the aspect of things was so discouraging, that it was even in contemplation to give up the stations. The Flathead Indians were never very promising. Some of the chiefs manifested not a little opposition to the gospel, and after some years the people cared less and less about instruction. The population of all the three tribes was very inconsiderable, and they lived

[1] Miss. Her. vol. xxxvi. pp. 327, 441.

[2] Miss. Her. vol. xxxv. p. 446; vol. xxxvi. p. 230.—Rep. Board For. Miss. 1840, p. 178.

much scattered, circumstances which were very unfavourable to their instruction either in religion or in the arts of civilized life.[1] Such was the aspect of the mission, when it was suddenly brought to a close by one of those sad catastrophes of which we are not without examples in the history of missions.

In November 1847, Dr Whitman, Mrs Whitman, and Mr Rogers, an assistant in the mission, were massacred at Waiilatpu by the Indians, under circumstances of great atrocity. The causes of this terrible outbreak of savage violence have never, so far as we know, been satisfactorily explained. Dr Whitman had just returned from burying an Indian child, and was engaged in reading. An Indian, to divert his attention, was in the act of soliciting medicine, while another came behind him and with a tomahawk struck him on the back of his head. A second blow on the top of his head laid him lifeless on the floor. Tilaukait, a principal chief, who had received unnumbered favours from the doctor, and who was about to be received into the church, then fell upon the dead body and mangled it horribly, cutting the face and head, taking out the heart, &c., and scattering them on the road. Mrs Whitman fled up stairs, where she received a wound in the breast through the window. Mr Rogers joined her, but they were persuaded to come down, the Indians promising not to kill them. They were, however, immediately taken to the door and shot. Five other Americans fell the same day, two of whom left each a widow and five children. On the following day, another, who had a wife and three sons, was killed. Eight days later, two others were dragged from their sickbeds, butchered and cut to pieces in the most brutal manner. One who fled, leaving behind him a wife and five children, was supposed to have been killed by another band of Indians.

Two adopted children of Dr Whitman were in the room where he was lying horribly cut and mangled, but still breathing. With their guns in their hands, the Indians stood around them ready to shoot them. A daughter of Mr Spalding was also in the room, and understood every word which they spoke. At length an order was given to spare them.

A large number of women and children were held as captives

[1] Rep. Board For. Miss. 1840, p. 177.—Ibid. 1842, p. 193.—Ibid. 1848, p. 239.—Miss. Her. vol. xxxxvi. pp. 437, 441.; vol. xxxix. pp. 358, 367, 382, 384.

by the Indians for nearly a month, during which time three of them died. By the efforts of Mr Ogden, chief factor of the Hudson's Bay Company at Fort Vancouver, the survivors were at length redeemed, after they had suffered almost every wrong and indignity at the hands of the savages. He also sent an order to the Nez Perces Indians to deliver up Mr Spalding and his family, together with the other Americans at Clear Water.

Mr Spalding, at the time of the massacre, was at a place twenty miles west of Waiilatpu, visiting the sick and preaching to the Indians, and two days after, he was on his way to that station, and had come within two or three miles of it when he met a Romish priest, his interpreter, and a Kayuse Indian. The priest told him of the massacre, that he had camped at the neighbouring Indian village the night before, and had there baptized the children of the murderers; that he afterwards went to see the women and children, and had assisted two friendly Indians in burying the dead. He also informed Mr Spalding that his daughter was alive; that the chief had assured him the women and children would not be killed; that all Frenchmen, Hudson's Bay Company's men, and Roman Catholics, would be safe; that only Protestants or Americans would be killed. Mr Spalding's meeting with the priest was very providential. Had he not met him, he might in a little while have fallen into the hands of Dr Whitman's murderers, and shared his fate. Even as it was, his danger was great. The priest told him, that the Kayuse Indian who accompanied him had come with a design to shoot him; meanwhile he had gone back to reload his pistol, which had gone off accidentally, and would wait till Mr Spalding came up, and then execute his purpose; but our missionary having received some provisions from the priest, made his escape, and though followed by the Indian, he escaped by the coming on of the darkness of the night. He continued to travel by night, but lay still during the day, and at length on the sixth night he entered an Indian lodge near his own house, which had been left that day by Mrs Spalding through fear of the Indians. The Nez Perces, however, manifested generally a friendly spirit to Mr Spalding and his family in their present trying circumstances.

Besides Mr Spalding's family, there were other four Americans and two Frenchmen at Clear Water. Through the kind inter-

position of Mr Ogden of the Hudson's Bay Company, they were soon enabled to remove from that place to Fort Walla-walla, where they found the captives from Waiilatpu, who with them made in all sixty persons. Thence they afterwards proceeded to what was called Oregon City; there they received a cordial welcome from the inhabitants, who deeply sympathized with them under their sufferings, and generously relieved their immediate wants.

Messrs Walker and Eels, the missionaries at Tshimakain among the Flathead Indians, experienced much sympathy and kindness from them after the destruction of Waiilatpu. From other tribes, however, who were arraying themselves against the Whites, they did not deem themselves secure; they therefore at length removed to Fort Colville, and afterwards to Oregon city. Thus terminated the mission among the Indians west of the Rocky Mountains.[1]

Art. VI.—General Statements.

Besides these missions, the Board established many others among various tribes of the Indians. Some of them, namely, those among the Chickasaws, the Creeks, the Pawnees, the Ottawas, and the Stockbridge Indians, were afterwards given up. But there are still stations among the Abenaquis, at St Francis, in Lower Canada; among the Tuscaroras and Senecas, near Lake Erie, on reserved lands in the State of New York; among the Ojibwas, chiefly to the westward of Lake Superior; and among the Sioux or Dakotas, chiefly on or near the River St Peter's, west of the Mississippi. We do not, however, think it necessary to give any particular account of these missions, as they furnish few details of special interest; but we shall make a few general statements regarding the missions of the Board among the various tribes of Indians.

The number of Indians at or within reach of most of the missionary stations was generally not considerable, seldom more than a few hundreds, often not nearly so many; and even of these but a small portion commonly attended on the instructions of the missionaries.

In many of the missions, not much instruction was or could be

[1] Rep. Board For. Miss. 1848, p. 241.—Miss. Her. vol. xliv. p. 237; vol. xlv. pp. 68, 405.

communicated to the Indians; what was given was chiefly in the schools. The languages of the Indians were generally of very difficult acquisition, and there were few helps for acquiring them. It was long before a missionary or teacher attained a knowledge of them, and many never acquired a knowledge of them at all. Much of the instruction which was given to the Indians was, consequently, through the medium of interpreters, which is a very imperfect mode of communicating knowledge of any kind, but especially a knowledge of Divine truth. While those who were engaged in communicating religious instruction were often so imperfectly qualified for imparting it, those whom they sought to teach were scarcely more fitted for receiving it. The minds of the Indians were so darkened by ignorance, superstition, and prejudice, and were so little capable of comprehending moral and religious truth, that the words spoken to them fell on their ears as empty, unmeaning sounds, and conveyed no ideas to them.

Though the Indians generally gave the missionaries at first a friendly reception, yet, when they came better to understand their object, they often stood aloof from them, and shewed little disposition to attend to their instructions. They appeared to have no idea of any higher good than the gratification of their animal desires; and when they found that religion did not supply their bodily wants without their own exertions, but required them to repent of their sins and abandon their lusts, it lost all its attractions for them. Many were even greatly opposed to Christianity, and to all who embraced it. It has often been remarked, that, in Christian countries, females show a greater disposition to receive the gospel than the other sex; but, among the Indians, the women were generally more bitter and unyielding in their opposition than the men. When a heathen husband embraced Christianity, he had commonly to encounter greater hostility from his wife than when the case was reversed. Probably this opposition on the part of the women might arise from their greater ignorance and superstition.[1]

The migratory habits of many of the Indian tribes was a great obstacle to the progress of Christianity and civilization among them. Part of the year they were scattered on their hunting

[1] Miss. Her. vol. xxix. pp. 61, 311; vol. xxx. pp. 299, 301; vol. xxxix. p. 177; vol. xli. p. 58; vol. xliii. p. 161; vol. xlv. pp. 212, 326.

expeditions; at another time they went to the place where they planted their corn; and at another, perhaps, to their fishing-grounds. Of some tribes, no band, and scarcely a family, resided in the same place during the whole year. To this constant wandering, their extreme improvidence, and consequent poverty, compelled them.[1]

The wars of the Indians were another great obstacle to their evangelization and civilization. These, for the time, engross their attention, call into action their savage and malignant passions, keep them in a state of constant excitement, occasion the destruction of many lives and of much property, indispose them to listen to the gospel, and discourage and check all efforts for their improvement. If a tribe have begun to abandon their wandering habits, and to settle down to agricultural pursuits, they are perhaps attacked by some hostile tribe, their villages burned, their fields laid waste, their cattle carried off, and some of themselves, men, women, and children, slaughtered.[2] Who can wonder if such a state of things should lead them to return to their wandering habits? Improvement might only induce the hostile attacks of their enemies.

The views which prevailed among the Indians were also a great hindrance to their improvement. Most of them regarded work as degrading, and fit employment only for women and slaves. Hence, if any one was seen engaged in such employments as belonged to civilized life, he was liable to meet with a flood of ridicule from his countrymen, which few were able to withstand. The mass of them had little desire to improve their condition, wretched as it was. Their only care was to obtain the means of a bare subsistence, with the least possible effort. Their wants were few; they were satisfied with a small amount of the coarsest clothing, and seldom complained of the quality of their food, provided there was a sufficient quantity of it. Of the value of property they had no idea, and they never thought of accumulating any beforehand. Hence, the motives for becoming industrious were with them few and feeble.

Few of them cared to learn anything of the religion of the

[1] Rep. Board For. Miss. 1833, p. 127.—Ibid. 1835, p. 98.

[2] Rep. Board For. Miss. 1833, p. 128.—Ibid. 1843, p. 167.—Ibid. 1846, p. 211.—Ibid. 1848, pp. 265, 267.—Miss. Her. vol. xlv. p. 430.

Bible. Most of them had the idea that the White man's religion was not for the Indians. His religion, and learning, and mode of life, might be well enough for him, but for them they were of no use; they would not render them more successful in hunting and fishing. They said they were a different race, and the Great Spirit designed they should be different. They lived differently, and when they died they went to a different place.[1]

The example of the White people had also a very injurious influence upon them. They came much more into contact with bad than with good people, and they were much more ready to adopt the vices than the virtues of the White man.[2]

Nothing, perhaps, has been so much and so generally the bane of the Indians as ardent spirits. The sufferings incident to savage life, taken in connexion with their naturally melancholy temperament, originating, perhaps in part, from these sufferings, predispose them more than most other nations to drown their sorrows in intoxication; and unprincipled White men, availing themselves of their thirst for spirituous liquors, supplied them with them in great abundance, and often, by the basest artifices, induced them to buy the poisonous drug. Intemperance would at times pass through among them like an overwhelming flood, carrying with it everywhere devastation and ruin.

The Indians became, in many cases, sensibly alive to the evils which intemperance spread among them. They often made strict laws against the introduction of ardent spirits among them, and they executed these laws with great rigidity. The United States government likewise passed laws, prohibiting the sale of spirituous liquors to the Indians, and many of its agents were anxious to execute the laws faithfully. Ardent spirits were by these means kept from this and the other body of Indians for a time. It often appeared as if intemperance had received a mortal blow; its ravages for a time were stayed; but it would again break out with renewed violence, blasting the fair hopes to which their reformation had given rise. It seemed as if nothing could long protect them from the incessant and insidious arts of unprincipled traders. Of late years, however, much has been effected among the Indians by temperance societies. These were established in connexion with many of the missions. Notorious drunkards were by means

[1] Rep. Board For. Miss. 1831, p. 150. [2] Rep. Board. For. Miss. 1847, p. 295.

of them reformed, while many others of the Indians were confirmed and preserved in their habits of sobriety.[1]

The United States government appeared for many years resolved to pursue a just and humane policy in regard to the Indian tribes, and was ready to afford its countenance and aid to any enlightened efforts for their improvement; but of late years, as we have already had occasion to state, a change came over its policy; the Indians were sacrificed to the cupidity of the White people. The scheme for removing the Indians to the west was not confined to the Cherokees and Choctaws; it was a general measure applicable to the various tribes in the eastern States, or rather to the remains of them, for they were now, for the most part, but few in number. Some of these tribes had already been removed from the country originally possessed by their fathers; and now they were required to remove again from the lands which had been granted to them in exchange for it, while, at the same time, new arrangements required to be made with some of the tribes who lived in the west, in order to make room for those whom it was now proposed to remove from the east. To the proposals for removing them the various tribes were, for the most part, strongly opposed; and few things could have had a more injurious influence as regarded their moral and social improvement. They dashed, to a great degree, the hopes which had been entertained of the evangelization and civilization of the Indians. They affected even their estimation of the missionaries. The Indians became disaffected to White men generally, and distrusted all their professions of desire to do them good. They thought themselves wronged, oppressed, and despoiled of their rights by the measures taken to obtain their lands. Exercising but little discrimination, they charged what was done by one class of White men upon them all; and the missionary as well as the agent of government became suspected of having sinister designs. It was difficult to convince them that every American was not fully aware of and accessory to all the policy, secret and avowed, of his government.[2]

[1] Miss. Her. vol. xxvii. p. 45; vol. xli. p. 166.—Rep. Board For. Miss. 1852, p. 159.

[2] Rep. Board For. Miss. 1838, p. 136.

The following statement of the aggregate quantity of land purchased from the Indian tribes since the establishment of the present federal government, and the amount paid

Besides, these measures for removing the Indians greatly disheartened and discouraged the missionaries. In the midst of the agitation, strife, and suspicion to which they gave rise, they saw that in their preaching and in their schools, when the thoughts and feelings of those among whom they laboured were immoveably fixed on other subjects, they did but beat the air; and as they knew not how long this state of things might last, their zeal was chilled; there was no room for enterprize, and little inducement to form plans or adopt any course of action which looked forward to future results, when they knew not how soon they might be all broken up and frustrated.

Under the malignant influence of these measures, the Chickasaw, Creek, Osage, and Ottawa missions of the Board were broken up, and many of the other missions were deeply injured, some of them for a series of years.[1]

The progress of Christianity and civilization among the Indian tribes was subject to great alterations; it was often like the cloud and sunshine of a summer's day. There appears to be a want of stability in the Indian character; they seem to be a fickle, changeable race—to lack patience and perseverance, energy and industry, foresight and providence; and hence they so often fail of steady, continuous, lasting progress. They would go on well for a time; the gospel would appear to be producing good fruit among them; there would even be what were considered as revivals of religion; temperance and other virtues would be flourishing; husbandry would be advancing; and they would be becoming every way more comfortable in their circumstances. But after a time, religion would be on the decline; nothing would be heard but complaints of deadness and indifference; intemperance would be prevailing; everything, in short, would be going backwards. In

therefor, with a statement of lands given in exchange," was procured from the Indian department at Washington in or about 1852:—

Number of Acres of Land acquired.	Amount of consideration in money, goods, &c. given for them.	Number of acres given in exchange or reserved.	Value of lands given in exchange at 1¼ dollar per acre.	Where the lands given in exchange lie.
481,644,448	85,274,877	62,728,927	71,041,723	Chiefly west of the Mississippi and Missouri.

—*Miss. Her.* vol. xlviii. p. 278.

1 Rep. Board For. Miss. 1838, p. 138.

few missions has more disappointment been experienced than in those among the North American Indians; it has almost seemed as if nothing lasting could be effected with them. Yet it would be unfair to attribute this entirely to the want of stability in the Indian character. It is but fair to take into account the circumstances in which they were placed, and the temptations to which they were exposed. It is scarcely possible for persons living in a civilized country to conceive the numerous and powerful temptations by which they were assailed. The poor Indians were often as much the objects of pity and sympathy as of blame.

The circumstances of the missions among the Indians were exceedingly perplexing to the Board, and they appear at times to have been quite nonplussed in regard to them, at once greatly discouraged and at a loss how to proceed. With the view of obtaining light as to the best modes of operation, visits of inspection were repeatedly made by officers of the Board to the missionary stations among different tribes, and various changes and modifications of their plans were made from time to time. The combination of systematic efforts for the civilization and evangelization of the Indians, was a leading feature in the missions of the Board, particularly in the earlier and more important missions. It was conceived, that many of the attempts which had heretofore been made for the conversion of the Indians had failed, or been successful only temporarily, in consequence of measures for introducing among them the arts of civilized life not having formed so prominent a part of the scheme, or not having been so assiduously prosecuted, as was desirable they should. This plan of operation required various classes of agents, and accordingly the Board employed missionaries, teachers, catechists, female teachers, farmers, and mechanics; the Indians themselves, or the United States government, contributing in many instances, in whole or in part, for the support of the schools and the farming establishments. The combination of the two objects often involved the missionaries and teachers in secular duties, and interfered materially with their labours for the religious instruction of the people. It also required a numerous agency, and that of various classes of persons; but wherever a large number of persons are associated at one station, there is apt to be a want of harmony and of due subordination among them. The system on which the missions were originally

established among the Indians, does not appear to have worked well. The Board were therefore led to reduce the number of the agents at the principal stations, and to increase the number of the stations, placing the whole on a smaller scale; and though we are not aware that it ever changed its opinion as to the importance of the civilization of the Indians, it came to the conclusion that this should be carried on by an agency distinct from that employed for their evangelization, and that the secular cares of each station, even the largest, should be as few and as simple as possible.

Much was originally expected from boarding-schools, but they did not realize the expectations which were formed of them. They were very expensive, and involved an amount of labour and care beyond what any one could conceive who had not made the experiment; and, after all, they were attended with much disappointment. It was very difficult, especially among the more uncivilized tribes, to know what to do with the pupils when they had finished their education and had to leave the school. If they returned to their parents' houses and lived among their countrymen, nearly all the good effects of their education were almost inevitably lost. They could hardly avoid becoming wandering hunters and warriors, and being again immersed in every kind of vice.

Disappointed in a great degree with the boarding establishments, and even with large schools at the principal stations, the missionaries formed small schools in districts or villages, though these would often be attended by not more than fifteen or twenty scholars.

At first the object appears to have been to communicate instruction in the schools through the medium of the English language, with the view, perhaps, of moulding the character and habits of the scholars after the English fashion, and of introducing them to the treasures of knowledge which are to be found in English literature; but afterwards it was judged necessary to teach them their own language, as being the only effectual way of communicating clear ideas to the mass of any population. Some of the missionaries, after having made the experiment for many years, gave it as their decided opinion, that the plan of teaching Indian children in the English language was productive of very little

good. There were cases, however, in which they taught them both their own language and the English.

Among the Ojibwas, the experience of the teachers led them to adopt, to a considerable extent, the method of teaching commonly employed in infant schools. Not only very young children, but youths, and even adults, among untutored Indians, are so unaccustomed to all purely intellectual effort, that they acquire knowledge slowly when communicated in the ordinary methods, and feel little interest in it even though presented in the simplest language, and accompanied with the most familiar illustrations, while their attention is at once riveted by the exhibition of pictures, maps, and other objects which appeal to the senses.

Besides a variety of works, as we have already mentioned, in the Cherokee and Choctaw languages, the missionaries prepared and printed books, chiefly of an elementary nature, or portions of the New Testament, in the Abenaquis, Seneca, Ojibwa, Sioux, Pawnee, Creek, Osage, Nez Perces, and Flathead Indian languages, in most of which no books had ever before been printed; most of them, indeed, had not so much as been reduced to writing.[1]

SECT. VII.—GREECE.

In June 1828, the Rev. Jonas King sailed for Greece, with the view of assisting in the distribution of supplies which were sent from the United States, for the relief of the distressed inhabitants of that country, and of promoting measures for the spread among them of evangelical truth, by the establishment of schools, and the circulation of the Holy Scriptures and religious tracts. That country had lately, after a severe and bloody struggle, become independent of Turkey; and in consequence of its many classical associations, a deep interest was felt in the infant republic throughout the civilized world, and perhaps nowhere was it greater than in the United States of America. On arriving in Greece, Mr King was very favourably received by Capo d'Istrias,

[1] Evarts's Mem. pp. 121, 172, 197, 236, 244, 264.—Rep. Board For. Miss. 1824, pp. 45, 169.—Ibid. 1827, p. 134.—Ibid. 1828, pp. 64, 66.—Ibid. 1830, p. 93.—Ibid. 1832, pp. 99, 166.—Ibid. 1833, pp. 123, 126.—Ibid. 1834, p. 127.—Ibid. 1836, p. 134.—For. Miss. Chron. of Western For. Miss. Soc. vol. iii. pp. 7, 41.

the President, who appeared to entertain large and liberal views on the subject of education. The inquiries for books, especially for the New Testament, were very numerous. The young and the old, priests as well as others, and even whole schools, came to him to be supplied with them. There also appeared great encouragement to establish schools. He opened a school for females in the isle of Tinos, and he subsequently proceeded to Athens, and commenced several schools; but, after some time, the number was reduced to two, which, however, were of a high character; the one was called the Elementary school, the other the Evangelical gymnasium. He had also Greek services on the Sabbath, which were attended by from 15 to 120 persons; and he endeavoured, by making frequent tours through the adjacent country and islands, to circulate the Holy Scriptures and religious tracts, to furnish books to schools, and to promote the cause of education generally.[1]

In August 1833, soon after the establishment of Greece into a kingdom, a royal decree was issued, consisting of a number of articles for the ecclesiastical government of the country. By this decree, "the Orthodox Eastern Apostolical Church" was represented as "acknowledging no other head in spiritual things than the Founder of the Christian faith, our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, but in respect to government, as having for its chief, the King of Greece, and being free and independent of every other power;" in fact, it was completely subjected to the will and authority of the civil government of the country. The highest ecclesiastical authority was vested under the control of the king, in a permanent council, named the Holy Council of the Kingdom of Greece; but the government had the right to take cognizance of all matters under the consideration of the council; and before obtaining the approbation of government, the council could not publish or enforce any of its decisions. Though all other religions were tolerated, proselytism from the Greek Church was expressly prohibited. The first article in the constitution of Greece was as follows:—"The prevailing religion in Greece is that of the Eastern Orthodox Church of Christ; but every other

[1] Miss. Her. vol. xxiv. pp. 225, 394; vol. xxv. p. 133; vol. xxvi. pp. 41, 62; vol. xxvii. p. 346; vol. xxx. p. 487.—Rep. Board For. Miss. 1833, p. 35.—Ibid. 1834, p. 42.

known religion is tolerated, and the rites of its worship are to be exercised without hindrance, under the protection of the law; proselytism, and every other interference with the prevailing religion, being inhibited." And in this new ecclesiastical constitution was found the following article:—"The council will watch over the diligent preservation of the doctrines professed by the Eastern Church, and especially over the contents of books designed for the use of youth, and of the clergy; and treating of religious subjects; and whenever it shall be positively assured that any man whatever is endeavouring to disturb the Church of the kingdom by false doctrine, by proselyting, or by any other means, it shall call upon the secular power to apply a remedy to the evil, according to the civil laws." This article is so pointedly expressed, that there appears reason to conclude that it was drawn up with special reference to the labours of missionaries in Greece. Certain restrictions were shortly after laid on schools, and on the circulation of books. No one was allowed to preach without a diploma from the government. Catalogues were required of books which were in deposit for sale or distribution, and a licence for circulating them had to be obtained from the minister of the interior; nor did he feel at liberty to give a general licence for the whole kingdom, but a special licence was necessary for each district where the sale or distribution might take place.[1]

In April 1835, the Holy Council, with the approbation of the government, issued a proclamation, declaring the Translation of the Seventy to be the canonical translation of the Old Testament; and appointing it to be read in churches, and also for the use of the clergy, of the youth, and of the people in general, so far as related to their religious instruction; and disapproving, for the above-mentioned purposes, of every other translation, whether from the Hebrew, or from any other language, declaring it uncanonical and inadmissible in the Eastern Church. Thus, the Holy Council appointed for general use a translation of the Old Testament in a dead language which comparatively few understood, and laid its interdict on any version into modern Greek which the people might understand; thus shewing how similar, in prin-

[1] Miss. Her. vol. xxx. pp. 134, 442; vol. xxxv. p. 253.—Rep. Board For. Miss. 1834, p. 41.—Miss. Reg. 1845, p. 83.

ciple and spirit, is the Greek Church to the Church of Rome. The circumstance which called forth the decree was probably the printing and circulation of some portions of the Old Testament, translated from the original Hebrew into modern Greek; and the known fact that the whole of the Old Testament was then in the course of translation, and might soon be printed.[1]

The government still appeared decidedly friendly, and the minister of the interior gave Mr King, and his fellow-missionary Mr Riggs, a general licence to distribute books in all the villages of Greece (but, for the chief towns of the provinces, it was still necessary to obtain permission from the Nomarchs), though this had been refused two years before, immediately on the passing of the law on that subject. Notwithstanding the unfriendly feelings of the priesthood, they sold and distributed vast numbers of the New Testament in modern Greek, and portions of the Old Testament, and numerous school-books and religious tracts. Meanwhile, however, the priestly leaven was working among the populace; and their jealousy and hostility toward missionaries generally were excited in a high degree.[2]

In 1837, Messrs Houston and Leyburn proceeded into Mane, a district of ancient Sparta, towards the extremity of the peninsula, a wild and rugged, yet interesting region, with the view of establishing schools in that quarter. Here they met with a most cordial welcome. They established a Hellenic school at Areopolis, of rather a high order in respect of the studies pursued in it. Among the books used in it was the catechism of the Greek Church, which, Mr Houston says, contains a most excellent summary of Christian doctrines. They hesitated much before they consented to introduce it into the school, on account of the few pages which contain error; but they at last agreed to do so, as their circumstances appeared to render this necessary; but it was on the condition, that the teacher should explicitly inform the

[1] Miss. Her. vol. xxxii. pp. 56, 101.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1836, p. 41.

In 1844 the Greek Patriarch at Constantinople also addressed a circular to all his bishops, commanding them to take good heed that this translation of the Old Testament from the original Hebrew be neither sold, nor bought, nor read in their dioceses, as not being received by the Church, nor any kind of corrupt books, that the people may not be corrupted in their politics, their religion, and their morals.—*Miss. Her.* vol. xli. p. 51.

[2] Miss. Her. vol. xxxii. pp. 102, 227, 421.—Rep. Board For. Miss. 1836, p. 40.—Ibid. 1837, p. 46.—Ibid. 1838, p. 62.—Ibid. 1844, p. 96.

scholars that they did not believe the objectionable points, and give the reasons for their disbelief of them. They could in this way bring many important truths to bear upon the minds of the scholars, with all the authority of the Orthodox Eastern Church, and which are altogether at variance with their practice; and they could in no other way so distinctly, yet so inoffensively, declare their disbelief of prevailing errors. But their enemies at the capital prevented them from getting a licence from the government to circulate books, and also from obtaining a suitable teacher for a Lancasterian school. A teacher, however, was at length obtained from government, and there was quickly a numerous school.[1]

In 1841, a circular was issued by the government, ordering the catechism in use in the Greek Church to be taught in the Hellenic schools throughout the kingdom. Whether this was the same catechism as was previously introduced into the school at Areopolis, does not appear; but if it was, it would appear as if it had been discontinued. When this order was communicated to Mr Leyburn, he did not feel that he could conscientiously teach the catechism in his school, as it contained various unscriptural dogmas, such as the worship of pictures, the invocation of saints, baptismal regeneration, transubstantiation, auricular confession, and other gross errors on the subject of justification; and though the government yielded the matter so far, as not to require the catechism to be taught in the school of the mission, but offered to send a catechist to teach it to the scholars in a neighbouring church, yet it was on the condition that no religious instruction should be communicated, and not even the gospel expounded in the school. It was alleged, that if the Scriptures were taught in the school, and the catechism out of it, this would produce confusion; that the scholars would be neither Greeks nor Protestants, but would despise all religion; that the Scriptures were the cause of the rise of so many sects, and that it was necessary to teach religion as it is in the catechism, so as to avoid this evil, and to preserve the unity of the faith; that, in matters of faith, men must be taught to believe, not to examine. In consequence of these measures, Mr Leyburn began to take measures for closing his schools; but in this he only anticipated a little a communica-

[1] Miss. Her. vol. xxxiii. p. 453; vol. xxxv. p. 253; vol. xxxvi. pp. 187, 214.

tion from the government withdrawing the licence originally granted to the missionaries to establish schools in Laconia, and directing measures to be taken for the continuance of the schools at the public expense. Thus the station at Areopolis was brought to a close.[1]

In 1845, great excitement was raised against Mr King, who was now the only missionary of the Board in Greece, arising out of an alleged attempt at proselytism while he was at Smyrna the preceding autumn; and the original accusation was soon followed by the charge that he had spoken impiously and injuriously of the Virgin Mary. He defended himself from this charge in one of the newspapers printed at Athens; and he afterwards published a full defence of his views regarding the Virgin Mary, transubstantiation, images, and pictures, in which he quoted largely from Epiphanius, Chrysostom, Irenæus, Clemens, and others of the Fathers, who are held in the highest veneration by the Greeks, shewing that they held the same sentiments as he had taught. Besides being distributed more generally, copies of this work were sent to all the professors in the university, the senators of the nation, the ministers of state, the members of the holy council, and to many other distinguished persons both in Greece and in Turkey. It produced a powerful sensation. Several persons of distinction who read it, spoke decidedly in its favour. Some declared their conviction that the Virgin Mary ought not to be worshipped. The hostility of others was excited to a great height. The Greek Synod addressed a circular "To all devout and orthodox Christians in the Greek commonwealth," in which it "excommunicated, as blasphemous and impious, the Defence of the Calvinist and Nestorian Jonas King, and prohibited to every orthodox Christian the reading of it, and called upon one and all to deliver it immediately to the fire. It prohibited, from thenceforth, all and every kind of connexion with this most impious heretic;" ordered "that no one may salute or greet him on the street, or enter into his dwelling, or eat or drink with him." "And," it added, "whosoever shall transgress and disobey this ecclesiastical command will be regarded as a follower of his heresy, a follower of Nestorius, a reviler of the immaculate and our highly blessed lady, the Mother of God, and ever Virgin

[1] Miss. Her. vol. xxxviii. p. 140; vol. xxxix. p. 32.

Mary, an enemy of the saints and of the holy images, and unworthy of the communion of the body and blood of our Lord and God Jesus Christ." A synodical writing or excommunication was also read against him and his blasphemous *Defence* in all the Greek churches of Constantinople; it appears to have been read likewise in the churches of Crete, and it would probably be read in all the Greek churches in the East, so that the whole Oriental Orthodox Greek Church was set in battle array against him. The holy synod at Athens, not content with excommunicating him, demanded that he should be prosecuted by the government. The case went against him in three successive trials, the last of which was before the Areopagus, or highest court of appeal. The effect of these judgments was to declare the offences alleged against him to be criminal in law, and to refer the case for trial, as to the truth of the charges and the punishment to be inflicted, to the criminal court, which was to sit at Syra. On proceeding thither, he found the populace so incensed against him, that he would be in imminent danger of his life if he should land. By the advice of his lawyers he therefore returned to Athens, as it was in his power to have his trial put off. Even in that city, however, he was not safe. It was reported that a number of persons had combined together to kill him; and in consequence of this he did not venture for several weeks beyond the precincts of his own dwelling. Everything he heard from friends shewed that it would be quite unsafe for him to go into the streets. The newspapers of Athens poured forth the most virulent abuse upon him, and held him up to the execration of the people.[1] Ten

[1] The following article in the *Morning Herald*, August 4, 1846, is a specimen of the attacks made upon him in the newspapers:—

"THE HORRIBLE KING.

"King, most appropriately called by the *Hope* (another newspaper), 'apostle of the devil'—an infernal vomit of America—wanted but little of being stoned by the people of Syra, where this vassal of Satan—the reviler of our most holy Mother of God—went to be judged by the judges of criminals, because he reviled, both in speech and in libels, our orthodox faith.

"We have seen many anti-Christian monsters and mad heretics, but such an one as Jonas King, vomited out, not from a whale, by a holy miracle, but from the lowest region of hell, by a diabolic energy, upon the illustrious soil of Greece, we have not as yet seen; and patience, had such a monstrous beast come out of the fanatic abodes of Papacy, and of anti-social Jesuitism, emanating from it; but that it should come out of the liberal and tolerant America, this remains to us inexplicable! And still more

months, however, passed away without his being put on his trial; but he at length received a citation to appear before the criminal court at Syra. He had supposed that should there be any trial it would take place at Athens, not at Syra, where it could not be expected he would have a fair trial. Subsequently, the king's attorney, through the interposition, it would appear, of powerful friends, recalled the citation; but the attacks on him in the newspapers became more outrageous than ever, and the excitement of the people was at length so great, that a communication was made to him from the king and his government, expressive of their wish that he would take a short journey until the public mind should be allayed; that in order to protect him there might be bloodshed; that if things should come to the worst, they might feel obliged to order him away, which they did not wish to do, as in that case, before he could return he must have a permit, which it might be difficult to obtain, whereas if he went away voluntarily, he could come back whenever he pleased. Under these circumstances he thought it his duty to go away for a season; and he accordingly sailed immediately for Corfu, whence he proceeded to Geneva, where he was kindly and hospitably received by the friends of religion. Though he left Greece in compliance with the suggestions and wishes of the government, yet after his departure, the prosecution was renewed against him for the alleged crime of proselytism, and an order was issued for his arrest and imprisonment, in the hope probably of deterring him from returning to the country. But after an absence of ten months he did return, and though he renewed his labours, yet he was not for a considerable time molested or interfered with in any manner of way. A work by him in Greek, entitled, "Exposition of an Apostolical Church," which was printed at Cambridge in New England, began at length to make some noise, and, it appeared from the newspapers, had been prohibited by the Greek hierarchy in Constantinople, Smyrna, and Salonica. He was at length tried for having, in discoursing in his own house, attacked

inexplicable appears to us the conduct of our government, which not only tolerates such a monster in our guileless community, but has not hesitated to condemn both all the people of Syra, and the Bishop of the Cyclades, for the sake of this abominable monster.

"O Coletti, Coletti! the days of charlatanry are passed, though you should protect such a wretch," &c.—*Miss. Her.* vol. xlii. p. 362. M. Coletti, who was thus apostrophized, was then prime minister of Greece.

the dogmas, ordinances, and customs of the Eastern Orthodox Church, and expressed opinions and sentiments contrary in general to its basis and influence, and he was condemned to be imprisoned for fifteen days, and to be exiled from the kingdom of Greece. He was considered even by distinguished Greek lawyers, and by the more enlightened portion of the public press, as having had a very unfair trial, and as being most unjustly condemned, as what he had done was not illegal by the laws of Greece, as they grant toleration to all religions; and he had merely expounded the gospel according to the views of the Protestant churches. His prosecutors also sought to bring against him a charge of proselytism, which is against the laws of Greece, but not being able to prove it, they dropped it for the present. According to his sentence he was put in prison; but being taken ill of fever, he was removed to his own house, and there was placed under a guard. The sentence of banishment, however, was not carried into effect for the present, for what cause is not certainly known. The whole case having been brought before the American government, it took measures for having it investigated with the view of ascertaining whether one of its citizens had been illegally treated by a government towards which it had ever sustained the most friendly relations. The results of its proceedings are not yet known; but in the meanwhile Dr King has continued his preaching and other labours much as in former years, and has met with no interruption from any quarter.[1]

In reflecting on the history of this and other missions in Greece, it is impossible not to feel deep disappointment, especially when we think of the high expectations which were entertained of the rise and progress of that country on its becoming an independent kingdom. It was not, however, the hopes of the friends of missions only which were disappointed; those of the politician, the scholar, and the philanthropist, were equally frustrated.

[1] Rep. Board For. Miss. 1845, p. 84.—Ibid. 1846, p. 92.—Ibid. 1848, p. 139.—Ibid. 1849, p. 103.—Ibid. 1850, p. 96.—Ibid. 1852, pp. 54, 56.—Ibid. 1853, p. 54.—Miss. Her. vol. xli. pp. 213, 393; vol. xlii. pp. 87, 305, 344; vol. xliii. pp. 285, 320, 357, 365; vol. xliv. pp. 314, 368; vol. xlv. pp. 103, 404; vol. xlvii. pp. 154, 156, 402, 404; vol. xlviii. pp. 135, 137, 177, 179, 238.

SECT. VIII.—SYRIA.

In November 1819, the Rev. Pliny Fisk and Levi Parsons sailed for Smyrna, with the view of establishing a mission in Palestine. After arriving at Smyrna, they visited the island of Scio, and various parts of Asia Minor, particularly the places where once flourished the Seven Churches of Asia. On their return, it was agreed, that while Mr Fisk should remain at Smyrna, studying the necessary languages, and making researches in the vicinity, Mr Parsons should proceed to Palestine, visit Jerusalem, and make inquiries respecting the most eligible place for the establishment of a mission.[1]

In December 1820, Mr Parsons sailed for Palestine; and after residing about three months in Jerusalem, he again embarked at Jaffa, to return to Smyrna. Having stopped at Syra, one of the Cyclades, he was there attacked by fever, which brought him near to the gates of death; and though he so far recovered his strength as to reach Smyrna after an absence of twelve months, it was judged advisable that he should immediately sail for Egypt, in the hope that a voyage to a warmer climate might prove beneficial to him. He and his colleague accordingly sailed for Alexandria. His strength was now greatly reduced; yet no one entertained any apprehension of immediate danger. One night Mr Fisk proposed sitting up with him; but he insisted on his going to bed, particularly as his servant always slept near him, and awoke at the least word or motion. His colleague, on bidding him good night, wished that God would place "underneath him the everlasting arms" of his mercy; to which he replied, "The angel of the Lord encampeth round about them that fear Him." "These," says Mr Fisk, "were the last words I ever heard that beloved brother speak; the last that I shall hear from him, until I shall hear him speak in the language of immortality. Twice while I slept he awoke, and told his servant that he had slept very quietly, and felt easy and well. At half-past three the servant heard him speak or groan, and started up. He saw something was the matter, and called me. I was by the bed-side in a moment. O what a heart-rending moment was that! He

[1] Memoir of the Rev. Pliny Fisk, pp. 93, 110, 115, 132.

was gasping for breath, unable to speak, and apparently insensible to all around him. I stood by his side, and attempted to revive him, but in vain. I tried to commend his departing spirit to that Redeemer on whom he had believed. I pressed his hand, kissed his quivering lips, and spoke to him; but he gave me no answer, not even a look or a motion. He took no notice of me, or of anything around him. His appointed time had arrived. He continued to breathe till a quarter past four. Then the muscles of his face were knit together, as if he was in pain. It was the dying struggle. It was the dissolution of the last ties that united soul and body. It was the soul breaking off its last fetters. His features then became placid again; his breath stopped; his pulse ceased to beat; his soul took its immortal flight.

"After the first pang of separation, I stood pensive by the corpse, thinking of the scenes which were opening to his view. O what glories! O what glories!

"I turned my thoughts to myself, and found my heart sick and faint. But I have not room to describe the emotions that agitated my breast. To me the stroke seems almost insupportable."[1]

After Mr Parson's death, Mr Fisk proceeded to Malta to meet the Rev. Mr Temple, who had come to his assistance; and after being usefully employed there for some months, he returned to Egypt, accompanied by the Rev. Jonas King, and by Mr Joseph Wolff, the well-known Jewish Missionary.[2] They travelled through Egypt, ascending the Nile as far as the ruins of ancient Thebes; they afterwards crossed the desert which separates Egypt from Palestine, and travelled through the Holy Land and Syria, visiting Jerusalem, Tyre and Sidon, Tripoli, Balbec, Damascus, Aleppo, Antioch, and many other interesting places. They had brought with them from Malta 2000 copies of the Holy Scriptures, in at least twelve different languages, and great quantities of tracts. Besides circulating these to the best advantage, sometimes selling the copies of the Scriptures, sometimes giving them away, they were frequently engaged in discussing religious sub-

[1] Memoir of the Rev. Levi Parsons: American edition, 1830, pp. 296, 338, 344, 349, 352, 360.—Fisk's Memoir, pp. 153, 157, 164, 167.

[2] Mr Temple brought a press with him, and it was agreed that he should remain at Malta to superintend its operations. The printing establishment at Malta had a common relation to the various missions which the Board established in the Mediterranean.

jects with Jews, Turks, Copts, Greeks, and Catholics. It was, however, no easy matter to converse or reason with them. To convict them of a direct and palpable contradiction did not at all embarrass them. They could shift their ground; recal or contradict what they had said; give new meanings, or no meaning to their words; assert without proving; explain without understanding; admit a point, then deny it; talk on any subject; answer any question; and amidst a mass of stupidity and nonsense, say some very shrewd things. They were in general everlasting talkers; but serious or profound thought was unknown to them. "In whatever way," says Mr Fisk, "I come into contact with the minds of men in this country, it seems like walking among the scattered walls and fallen columns of its ancient cities. All is confusion, desolation, and ruin." Some, indeed, professed to be pleased with what they heard, and to believe that it was all true; but no impression appeared to be made upon them. "We prove to them," says he, "that to pray to saints is idolatry. They admit it, and go and pray to saints. We prove to them that Jesus Christ is the only mediator. They admit it, and go and ask the Virgin Mary to intercede for them. We prove to them that confession of sin should be made to God, and not to the priest, and that God only can grant pardon. They say this is true, and go and confess to the priest, and get him to absolve them. We prove to them that God has forbidden the use of pictures and images in his worship. They profess to be convinced, and go and kiss the pictures, and bow before the images."[1]

When Messrs Fisk and King were at Jaffa, some singular reports were circulated concerning them among both Christians and Mussulmans. It was said that they induced their people to embrace their religion, and that each conversion cost ten piastres, which the convert received, and which would always remain with him however much he might spend. It was also reported that they took the portrait of every convert, and that, should he afterwards apostatize, if they shot the picture, the apostate would die.[2]

[1] Fisk's Memoirs, pp. 183, 186, 210, 215, 228, 233, 243, 288, 307, 347, 361.

[2] It is a curious fact that there was a similar report in Switzerland concerning the missionaries of the Basle Evangelical Society. It was customary to take their portraits before they went away, and to hang them up in the mission seminary. There was a considerable collection of them; and it was said, that if any one proved unfaithful they shot his picture with a gun, and that he fell down dead that instant in whatever part of

The man in whose house they lodged said to them one day, that a Moslem told him that he understood they hired people to worship the devil, and asked if it were true, saying that if it was he would come and join the company, and bring a hundred others with him. "What! would you worship the devil?" said Signor Damiani, the English Consul. "Yes, for the sake of money," answered the Moslem. By some it was said that they had caused a great shaking in the city, meaning by this a moral commotion, and it was reported they had actually caused an earthquake, and that the great earthquake of Aleppo was to be attributed to their influence.[1]

On occasion of one of Mr Fisk's visits to Jerusalem, he and Mr Bird, who had lately joined him, were arrested and taken before the moolah or judge, and afterwards before the governor, under an accusation by the Roman Catholics that the books which they circulated were neither Christian, Jewish, nor Mussulman books. A proclamation was made, that whoever had received books from them must deliver them up to the judge, and that nobody should hereafter receive any from them under pain of imprisonment; that they were books which might not be read in the mosque or in the synagogue, in the church, or anywhere else. After a variety of vexatious proceedings, the missionaries were liberated. The governor found they had gone too far, and threw the blame on the judge; all the parties seemed to regret that they had meddled with them, and a general impression appeared to be made, that persons under English protection were not to be trifled with.[2]

In November 1823, the Rev. Messrs Bird and Goodell arrived at Beirut on the coast of Syria, which henceforth became the head-quarters of the mission. Here, and in the neighbouring mountains of Lebanon, there was a very varied population among which to labour—Christians of different denominations, Greeks, Armenians, Romanists, the latter chiefly Maronites and Greek Catholics, Mahommedans, and Druses.[1] The missionaries did not

the world he might happen to be. This was told the author, nearly thirty years ago, by Mr Haensel, then one of the teachers in the Basle Missionary Institution. The story of the pictures was told many years after of the missionaries at Constantinople, and that of the piastres at Trebizond in Asia Minor.—*Miss. Her.* vol. xxxviii. p. 447; vol. xli. p. 294.

[1] Fisk's Memoirs, p. 359. [2] Ibid. p. 328. [3] Rep. Board For. Miss. 1824, p. 123.

however confine their labours to Beirut and its neighbourhood; they made frequent journeys through Palestine and Syria, seeking to spread everywhere, and among all classes of the population, the knowledge of the gospel.[2]

In October 1825, Mr Fisk died at Beirut, whither he had come a few months before, after having been travelling about from place to place for upwards of two years. To do justice to his character is no easy task. Few men have possessed such a rare combination of missionary qualifications. Of his piety and devotedness, the following extract from one of his letters gives a pleasing idea:—"I often long," says he, "for the society of dear Christian friends in America. I long to be with them in their domestic and social circles, in their prayer meetings, on the holy Sabbath, at the Lord's table, and more particularly at their missionary meetings; but though banished from them all, I am generally far from being unhappy. My prevailing state of mind is cheerfulness rather than the opposite. I am satisfied that happiness does not depend on external circumstances. With a contented mind, with a heart weaned from this world and fixed on heaven, with an earnest and undivided desire to serve and obey our divine Lord, with no interest of our own to promote, with a clear view of the Divine government, and with a lively faith in the Redeemer, we are happy, though our food be only bread and water, and our dwelling a dungeon or a desert. Without these, in some good degree at least, we are uneasy and unhappy, though we may be clothed in royal apparel, fare sumptuously every day, live in a palace, and have all the outward means of enjoyment that the world can afford. It is not this earth—it is not temporal comforts—it is not science and refinement—it is not even friends—that can give contentment to an immortal mind. It is God himself who has created our minds capable of enjoying His love and favour—it is communion with Him through Jesus Christ. In proportion as we enjoy this, the soul is filled and satisfied. In proportion as we

[1] It is curious to remark how generally the religious worship of the countries around the Mediterranean is conducted in a language which the people do not understand,—that of the Romish Church, in Latin; of the Greek, in ancient Greek; of the Armenian, in ancient Armenian; of the Coptic, in Coptic; of the Syrians and Maronites, in Syriac; of the Jews, in Hebrew; and of the Mahommedans, in Arabic. In most cases, the common people of these different sects know about as little of the language in which their religious service is conducted, as the people of England know of old Saxon.—*Miss. Her.* vol. xx. p. 342.

seek happiness in other things, it is left void—the subject of bitter disappointment."[1] Parsons and Fisk "were lovely in their lives, and in their death they were not long divided."

The missionaries met with great and determined hostility from the ecclesiastics of the different Catholic sects in Syria, especially from the Patriarch of the Maronites, who resided at Kanobin, in the mountains of Lebanon, about fifty miles from Beirut. He appeared determined to root them out of the country, and at times it almost seemed as if he would accomplish his purpose. He issued an order to all his children of the Maronite community, of every rank and condition, whether ecclesiastics or laymen, that no one should possess the books circulated by the missionaries, nor buy them, nor sell them, nor give them to others, nor look into them, nor read them, from any motive or cause whatsoever; that all who possessed such books should burn them, or bring them to him at Kanobin; that no one should associate with them in spiritual things, by being present at their prayers, hearing their exhortations, or hold discourse with them in regard to things pertaining to religion, or study in their schools; that whosoever should neglect to obey, or should act contrary to this order, if he were an ecclesiastic, he declared that, by so doing, he was prohibited from the exercise of his office, or, if he were a layman, that he fell under excommunication. Letters or orders of a similar kind he sent forth from time to time, whenever there appeared to be any occasion for them. Excommunication was a weapon which he had always at hand, and he was not slow to wield it against such of the people as any way served or assisted the missionaries, or who attended on their instructions. These denunciations could not fail to have a powerful influence on an ignorant, superstitious, bigoted people. The schools of the missionaries were more than once nearly broken up, in consequence of the opposition which was made to them. Yet there were numbers even of the Maronites who did not much regard the anathemas of their patriarch, his tyranny and oppression having destroyed their respect and reverence for him.[2]

[1] Fisk's Memoirs, pp. 291, 296, 368, 378.

[2] Miss. Her. vol. xxi. p. 377; vol. xxiii. p. 297; vol. xxxiii. p. 445; vol. xxxviii. p. 54.—Rep. Board For. Miss. 1827, p. 60.

To set at nought the fulminations of the patriarch, must have required some energy of mind, as the following story will shew:—

A sheik, named Latoof, having granted Mr Bird a house at Ehden, in the moun-

Of the hostility of the patriarch, we have a striking example in the story of Assaad Shidiak, a Maronite, of about thirty years of age, who was engaged in the service of the missionaries, and had become an earnest inquirer after truth. The patriarch threatened him with excommunication, unless he gave up all connexion with them; and, in subsequent interviews with him, he sought to gain him over, sometimes by professions of love and fair promises, at other times by threats. His mother, brothers, and other relatives also came to him to persuade him to leave the missionaries, and thus save the family from the shame of his renouncing the religion of his fathers, and joining himself to foreigners. Having been prevailed on to go home, he was seized by twenty or more of his relatives, and delivered up to the patriarch, by whose orders he was removed to his convent at Kanobin. There he was put in confinement, was frequently beaten, and, having made an unsuccessful attempt to escape, he had a heavy chain put around

tains of Lebanon, to reside in during the hot summer months, a priest appeared the following day, and read a paper excommunicating him and his family. The patriarch also issued the following proclamation, which might well make a stout heart quake :—

"Proclamation to all our children, the people of the villages of Ehden and Zgarta; and to all our children, the inhabitants of the district of Gibbet, Bsharry, clergy and laity, rulers and subjects, universally:

"That we have knowledge of the infernal hardihood, to which the unhappy, wretched Latoof El Ashi and his sons have arrived, in having dared to associate themselves with that deceived man and deceiver of men, Bird, the Bible-man. They aid him in his object, and have brought him to Ehden, against the severe prohibitions which we had before issued, threatening every one who opposed our orders with immediate excommunication. We therefore make known to all, that those sons of wickedness, Latoof El Ashi and his sons, together with all the rest of his family, both male and female, except domestics, have fallen under the heavier excommunication; and now by the word of the Lord, which is almighty, confirm upon them this excommunication. They are, therefore, accursed, cut off from all Christian communion; and let the curse envelop them as a robe—and spread through all their members like oil—and break them in pieces like a potter's vessel—and wither them like the fig-tree, cursed by the mouth of the Lord himself: And let the evil angel rule over them, to torment them day and night—asleep and awake—and in whatever circumstances they may be found. We permit no one to visit them, or employ them, or do them a favour, or give them a salutation, or converse with them in any form; but let them be avoided as a putrid member, and as hellish dragons. Beware! yea, beware of the wrath of God!"

Such is a specimen of the spiritual despotism which has been introduced into the Ancient Churches. Sheik Latoof expressed at first great contempt for the patriarch's excommunication; but he was afterwards glad to yield.—*Miss. Her.* vol. xxiv. pp. 306, 370, 374.

his neck, which was fastened at the other end into the wall. His sufferings were, after some time, much mitigated; but all attempts to procure his release proved vain. Many false reports were circulated concerning him, sometimes that he was mad, sometimes that he was dead. What became of him was never known; there was, however, reason to conclude that he was dead many years ago, though how his death happened was not ascertained. It was hoped, however, that, amidst all his sufferings, he remained steadfast in his adherence to the gospel.[1]

In May 1828, Messrs Bird, Goodell, and Smith, left Beirut, and proceeded to Malta, on account of the prospect there was of war between Turkey and the allied powers, England, France, and Russia, arising out of the affairs of Greece, which had lately risen to throw off the Turkish yoke; and the dangers to which they would be exposed in the event of hostilities taking place, especially as the English consul, under whose protection they were, had left the country; but two years afterwards, peace being restored, Mr Bird, accompanied by Mr Whiting, returned to renew the mission. Scarcely had they arrived at Beirut when the old hostility of the Romanists broke forth against them. Next day was the feast of the Ascension, and the Maronites having, according to custom, assembled in the morning to celebrate mass, the priests embraced the opportunity of announcing to the congregation "that the Bible-men, that is, the followers of the devil," had again made their appearance, and commanding their people to have no intercourse with them, or with any persons connected with them, under pain of the heaviest curse of the Church. Similar curses were denounced on the next Sabbath morning at the church of the Papal Greeks. The orthodox or proper Greeks were, as they had hitherto been, friendly and courteous, and were ready to converse with them, and to read the Scriptures; but afterwards, the Greek Church also became violently opposed to missionary operations, particularly to the schools. The parents were threatened with excommunication if they did not withdraw their children from them.[2]

[1] Miss. Her. vol. xxiii. pp. 71, 97, 129, 172, 268; vol. xxvii. p. 210; vol. xxix. pp. 28, 55.—Rep. Board For. Miss. 1828, p. 40.

[2] Miss. Her. vol. xxiv. p. 348; vol. xxvi. p. 373; vol. xxvii. pp. 14, 147, 208; vol xxxv. p. 404.—Rep. Board For. Miss. 1837, p. 61.

The mission could not fail to be materially affected by the state of warfare in which Syria was involved for a number of years. First of all, there was the invasion of the country by the forces of Mahomed Ali, the viceroy of Egypt, under the command of his son Ibrahim Pacha; and though he quickly overran it, yet it was long kept in a very agitated state, by repeated insurrections of the people. The allied powers at length interfered, to restore the country to Turkey. War once more swept along its coasts. Beirut was twice bombarded by the combined fleet of the allies, and the missionaries retired from that place, part of them to Jerusalem, and part to the island of Cyprus. The Egyptians having been completely defeated, the country was restored to its old masters the Turks. The mission was never in greater danger than at the conclusion of the war. The Maronite patriarch hoped to domineer over the whole of Lebanon, and to expel the missionaries from the country. His intrigues had drawn from the Turkish government a declaration to the American resident minister, that they would not be protected by the Porte; and from the minister another declaration, under a mistaken apprehension of the extent of his official duty, that he had no power to protect them. The restoration of the country to Turkey was followed by hostilities between the Druzes and the Maronites, in the southern part of Lebanon, where they formed a mixed population. They burned and plundered the villages and houses of each other. Scarcely a village or a house, either Druze or Maronite, was left, and the district, which was one of the finest and most populous in Lebanon, was rendered a complete desolation. Though the Maronites were by much the most numerous, they were entirely defeated. The power of the patriarch was now broken; he sunk under his disappointments, and died, leaving the mission nothing more to dread from him.[1]

[1] Miss. Her. vol. xxxvii. p. 60; vol. xxxviii. pp. 120, 196; vol. xli. pp. 283, 319, 342, 348, 397.—Rep. Board For. Miss. 1842, p. 124.—Ibid. 1845, p. 111.

"War," say the missionaries, "never, perhaps, assumes a more dreadful aspect than in such social neighbourhood conflicts as the one we are describing. The combatants are personally known to each other, and have private and personal injuries and insults to revenge. Nor is there any of that parade and pomp which fascinate and blind the mind to the inevitable horrors of human butchery, even when conducted according to the most scientific and fashionable rules of the art. Here is no gay uniform—no martial music—no glittering ranks of well-appointed infantry—no thundering artillery—no flying squadrons of cavalry rushing to the charge.

For several years after the commencement of the mission, formal preaching to the natives was not attempted, partly under the idea that such a measure would increase the hostility and opposition of the ecclesiastical authorities, already as violent at times as could well be sustained. Instead of preaching, catechetical exercises and meetings for the exposition of the Holy Scriptures in Arabic were regularly held; and by means of them numbers were from time to time instructed in the principles of Divine truth. At length, it was thought advisable to make the experiment of regular preaching. The services of the Sabbath were accordingly converted into a formal sermon, with appropriate prayers; and experience now shewed that their previous fears were without foundation. In fact, though the number of their hearers was small, no branch of their labours met with less opposition.[2]

Though Beirut was the seat of the mission, yet, during the hot months of summer, the missionaries found it necessary to retire from that place, and take up their residence in the neighbouring mountains of Lebanon. Though the preservation of health was a chief reason for this, yet health was not the only object which they had in view. In no material way did they cease their missionary labours; they only changed the scene of them. By these visits the missionaries were brought into acquaintance with the numerous and varied population of the mountains, and a knowledge of Divine truth was spread in regions

"At the fatal war-signal, every shepherd, armer, or mechanic, every shopkeeper, sheik, or emir, hurries to the fight, with a rickety gun on his shoulder, a pair of pistols thrust through his girdle, an old rusty sword, or a villainous-looking hanger by his side, and an ugly butcher-knife in its sheath, concealed in his bosom. With savage yells, he bursts into his neighbour's house, blows out his brains, or drives the cold dagger through his heart, cuts off his head with his long knife, and with his right hand, red with gore, sets fire to the house, and consumes whatever his plundering cupidity has not carried off. If companies take refuge in castles, palaces, or strong houses, and cannot readily be reached otherwise, the houses are fired from without; or if this is impossible, the roof is broken up, and fire thrown down upon the inmates from above. If the fight takes place in the open country, it is carried on from behind stone walls, rocks, and trees. During the whole conflict, women and young girls carry water to the combatants, and cheer them on by their shrill war-songs. At length one party gives way. Then come the chase and the slaughter, the triumphant return, the plunder, and the conflagration. Nor are the cases rare in which those who surrender, on the most solemn guarantee of personal safety, are barbarously butchered in cold blood. Such is a faint picture of social war in Lebanon."—*Miss. Her.* vol. xli. p. 398.

[2] Miss. Her. vol. xxxii. p. 414.

which it might not otherwise have reached. One good result of their summer residence in Lebanon was, that during the other parts of the year, numbers of their acquaintances in the mountains came to visit them at Beirut, conversed with them, and received books.[1]

Among the inhabitants of the mountains, with whom the missionaries gained an acquaintance, were the Druzes, a very singular set of people, who, though they profess to be Mahommedans, are known to do so merely for political and worldly ends; whose religion, so far as they have any, is a kind of deism, mixed up with fooleries and nonsense of their own. A service was held on the Sabbath specially for their instruction, which was attended by a number of them. Great numbers of them came to Beirut to visit the missionaries, and many of them, including some of their sheiks, were anxious to be received into their sect; but, though the missionaries rejoiced in these opportunities of communicating religious instruction to them, they did not regard any of them as ingenuous and serious inquirers. They did not in fact conceal the secular motives by which they were actuated, the hope of obtaining certain political immunities, and the protection of England, if they became Protestant Christians. The Druzes continued to throng the houses of the missionaries, until a violent persecution which was raised against them cooled their ardour, and made them stop short in their course.[2]

In February 1844, a party of about fifty men came to Beirut from Hasbeiya, a town at the foot of Mount Hermon, a considerable number of the inhabitants of that place wishing to change their religion. They belonged to the Greek Church; but it did not appear that they had any particular dissatisfaction with the religion in which they had been brought up, or much knowledge of that which they sought to adopt; nor did they seem to know whether, in order to accomplish their object, they ought to apply to ministers of the gospel or to consuls. They made loud complaints of the oppressions of the local government, which were increased by the combinations of the leaders of their sect with the governor, and countenanced by the bishop residing in the place.

[1] Miss. Her. vol. xxxiii. p. 446.

[2] Wilson's Lands of the Bible, vol. ii. p. 713.—Miss. Her. vol. xxxii. pp. 91, 415; vol. xxxv. pp. 375, 377, 381, 403; vol. xxxviii. p. 362.

From these oppressions they imagined they would be relieved by changing their religion. This, they supposed, would secure to them either freedom from taxation and from the Turkish law, or special countenance from Protestant consuls, or, at least, entire separation from the Greek community, which would enable them to manage their own affairs independently of the leaders and bishop who had contributed to their oppression. Mr Smith, one of the missionaries, endeavoured to discountenance entirely all their political expectations, and in this view of the matter they soon acquiesced, but they said they could never return to the Greek Church; and they earnestly begged that some one might go back with them and instruct them. Visits were afterwards paid to the Hasbeiyans, both by native assistants and by the missionaries, and it was gratifying to see the interest with which they listened to the instructions which were given them, and the progress which they made in religious knowledge, notwithstanding their previous ignorance. The Greek patriarch and the priests of the place, with what was called "The Young Men's Party," now sought to bring them back to their mother Church. No measures, whether foul or fair, were left untried; not only entreaties, promises, threats, bribes, reproaches, curses, but they were beaten, spit upon, stoned, turned out of their houses, everywhere exposed to an intolerable flood of abuse; even their lives were threatened. Many of them made their escape to the mountains, but returning afterwards to the town, they were subjected from time to time to so much suffering, that they became disheartened, and at length, one after another, went back and made their peace with the Church. They had no alternative before them but perpetual persecution, or perhaps death, if they should attempt to remain at Hasbeiya, or starvation to their families if they themselves should find a refuge elsewhere. Their return, however, to the Greek Church, was more in name than in reality. Some of them at least still kept up communications with the missionaries, and continued to meet together secretly by night, for the purpose of reading the Word of God and prayer. It appears that the few who had been known for some time past as Protestants, were merely required to be present at the Church service. The worshipping of the pictures, the invocation of saints, and other things of that kind, were not insisted on. It would seem, in fact,

that these idolatrous ceremonies were not much observed by any except by a few of the more superstitious and bigoted adherents of the Church. Efforts were made by the priests to induce them to come to confession, which, after all, is the decisive conforming rite; but all, both men and women, were resolved not to do this. The Greek party seemed to have lost all hope of making them good Greeks again, and the great concern now was to prevent the mischief from spreading. Meanwhile the leaven of Divine truth appeared to be gradually diffusing itself in the community, in spite of all the efforts that were made to destroy it. The missionaries continued their visits to Hasbeiya, and though renewed attempts were made to persecute the Protestants, yet, on their laying their grievances before the Sublime Porte, orders were sent to the pacha of that district to protect them.[1]

When the heads of the Greek Church found that the Turkish government had given orders for their toleration, they resolved to try the effect of the highest ecclesiastical censures. The patriarch's bull of excommunication was immediately published in the Greek churches, not only in Hasbeiya, but in all that part of the country. The purport of it was to denounce the Protestants as accursed of God and man, and to require all persons belonging to the Greek Church to separate entirely from them, forbidding them to deal, speak, or hold any intercourse whatever with them, on pain of bringing the same fearful curse upon themselves. The sentence was carried into effect to the letter. Not only did the Greeks adopt the system of non-intercourse, but being the most numerous and influential sect in Hasbeiya, they induced the other sects, including even the Druzes and the Moslems, to join them. Hence it followed that no Protestant could buy or sell, or transact any kind of business except with his fellow-Protestants; and most of them being poor, and dependent on their daily labour for a living, they were at once thrown out of all employment, and cut off from their ordinary means of support. The consequence was, that they were reduced to the greatest distress; many of them were in want of the necessaries of life. Even the governor, notwithstanding the orders

[1] Miss. Her. vol. xl. pp. 352, 364; vol. xli. pp. 14, 145, 261, 266; vol. xlii. pp. 350, 383, 410; vol. xliii. pp. 184, 286; vol. xlv. pp. 103, 181, 324.—Rep. Board For. Miss. 1848, p. 160.—Ibid. 1849, p. 119.

he had received, employed his powerful influence, though in a secret way, to support the Greek party in their iniquitous combination to ruin them. But after some time, the rigour of the excommunication began to be relaxed, and the violence of the persecution passed away.[1]

A similar movement took place among the Armenians at Aintab, a place two days' journey north of Aleppo, where Bedros, a pious Armenian vartabed, had been employed in distributing the Scriptures and other religious books. Two hundred families of Armenians, it was reported, had become convinced of the errors and corruptions of their Church, and were resolved to abandon them and to adhere to the gospel alone; and though, when the missionaries visited the place, only a small number attended on their instructions, many being kept away probably through indecision and fear, yet they appeared to be earnest in their inquiries after the truth, and made rapid progress in religious knowledge: Some were much enlightened, and quite evangelical in their sentiments, but gave no evidence of piety. There were, however, a few who, it was hoped, had "received the truth in the love of it," and who were formed into a native evangelical church. The numbers who attended on the instructions of the missionaries when they visited Aintab, greatly increased, and the work appeared in every respect to make progress. Nor was the movement confined to Aintab; it extended to Killis, Marash, Kessab, Urfa,[2] and other places. Some of the converts were zealous and active in carrying the gospel to their brethren in various places; and, in doing so, it was not unusual for them to find persons who were prepared and disposed to listen to the truth.[3]

Though Beirut was the head-quarters of the mission, yet various other stations were occupied in different parts of the country, and also one at Larnica in the island of Cyprus, which was afterwards given up. Though the mission was for many years productive of little visible fruit, the missionaries now began to see the results of their patience and perseverance in a number of in-

[1] Miss. Her. vol. xliv. p. 387.

[2] Anciently Edessa, and supposed to be Ur of the Chaldees.

[3] Miss. Her. vol. xlii. p. 415; vol. xliii. p. 187; vol. xliv. pp. 127, 132, 270, 390; vol. xlv. pp. 134, 232, 316; vol. xlvi. pp. 152, 206, 375; vol. xlviii. p. 118.

dividuals, some of them of considerable standing and influence in the community.[1]

In 1853, the mission included the following principal stations:—

Begun.	Stations.
1823.	Beirut.
1842.	Abeih.
1848.	Aleppo.
1848.	Tripoli.
1851.	Hasbeiya & Sidon.[2]

The missionaries did not accomplish much in the way of schools. The few which they did establish were not numerously attended, and were repeatedly interrupted or broken up by the opposition of the ecclesiastics and the political troubles of the country. The desire for education was neither strong nor general in any class: female education was discouraged and opposed. Of late years, however, as the stations increased, the schools were also increased. For a series of years, several of the missionaries' wives took a few girls into their families for education. The girls were all dressed in the native style, and it was designed to give them such an education as would fit, not unfit, them, to be both happy and useful in the domestic and social relations of the country. There was a seminary begun at Beirut; the pupils received into it were partly boarders, partly day scholars; but this having been given up, an institution was afterwards established at Abeih, in the mountains, with the special view to training up an efficient native ministry; and the experience gained in the seminary at Beirut was felt to be of much importance in forming that at Abeih. Among the lessons thus learned were the following: Not to admit day scholars from the neighbourhood, as their influence will be counteractive of the domestic religious influence exerted upon the boarders; not to take pupils so young as that they must be kept a great many years, or dismissed with minds half developed, and with a crude imperfect education; as soon as possible, to admit none except such as were not only promising as regards talents and other qualifications, but who appeared to be truly pious, and, in the

[1] Miss. Her. vol. xlviii. p. 270. [2] Rep. Board For. Miss. 1853, p. 73.

absence of such pupils, to commence the institution on a small scale; to employ no natives as teachers in the seminary whose views and sympathies were not entirely in accordance with the objects of the institution; and to guard against that method of training which tends to make the pupils foreigners and Franks, in their manners, habits, and customs. It was designed that the education should be essentially Arabic; the clothing, boarding, and lodging strictly in the native style; and the utmost efforts made to cherish their sympathies with their own people.[1] We apprehend these principles are well deserving of the attention of missionaries in establishing similar institutions.

We cannot conclude our account of this mission, without mentioning that important improvements appear to have been made by it in the printing of Arabic books. The ordinary Arabic type is not adapted to the taste of the Arabs, not being conformed to the most approved standards of Arabic caligraphy, which are often singularly beautiful; and it is well known that the Arabic language has no printed character distinct from the written. The Rev. Eli Smith, one of the missionaries, distinguished as an Arabic scholar, having procured approved models of Arabic letters for a new fount of types, proceeded to Germany and had them cast by Tauchnitz at Leipsic under his own superintendence. It was believed there was no other fount in existence, unless it were one cast in Persia by a native of that country, which was so conformed to the Arabic caligraphy, and to the taste of the Arabs, while at the same time it possessed some other very important advantages.[2]

[1] Rep. Board For. Miss. 1834, p. 57.—Ibid. 1844, p. 132.—Ibid. 1847, p. 113.—Miss. Her. vol. xxxiii. p. 445.

[2] Rep. Board For. Miss. 1836, p. 51.—Ibid. 1837, p. 61.—Ibid. 1839, p. 81.—Ibid. 1844, p. 135.

"The new Arabic type, which has been in use about three years," say the missionaries, "has several important advantages over the old:—

"1. It is vastly superior in respect to the *form* of the letters. Such is the uniform and decided testimony of intelligent natives everywhere. Our books are incomparably more acceptable than those which are printed with the old type; more acceptable, we may safely say, in respect to typography, than any that were ever printed in the language. And not only are the letters more beautiful than the old, but bearing a close resemblance to the best caligraphy, they are of course far preferable for the use of schools, and especially for all who are learning to write.

"2. Another advantage of the new type arises from an expedient in relation to the vowel points. In printing with the old type, the vowels are set upon separate lines above and below the lines of letters, every line of letters requiring two lines of vowels.

SECT. IX.—TURKEY.

CONSTANTINOPLE.

In May 1831, the Rev. W. Goodell, who had previously been engaged for several years in the mission at Beirut, sailed from Malta, where he had lately carried through the press a translation of the New Testament into Armeno-Turkish,[1] to Constantinople, with a special view to missionary operations among the Armenians. The efforts of the mission were, however, not confined to them, but were extended to other classes of the population, the Greeks, Jews, and even in some degree to the Turks.[2]

Among the Armenians many appear to have been in a remarkable degree prepared for the labours of missionaries. To what causes this is to be ascribed we do not know; but there had of late years arisen among them the spirit of reformation.

This makes the work of composition very slow and difficult. Besides, it separates the vowel point so far from the letter, that the reader is often at a loss to know whether it belongs to the line above or to that below it. Moreover, the vowels are constantly liable, especially in correcting proofs, to be displaced horizontally, and so to be brought over or under the wrong letter. But in the new type an expedient has been invented which obviates both these evils, and which is believed to be entirely new. It consists in having the vowel attached to, or rather inserted in the letter itself by means of a groove, in such a manner that it cannot get out of place, and is brought so near the line that the mistake of referring the vowel to the wrong line is never made. Besides, the time and labour of composing, when the vowels are used, are by this system diminished at least one half. Also, the labour of correcting the vowels is comparatively trivial; for when a vowel is to be changed, it is simply to be taken out of the groove, and another dropped into its place.

"3. In printing with the *vowel points*, there is also a saving of paper in the use of the new type. By a careful comparison of the old and new points, it is found that in the use of the latter there is a gain of ten per cent. in *compactness*, and a gain of about eight per cent. in respect to *space between the lines*. This remark applies only to printing with the vowel points. When the points are not used there is no saving of paper."—*Rep. Board For. Miss.* 1844, p. 135.

Should this style of Arabic letters realize the advantages here stated, it might probably be extended to many others of the Oriental languages. In the Report of the Calcutta Bible Society for 1841, we are told, that "all the attempts hitherto made in this country and at home, and in Persia itself, to cast a good Persian type, have signally failed. Both on the score of distinctness, and on account of economy, the Persian type appeared ill suited for the purposes of the Society."—*Rep. Bib. Soc.* 1841, p. 64. If such was the case with the Persian, which has been so long and so often printed, it is likely to be still more the case with many of the languages which have been printed of late years for the first time.

[1] That is, into the Turkish language, in the Armenian character.

[2] Miss. Her. vol. xxvii. p. 280; vol. xxviii. p. 151.—Rep. Board For. Miss. 1836, p. 42.

Many were ready to acknowledge the errors and corruptions of their Church; they no longer believed some of its distinguishing and most cherished dogmas; they were dissatisfied with its burdensome rites and dead forms; and though they might not understand Scripture truth, yet they did not shut their eyes to it, but were willing to search and inquire after it. They accordingly set themselves to the study of the New Testament, proceeding on the great Protestant principle, that the Bible contains all that is necessary to salvation, and is the only safe guide in religion. Their attention was drawn away, in a wonderful manner, from fables to the Word of God; their inquiries were not only about religion speculatively, but were specially directed to those truths which are connected with the salvation of the soul. The hearts of many were softened, and several, it was hoped, gave evidence of piety. The spread of evangelical truth among them was truly remarkable, and was apparently independent, in a great measure, of the efforts of the missionaries.[1]

Constantinople was the head-quarters of the mission, but stations were also established in various places in Asia Minor, and other parts of the Turkish Empire. The following are the principal stations, being those at which missionaries are settled; but there are also a number of out-stations at which native preachers or other helpers are resident:—

Begun.	Stations.
1831.	Constantinople.
1833.	Smyrna.
1851.	Marsovan.
185–.	Tocat.
185–.	Cæsarea.
1835.	Trebizond.
1839.	Erzerum.
1849.	Aintab.
1851.	Diarbekir.[2]

Though the spirit of inquiry among the Armenians was for several years most remarkable at Constantinople, yet it extended

[1] Miss. Her. vol. xxxii. pp. 30, 41, 44, 48, 133; vol. xxxiii. pp. 398, 401, 403.—Rep. Board For. Miss. 1843, p. 94.

[2] Rep. Board For. Miss. 1853, p. 57.

more or less to all the other stations, and to various other parts of the country, including places widely distant from, and having only a very general connexion with each other.[1]

The work was carried on very much by means of conversation with visitors, who frequently came to the missionaries for the purpose of making inquiries on the subject of religion, or of learning "the way of God more perfectly." They also held meetings for preaching and for expounding the Scriptures; and though these meetings were not numerously attended, yet their influence was very considerable, as those who attended them communicated to others what they learned at them. It was a pleasing characteristic of the evangelical Armenians, that they were in general very active in seeking the salvation of their countrymen. No sooner did they feel the power of Divine truth on their own hearts, than they had a strong desire to communicate the knowledge of it to others; and, as every man is the centre of a circle of influence, the good seed of the Word was in this way sown in many different parts and among different classes in Constantinople, and the other towns where stations were established. There were even men of great influence, whom none of the missionaries had ever seen, who were daily engaged in making known the gospel, they themselves having learned the truth, at second-hand, through some of those who had received it from the missionaries, whom they, for prudential reasons, did not visit. For several years the missionaries had little opportunity of communicating a knowledge of the gospel to the female portion of the Armenians, as the customs of the country forbade the men and women meeting together for public worship; but it found its way to them also; and after a time some of them came to form a part of the small companies to whom the missionaries preached, and they even visited them, with the view of making inquiry concerning particular parts of Divine truth.[2]

Some of the converts also made tours in various directions, and to considerable distances, for the purpose of making known the gospel, and distributing or selling copies of the Scriptures and

[1] Miss. Her. vol. xxxiv. pp. 425, 460; vol. xxxvii. p. 55; vol. xxxviii. pp. 136, 138; vol. xxxix. pp. 319, 349.

[2] Miss. Her. vol. xxxviii. p. 201; vol. xxxix. p. 454; vol. xl. pp. 226, 230.—Rep. Board For. Miss. 1844, pp. 101, 102.

other books and tracts. Several booksellers in Constantinople were also supplied with the different publications of the mission for sale. In this way the gospel, in a printed form, penetrated to many cities and villages which had never been visited by any missionary.[1]

There were some, however, who came to the missionaries, professing to be inquirers after the truth, who were actuated by mercenary motives. Cases of this kind, indeed, were continually occurring. A man was unfortunate in business, and had failed in all his attempts to repair his broken fortunes. He had never seen the missionaries, but he had often heard that they were benevolent men, who loved the Armenians, and sought, in various ways, to do them good; and he was forthwith seized with a sudden desire to hear the gospel from them, and to come over to their way of thinking. In short, he was ready to become any thing, if they would help him to a piece of bread. For such men the missionaries had only one answer. If they wished to learn the way of salvation, they were ready to instruct them; but they had no power to help them in any other way; they could find them neither employment nor protection.[2]

The obstacles to the progress of the gospel in Turkey, even among the Christian sects, were for many years greater than was generally known. The Turkish government itself was no way favourable to the propagation of Christianity. But between the Turks and the Armenians there was an inferior, yet powerful, despot, the patriarch, who was the creature and representative of the policy of the bankers and higher clergy. The collection of revenues, the disposal of many important offices, the management of the Church, and the fees for priestly service, were in the hands of this oligarchy of bankers and clergy. The patriarch and the bankers were made responsible for the whole Armenian community, and were clothed by the Sultan with great and almost irresponsible power. If the patriarch wished to dispose of any one by imprisonment, banishment, or death, he had only to present the general accusation that he was a man dangerous to the community, and forthwith came the imperial firman, which Turkish

[1] Miss. Her. vol. xl. p. 27; vol. xli. pp. 211, 404.—Rep. Board For. Miss. 1845, p. 95.

[2] Miss. Her. vol. xxxix. p. 101.

officers were desired to execute. Hence, whatever might be the measure, the Turkish government did not hold itself responsible for it; it came from the patriarch and bankers. The patriarch and bankers, in like manner, did not hold themselves responsible for it; it came from the Turkish government. Where there is no responsibility, there is little check on injustice and oppression; and thus, between these two despotisms, the most iniquitous deeds might be enacted without either of them admitting its responsibility for them.

Another great obstacle to the progress of evangelical religion in Turkey was the power and influence of the Papacy, which was found at Constantinople in all its sleepless watchfulness, and bitter hatred of Protestantism. Most of the foreign embassies were Catholic. Their dragomen or interpreters, and the numerous persons in their employ, were Catholics. The Catholics were therefore a very powerful body at Constantinople, and were always able to represent matters to the Turkish government according to their own views and interests. They also did great injury to Protestant missionaries by their unwearied misrepresentations of their objects and designs among the Greeks and Armenians.[1]

It is not to be supposed that such a work as we have described would go on without opposition; it in fact called forth the violent hostility of both Greeks and Armenians. The patriarchs of both Churches issued their denunciations against the missionaries; all intercourse with them was forbidden under the heaviest ecclesiastical penalties; their schools, which, however, were not numerous, were broken up; their books were ordered to be delivered up to the priests, and many of them, including copies of the New Testament, Pentateuch, and Psalms, were burned. As it was chiefly among the Armenians that evangelical views were spreading, they were the principal sufferers. Nor was it merely by the clergy and their instruments that they were maltreated. There were many affecting exemplifications of the truth of Christ's declaration—"A man's foes shall be they of his own household." In short, nearly all who shewed a desire to follow the truth, found by experience, that they "who will live godly

[1] Miss. Her. vol. xxxvi. p. 176.

in Christ Jesus, will," in one way or other, "suffer persecution."[1]

The opposition, though at times violent, was commonly not lasting; and, after a while, things would return to their old course. There were, however, outbreaks of persecution from time to time; but as, notwithstanding this, evangelical views continued to spread among the Armenians, their enemies had recourse to stronger and more determined measures.

The patriarch of the Armenians had of late years been repeatedly changed, and now a new one was appointed. He was a man of more than common ability and learning; and he had in former years been in habits of personal intercourse with the missionaries. He sought at first to win over the Evangelicals by friendly professions, and this was perhaps the policy which he himself was disposed to pursue; but he was gradually driven by the party on which he himself depended for support, to set himself more and more in opposition to them. He at length caused a new creed to be drawn up, containing the doctrines of transubstantiation, confession to and absolution by a priest, the worship of relics and pictures, the intercession of saints, and other unscriptural and superstitious practices. This confession he required them to subscribe; and all who refused he publicly excommunicated and cursed with anathema, accusing them of being Protestants, atheists, and infidels; and ordering all his flock, and the chiefs of the trades, and also the priests, under penalty of excommunication and anathema, to oppress them in various ways, as by taking away their permission to trade, and expelling them from the trading corporations, by turning them out of their shops, and even causing them to quit rooms which belonged to themselves, by preventing those who were their debtors from paying them, and making those to whom they were indebted demand payment before it was due, by driving them from their homes, and separating them from their wives and children. Parents were called upon to disinherit their children, and every kind of intercourse between the nearest relations was absolutely interdicted, however dependent they might be on each other for sup-

[1] Rep. Board For. Miss. 1837, pp. 52, 57.—Miss. Her. vol. xxxiii. pp. 395, 397; vol. xxxv. pp. 177, 405; vol. xxxvi. p. 55; vol. xxxvii. p. 163; vol. xl. pp. 117, 226, 228; vol. xli. p. 51; vol. xlii. pp. 356, 401.

port. The baker was forbidden to supply them with bread, the butcher with meat, the water-carrier with water. The houses of some were attacked by mobs, and their property destroyed or thrown into the street. They could not even pass along the streets without being assailed with all kinds of filthy language, spit upon and stoned; some were bastinadoed; some were cast into prison; some were sent into exile. The persecution was not confined to Constantinople; it extended also to Smyrna, to Brusa, to Nicomedia, to Ada Bazar, to Trebizond, to Erzerum, and was in some instances even worse in distant places than in the capital. To crown the whole, the patriarch issued a new bull of excommunication, and caused it to be read in all the churches on the day of the Catholic Church festival, and ordered it to be read in all the churches throughout the Ottoman Empire every successive year at the same festival, thus seeking to give at once extent and permanency to his fulminations.[1]

By these proceedings, many of the Armenians were reduced to a state of great destitution, and at Constantinople it was necessary at one time to provide shelter and food for about one hundred persons; yet, in all that was done by the patriarch, it seems there was no persecution! He positively denied that he had persecuted any body, and declared that he was utterly opposed to all persecution on the ground of religion. He did nothing more, he said, than excommunicate with anathema, which was his spiritual right. Yet there was abundant evidence, that the driving away of so many people from their houses and shops, excluding them from the right to trade, and other acts of oppression, were all done by his authority or influence; but he found it necessary to inflict his temporal penalties upon those whom he deemed spiritual offenders, in such a way as there might, if possible, be no ground for interfering with him.[2]

It was truly pleasing to witness the spirit which many of the Armenians manifested under persecution, and the salutary effect which it appeared to have on some of them; but, on the other hand, considerable numbers fainted in the day of trial, and signed the papers of the patriarch and the bishops declaring their belief

[1] Miss. Her. vol. i. pp. 109, 198, 228, 292, 298; vol. xlii. pp. 113, 193, 195, 198, 202, 225, 267, 298, 356; vol. xliii. p. 40.—Rep. Board For. Miss. 1846, pp. 98, 109.—Tracy's Hist. p. 384.

[2] Rep. Board For. Miss. 1846, pp. 96, 99; vol. xlii. p. 202.

of the doctrines of the Armenian Church, while they were still convinced in their own mind of their unscriptural character. Among those who were thus overcome, there were some individuals in whose stability the greatest confidence was placed. That so many should fall, need excite no surprise. The doctrines of the gospel had gained, in many cases, the assent of the understanding where they did not exert a controlling influence over the heart. Many were only babes in Christ, so that when we consider the trials they were called to endure, we may rather wonder that so many should have maintained their Christian profession, as that numbers should have yielded in the day of trial. Yet, even of those who did thus fall, there were some who kept up intercourse with their brethren.[1]

The British ambassador, Sir Stratford Canning,[2] who, greatly to his honour, had already done much for the cause of religious toleration in Turkey, and who had obtained a promise from the Sultan that there should henceforth be no more religious persecution in his dominions,[3] had made representations to the Turkish

[1] Miss. Her. vol. xli. pp. 300, 302; vol. xlii. pp. 85, 193, 212, 219, 225, 404; vol. xliii. p. 372.

[2] Now Lord Stratford de Redcliffe.

[3] This, we presume, referred merely to Christians, and had probably a special reference to renegadoes from the Mahommedan faith who had originally belonged to some one of the Christian sects. It is the common law of Mahommedan countries that apostates should be put to death. The law of Turkey on this subject is thus expressed:—"Apostasy is an enormous crime in the eyes of the Deity. The Mussulman who is guilty of it must be condemned to death if he does not promptly abjure his error. The homicide of an apostate has no penalty attached to it,"—*i. e.*, we presume, every person is at liberty to kill him, without being called to account or punished for the deed. Under this law, Christians who had embraced the Mahommedan religion, if they afterwards recanted, were put to death in Turkey.

In August 1843, a young Armenian who had become a Mussulman, but afterwards avowed himself a Christian again, was beheaded at Constantinople. He was urged again and again to recant, and even at the very last moment his life was promised him, if he would declare himself a Mahommedan; but he resolutely persisted in asserting his belief in Christ alone, telling those around him, that though they should kill him he never could deny Christ. Sir Stratford Canning had solicited in vain for his liberation. Remonstrances were immediately addressed to the Porte by other foreign ministers, particularly those of France and Prussia, which were soon greatly strengthened by very decided instructions from their respective courts. But in the midst of these very remonstrances, and while the Turks were giving verbal promises that no such act should occur again, a firman issued from the government ordering the decapitation of a young Bulgarian, who had promised in a passion some months before to become a Mussulman, but who now refused to perform the rites. This order was actually executed. The ambassadors and the powers which they represented were exceedingly irritated at such

government in reference to the proceedings of the patriarch, and in this he was joined by the Prussian ambassador, M.. Le Coq, and Mr Brown, the American Chargé d'affaires. In consequence of this, Reschid Pacha, the minister of foreign affairs, called up the patriarch and charged him to desist from his present course, telling him that he should now put him upon his good behaviour. But, notwithstanding this, the persecution did not cease. Means were fallen upon to prevent the Evangelicals opening their shops, or demands were made upon them for the payment of debts, and if not paid, they were cast into prison. But Sir Stratford Canning again interfered on their behalf, and they were then restored to their shops by an order from Reschid Pacha. This appeared to be an important point gained; but it was rendered to a great extent nugatory, by the anathemas repeated Sabbath after Sabbath, not only against the evangelical Armenians, but against all who should trade with them. Hence it was the practice of the Armenians of the neighbouring shops, to warn off all customers who approached their shops. Many were the devices which their enemies fell on

faithlessness. The ambassadors received instructions from home to demand from the Porte, under the signature of the Sultan, a distinct promise, that henceforth any person who should become a Mussulman should be at liberty to renounce the Mahommedan faith and to become a Christian again, without being put to death. The Grand Divan, in conjunction with the *Ulema*, or clergy, discussed for several weeks this proposition, which attacked so fundamental a point of their religious institutions. Evasive answers were given in vain. England especially stood firm in the new position she had assumed of protecting all the Christians of the Ottoman empire without distinction of sect, even if she should find herself standing alone. The Turkish government felt its need of the support of England and France, which were now threatening to leave her to the acts of her enemies, and was disposed to yield and to give the required promise. Yet it feared the power of the priesthood and the fanaticism of the people; but good sense, combined with the necessity of the case, prevailed, and it issued a declaration, engaging to take effectual measures to prevent the execution of any Christian who was an apostate from the Mahommedan faith henceforth.—*Miss. Her.* vol. xl. pp. 115, 116, 212.—*Rep. Board For. Miss.* 1846, p. 247.

We feel great pleasure in recording the services of the British ambassador, Sir Stratford Canning, to the cause of religious liberty in Turkey. "Few diplomatists," says Mr Hamlin, one of the missionaries, "could have maintained the noble position which Sir Stratford Canning has held in this conflict of political and ecclesiastical influences. He has firmly and calmly sustained the rights of conscience against the combined influence of Russia, France, and Austria, and the powerful monied interest of the Armenian bankers and the Armenian hierarchy." "It matters not with him," says Mr Dwight, "by what name the victim of persecution is called, or to what nation or denomination he belong; whether he be Jew or Greek, Mahommedan, Armenian, or Roman. This noble philanthropist is always ready to fly to his relief, and his influence in Turkey is very great."—*Miss. Her.* vol. xlii. pp. 272, 304.

to annoy and distress them; sometimes they had recourse to acts of open violence, but more frequently to false accusations, and other base artifices. The Turkish authorities, even in the distant parts of the empire, often took part with the Protestants, and protected them from their enemies, but, in some instances, they appear to have been afraid to put themselves in opposition to the Armenian and Greek communities, and yielded, perhaps reluctantly, to be their instruments in persecuting the converts. At Erzerum, a mob even assailed the house of Dr Smith, one of the missionaries, broke open the door with axes, and rifled or destroyed property to the value of seven or eight hundred dollars; but notice of the attack having been sent to the Pacha, the police came and put a stop to their proceedings. He afterwards received compensation for the injury done to the mission-house and to his library, though not in a way that was calculated to check similar outrages for the future, the Armenian community being taxed for it, while most of the offenders were allowed to pass without any material punishment.[1]

In July 1846, the evangelical Armenians in Constantinople formed themselves into a church distinct from the ancient Armenian Church, to which they originally belonged. They had not the least intention of separating from it, though they were united together for the special purpose of enlightening and reforming it; but the patriarch having of late framed a new creed which he required them to receive, and having excommunicated them because they could not subscribe it, they were in a manner driven out of their mother church, having no rest in it for the present, and no prospect of peace for the future. Nothing, therefore, remained for them, but to organize themselves into a separate church, in which they might secure to themselves and their children the preaching of the Word, and the other ordinances of the gospel in their scriptural simplicity. The missionaries, by their request, drew up a plan of ecclesiastical organization for them, but with a distinct understanding on their part that they merely suggested and advised the scheme, but left it entirely to themselves to adopt it or not as they might think proper. The form of government which the missionaries recommended, and

[1] Miss. Her. vol. xlii. pp. 199, 203, 219, 228, 272, 301, 363, 371, 373, 398, 401, 404; vol. xliii. pp. 58, 193, 198, 262, 264, 298.—Rep. Board For. Miss. 1847, p. 98.

which the Armenian brethren adopted, was neither Episcopalian, nor Presbyterian, nor Congregational, but it combined leading and characteristic features of the two latter modes of government. There was to be a committee or session, consisting of the pastor, deacons, and helps, or elders, for the examination of candidates for admission to the communion of the church, and for the administration of church discipline. Candidates for admission to the church were to be carefully examined, not only as to their knowledge of the doctrines of the gospel, but as to their personal piety; and if the result of this examination and of the observation of their lives, was such as to afford satisfactory evidence of "repentance toward God and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ," they were then to be proposed by the pastor at a regular meeting of the church, and the male members called on to vote on the question of their admission; and if no objection were made, they were to be admitted to the full privileges of church members, on their assenting, in the presence of the church, to a prescribed, yet brief confession of faith and church covenant.[1] No courts of review were proposed as in Presbyterian churches, but it would appear that each church was designed to be independent of all other churches. It might be called, not improperly, an Independent Presbyterian Church. It was to some extent Congregational, yet it had what in Presbyterian churches is called a session, which is the primary presbytery.

The original members of the church in Constantinople amounted to forty, of whom three were females. One of their number, Baron Apisoghom, they chose as their pastor, other two as deacons, and other three as helps or elders. The church also unanimously requested Mr Dwight to act as helper in the pastoral office, which he agreed to do.[2]

[1] This last part of the plan we cannot but deeply regret. The *belief* as well as the *knowledge* of candidates, may be ascertained far more certainly by examination than by their expressing assent to a prescribed or standing confession of faith, the inefficiency of which, for the maintenance of either orthodoxy or unity of sentiment, is lamentably demonstrated in the history of the Reformed churches. This is a great and undeniable fact, and reads important lessons to the Church of Christ. It is remarkable how much the inefficacy of subscription to confessions of faith has lately been acknowledged in regard to University tests, even in Scotland, and that in quarters where one would have least expected it. In recommending this practice, the missionaries followed the example of churches in New England, not any instructions or authority they could find in the New Testament.

[2] Miss. Her. vol. xlii. pp. 317, 356.

Churches of evangelical Armenians similar to those at Constantinople (there are now three in that city) were formed at Rodosto, on the northern shore of the Sea of Marmora, Nicomedia, Ada Bazar, Brusa, Smyrna, Sivas, Trebizond, Erzerum, and a number of other places, and native pastors were ordained over several of them. It is a painful fact that several of the communicants, after having suffered much for the gospel, went back to the Armenian Church. In some of the churches there were contentions among the members, arising, for the most part, out of cases of discipline, and occasioned, it was believed, chiefly by their inexperience in the art of self-government, and their ignorance of the proper mode of acting under the new circumstances in which they were placed. In a few cases, divisions arose regarding the doctrines of the Bible; the disputes ran high, and severed for a time the bonds of charity, but peace and harmony were after a while restored.[1]

Though the Turkish government had extended toleration to the evangelical Armenians, they were not yet acknowledged as constituting a separate community like the other Christian sects in Turkey; so that, politically, they were still liable to be treated as under the control of the Armenian rulers and their ecclesiastics, who, when it answered their purposes, declared that they had nothing to do with them, but when certain ends were to be served, maintained that there was no separation, and that they were really and truly Armenians. This was plainly a very inauspicious state of things, but happily an end was soon put to it.

In November 1847, the Turkish government issued an order at the instance of Lord Cowley, the British ambassador at Constantinople, recognizing Protestants as constituting a separate and independent community in Turkey, and granting to them all the rights and privileges possessed by the most favoured of the Christian sects in that country, and providing specially that no interference whatsoever should be permitted in their temporal or spiritual concerns on the part of the patriarch, monks, or priests of other denominations. It is worthy of notice, that in the official document issued by the Turkish government, nothing was said of

[1] Miss. Her. vol. xlii. pp. 364, 368, 370, 400; vol. xliv. pp. 49, 163, 411, 412; vol. xlv. pp. 41, 191; vol. xlix. pp. 259, 263, 267.—Rep. Board For. Miss. 1848, p. 147.

the Protestant Armenians; the designation used was Protestant rayahs, and of course any one, whether Armenian, Greek, Syrian, Jew, or of any other class (always excepting Mahommedans), who became a Protestant, was entitled to all the privileges which were granted by this firman, a matter of great importance in such a country as Turkey. By the suggestion of Lord Cowley, the Porte further directed letters to be sent to five different pashalics where there were Protestants, requiring the authorities to act in accordance with this order. Much praise is due to his lordship, who pursued the same magnanimous course as Sir Stratford Canning, exerting himself with the utmost zeal to have Protestants put on the footing of a separate community. But we should be chargeable with great injustice, if with their names we did not associate that of Reschid Pacha, who was now raised to the high office of grand vizier, a man of very liberal and enlightened views on political subjects, who contributed greatly to the improvement of the institutions of the Turkish empire, and who was ever the steady and consistent friend of religious toleration.[1]

In November 1850, an imperial firman was issued by the Grand Sultan, formally incorporating the Protestant community of Turkey. This was an important step, so far as their civil condition in the empire was concerned. They had been recognized as a distinct community for the last three years, and their complaints had always been listened to by the Porte; but no regular imperial act of incorporation had been passed. They had never received anything from the government to retain in their own hands as a pledge of permanent protection, and a change of administration or other circumstances might at any time turn the scale, and throw them again into the power of their enemies.

[1] Miss. Her. vol. xliii. p. 373.—Rep. Board For. Miss. 1847, p. 97.—Ibid. 1848, p. 141.

Great credit is also due to the Earl of Aberdeen and Lord Palmerston, when secretaries of state for foreign affairs, for the firm stand which they made in behalf of religious toleration in Turkey.—*Rep. Board For. Miss.* 1846, p. 247.—*Ibid.* 1852, p. 77.

Much praise is likewise due to the British consuls in various parts of the Levant, and to the ministers and consuls of some other nations, for the protection which they afforded, and for the kindness which they on many occasions shewed, to the missionaries and their converts.—*Rep. Board For. Miss.* 1847, p. 97.—*Ibid.* 1848, p. 146.

We feel great pleasure in making these acknowledgments. We have sometimes had occasion to speak in strong terms of condemnation of the acts of the authorities or representatives of our own and of other countries, among heathen nations. It is therefore with peculiar satisfaction that we put on record their praiseworthy deeds in Greece and Turkey, and, we shall shortly find, in Persia also.

One great peculiarity of this document was, that it was imperial, and accompanied with the Sultan's cipher. Previous documents had been vizierial only, and local and temporary in their application. But this firman was placed and remained in their own hands, and rendered them independent of any evils that might be liable to arise out of a change of administration. It gave them all the stability and permanency to their civil organization which the ancient and established Christian communities enjoyed. The prefect of police in Constantinople, to whom the firman was addressed, was specially required to "see to it that, like the other communities in the empire, they should in all their affairs, such as procuring cemeteries and places of worship, have every facility and every needed assistance; that he should not permit any of the other communities to interfere in any way with their edifices, or with their worldly matters or concerns, or, in short, with any of their affairs, either secular or religious, that thus they may be free to exercise the usages of their faith; that he should not allow them to be molested one iota in these particulars, or in any others; and that all attention and perseverance should be put in requisition to maintain them in quiet and security; and, in case of necessity, that they should be free to make representations regarding their affairs, through their agent, to the Sublime Porte." The Protestants were further authorized to select a trustworthy person from among themselves, who should be appointed, with the title of Wakeel, or agent, as their organ for transacting business with the government, and also a council or committee to decide upon the civil affairs of the community.[1]

The movement among the Armenians was now by no means confined to the stations occupied by the missionaries, nor to the places where churches were formed. In numerous other places throughout Asia Minor, and the neighbouring countries toward the east, there were Armenians who were considered as Protestants. There was, in fact, among the Armenians an alienation from the church of their fathers, in consequence, in a great degree, of the oppressions and the avarice of the priesthood. In some places, infidelity was coming in like a flood, and counting its disciples by hundreds. The minds of men, excited by religious discussion, and impressed mainly with the falsehood and absurdity

[1] Miss. Her. vol. xlvii. pp. 81, 114.

of their own notions, were in great danger, unless seasonably guided and instructed, of falling into unbelief and scepticism. The fields appeared to be "white for the harvest;" but the number of labourers was quite inadequate to reap them. The toleration which had of late been granted by the Sublime Porte to members of the ancient churches who became Protestants, contributed, no doubt, greatly to promote the movement. They were not yet, indeed, entirely freed from acts of oppression. Though the Turkish authorities were generally disposed to protect them, there were still exceptions to this, for in Turkey the good intentions of the government are frequently defeated by its own agents. In distant places, the authorities sometimes took part with the ecclesiastics, and between the two, under one pretext or another, they were often grievously oppressed and persecuted, sometimes through the craft of their enemies, by acts which the law would not reach. There were even instances in which the missionaries were attacked and maltreated.[1]

In 1853, the number of members of the churches which had been organized among the Armenians in various parts of Turkey was about 350; but this affords no adequate idea of the progress of the reformation. Besides the members of the churches, there were great numbers throughout the country who had embraced or were favourable to evangelical views.[2]

At Smyrna, the mission was less successful, and produced less excitement than at any of the other stations. There, was long the printing-press, and the missionaries were much engaged in editorial labours which had a general bearing on the operations of the whole mission. The Old Testament, in Armeno-Turkish, translated by Mr Goodell, thus completing the whole Bible in that language, was printed; and also the whole Bible in modern Armenian, translated by native scholars, under the superintendence of Mr Riggs, another of the missionaries. Great numbers of other works on various subjects, in the Armenian and Armeno-Turkish languages, also issued from the press at Smyrna.[3]

[1] Miss. Her. vol. xlviii. pp. 177, 193, 197, 233, 264, 333, 346, 357, 369.

[2] Rep. Board For. Miss. 1852, pp. 10, 72.—Ibid. 1853, p. 63.—Miss. Her. vol. xlix. p. 101.

[3] Miss. Her. vol. xxxix. p. 349.—Rep. Board For. Miss. 1844, p. 108.—Ibid. 1846, pp. 249, 253.—Ibid. 1850, p. 105.

The mission never did much in the way of schools; and the few which were established were broken up through the opposition of the people themselves, chiefly the Greeks. A seminary was begun at Pera, one of the suburbs of Constantinople, in which a higher course of education was given, with the view of raising up teachers of schools, preachers of the gospel, and labourers in other departments of usefulness; and though it was given up, a similar institution was established about three years afterwards at Bebek, a village in the neighbourhood of that city. In this seminary several were prepared for the work of the ministry, while others of the pupils were usefully employed as teachers, translators, or interpreters. A female seminary was also begun at Pera, in which a superior education was given. The course of education in both these institutions was designed to be such as to secure in a high degree the discipline of the mind; and it was believed that in no similar institutions in America was this end more fully attained. There are also schools at the various places where churches were formed among the Armenians.[1]

Though the Armenians were the chief object of the mission in Turkey, yet, in connexion with it, an effort was also made in behalf of the Jews. Soon after its commencement, the Rev. Mr Schauffer arrived at Constantinople, with the special view of labouring among them. They were very numerous in that city, being estimated at seventy or eighty thousand, and consisted chiefly of Spanish Jews, who had come thither when they were driven out of Spain in the end of the fifteenth century. They speak the Spanish language, somewhat corrupted, but it is written in the Hebrew character. Hence Mr Schauffer was led to prepare for their use an edition of the Old Testament in Hebrew-Spanish, which was sought after by them with great eagerness. Numbers of them appeared quite ready to be baptized, even when they had but little knowledge of Christianity, and gave no evidence of having felt its power. Secular motives had probably no small influence in leading them to wish to become Christians. Many of the Jews about Constantinople were in deep poverty and distress. Thousands of them were reduced, by gradual starva-

[1] Rep. Board For. Miss. 1836, p. 43.—Ibid. 1837, p. 52.—Ibid. 1842, p. 107.—Ibid. 1844, p. 105.—Ibid. 1846, p. 101.—Ibid. 1848, p. 151.—Ibid. 1852, p. 72.—Miss. Her. vol. xlv. pp. 400, 402.

tion, to skin and bone: untold misery reigned among them. A station was also established among the Jews at Salonica; but as yet it does not appear to have been attended with any success.[1]

Among the Mahommedans of Turkey the missionaries had no success. Some of them might attain a more correct idea of Christianity; but with martyrdom staring them in the face, we can scarcely wonder that none embraced it. We are perhaps apt to blame Mahommedans more than they deserve. We think the aversion which they manifest to Christianity, is, without question, most unreasonable; we ascribe it to prejudice, to perversity, to depravity, and other evil principles. It never occurs to our minds that Mahommedans may have something to say for themselves; that they may be able to adduce plausible grounds for the preference they give to their own religion. We, however, think it may fairly be made a question whether Mahommedanism is not a better religion than the Christianity of the East, from which they naturally take their ideas of what Christianity is. Assuredly it is, in many respects, a less absurd religion. The form in which it is daily presented to them, is as a system of idolatrous worship, of gross superstition, of senseless rites and ceremonies, of absolute and pure mummery; while both priests and people are, in point of morals, generally much below themselves. They have thus exhibited before their eyes very natural and very plausible reasons for rejecting Christianity; and it is no wonder that their objections should carry entire conviction to their minds, and lead them to think any further inquiry in regard to it perfectly unnecessary.[2]

[1] Miss. Her. vol. xxix. p. 229; vol. xxxii. p. 135; vol. xxxix. p. 72; vol. xl. p. 49; vol. xli. p. 114; vol. xlv. p. 274.—Rep. Board For. Miss. 1844, p. 118.—Ibid. 1852, p. 56.

[2] In corroboration of these views, we shall here quote the following statement by Mr Dwight, of Constantinople:—"The Turks, as a body, have never seen anything like a fair exhibition of Christian character. Who can wonder that they should look down with contempt on the mummery and nonsense in the shape of religious rites which they everywhere see in the professedly Christian churches of the country, especially when they also see that the most exact performance of these rites does not restrain from the grossest crime? To-day (Good-Friday) has been a high day with the Catholics here, and I could not but feel, when I saw some Turks laughing at the ceremonies they witnessed, that they were in the right, and had reasonable ground for prejudice against such a religion as this."—*Miss. Her.* vol. xxvi. p. 250.

It is curious to see what a different estimate was formed of the Turkish character by the missionaries from what generally prevails among us. If we wish to describe a man

SECT. X.—PERSIA.

URUMIAH.

In September 1833, the Rev. J. Perkins sailed from Boston, with a view to missionary operations among the Nestorian Christians in the Western parts of Persia. After remaining a few months at Constantinople, he embarked with his wife for Trebizond; from thence they travelled on horseback to Erzerum; but there they received such accounts of the depredations of the Kurds on the frontier some days before, that instead of taking the direct road to Tabriz, they were induced to turn off into the Russian provinces, though that route was much longer, and involved a tedious quarantine. On reaching the Russian frontier, however, they experienced such delays, and such annoyances and difficulties, as

of a despotic, harsh, cruel, unrelenting character, we are accustomed to say, "He is a perfect Turk." But they give a very different view of the Turkish character. "The Turks," says Mr Perkins, "are naturally a noble race of men. They are sober, dignified in their demeanour, generous in their deportment, and very hospitable in their treatment of strangers. Let the gospel rescue them from the dominion of the system of the false prophet, and shed over them its kindly influence, and Asia Minor may well be proud of its inhabitants."—Perkins's *Residence in Persia*, p. 108.—See also p. 122. "The Turks," says Mrs Grant, "are considered by the American residents here" (Constantinople) "as a noble people, needing only civilization and the gospel to render them an ornament to the world."—*Memoir of Mrs Dwight, with a Sketch of Mrs Grant*, p. 261. We have received similar testimonies to the Turkish character from others whose previous opinions were not likely to be favourable to it.

That Mahommedans in the Levant sustain a better character than the Christians we have decided testimonies. "The Turks," writes Mr Goodell, from Beirut, "exhibit, in some respects, more good traits of character than the nominal Christians of the country. The universal testimony of Frank merchants in the Levant is, that there is more honesty, more fair dealing, and more punctuality to engagements among the Turks than among the Christian sects; and my own opinion perfectly coincides with this testimony."—*Miss. Her.* vol. xxiii. p. 108. Among Christians in the Levant, lying appears to be exceedingly common. They will lie on the slightest temptation, and even without any visible temptation. This fact strongly indicates a loose morality. Lying is a sin which does not commonly stand alone, but is ordinarily employed as a covert for other sins. "It is undoubted," says Mr Homes, of Constantinople, "that the word of a Mussulman may be oftener taken than that of a Christian. The latter have been so long ground down and oppressed, that character, reputation, and honour do not weigh much with them. This, and some other circumstances, may account for the difference between their morals and those of the Mahommedans."—*Miss. Her.* vol. xxxv. p. 28.

The separation of morality from religion in the churches of the Levant, is a strange feature in their character. With us, a man may have morality without religion, but he cannot have religion without morality. An immoral man could never pass with us as a religious man. With them, it is far otherwise. Religion has little or nothing to do with the moral character of an individual, or of a community. A man may be

made them heartily repent of having subjected themselves to the insolence of the lower officials of Russia in her distant provinces. After being detained fourteen days in quarantine at Gumry, the frontier town, and having all their boxes broken open, that their contents might be fumigated, they were informed at the custom-house, whither the whole were now removed for examination, that, with the exception of those containing their wearing-apparel, and a few articles for the road, they must all, including their books, medicine-chest, and box of tools, go back into Turkey, being European goods, which were not permitted to be brought into Russia. All remonstrances, and even offers of money, were in vain. Fresh harassments still awaited them. On arriving at Nakchevan, the frontier town toward Persia, they were detained by the governor, under the most vexatious circumstances; their passports were sent back to Erivan, apparently under a mere pretext, thus occasioning their detention for other eight days. Having at length liberty to depart, they crossed the Aras, which is the boundary between Russia and Persia. "I stood upon the

grossly immoral, and yet strictly religious. "To be religious," says Mr Hamlin of Constantinople, "is to honour the Virgin and the saints, to make the sign of the cross and bow down before them, to entreat them as intercessors, and to keep the fasts of the Church, which is nothing more than laying aside animal food on certain days, but spending *extra* time, thought, and money, in procuring a good variety of luxuries of other kinds of food. Doing this, and remaining a faithful member of the Holy Apostolical Church, are sufficient to secure a man's salvation. Profaneness, perjury, and injustice, are slight affairs, which a single confession will quickly wipe away. Breaking the fasts, neglecting confession and absolution, and other external rites, are the damnable sins which can hardly find forgiveness either in this world or in the world to come."

Of all this, the following is a striking example:—"Two Greeks, notorious for their piracies and other crimes," writes Mr Goodell from Malta, "were, about three weeks since, tried and condemned, and three days after executed at this place. In the course of the trial, it appeared that the beef and anchovies on board one of the English vessels which they pirated were left untouched; and the circumstances under which they were left, appeared to the court so peculiar, that the culprits were asked the cause of it. They promptly answered, that it was at the time of the great fast, when their Church eat neither meat nor fish. They appeared to be most hardened and abandoned wretches, enemies alike to their own and every other nation, and yet rigidly maintaining their *religious* character; and while they were robbing, plundering, and murdering, and stealing the women and children of their countrymen, and selling them to the Turks, and committing other atrocious deeds, they would have us understand they were not so wicked as to taste of meat or fish when prohibited by the canons of their Church.

"When they were apprehended, one of them had what he called *a small piece of the very cross of our blessed Saviour*, which he wore in his bosom; and when this was taken from him, he was greatly troubled, as he was now, he thought, in danger of being killed by some means, whereas before, not even a ball could touch him.

"After their condemnation, the Greek priest in Malta confessed them; and the account he gave of them was this, that they were both *very religious*. And yet one of

river bank," says Mr Perkins, "and looked tremblingly until every article had cleared the boat, and lay safe upon the Persian shore, lest the officers should fabricate some pretext to embarrass us still further. Like captives emerging from a cruel imprisonment, we now felt that we again inhaled the air of freedom. With rejoicing hearts did we take our last look of that country where we had been detained and oppressed more than four weeks, for the sake of making a journey of six days, while we were compelled to leave behind us two-thirds of our luggage, to come to us by way of Turkey." Previous to his liberation, Mr Perkins had sent a letter to Sir John N. R. Campbell, the British ambassador at Tabriz, informing him of their situation; and they had scarcely encamped for the day, after having passed the Aras, when a courier rode up to their tent, and put into their hands a letter from his excellency, in which he stated that the Russian ambassador, to whom he had lost no time in communicating his

them was employing the last precious hours in which he enjoyed the light of this world, and the privileges of probation, in writing a song, in which, among other things indicative of an impenitent and exceedingly depraved heart, he bequeathed (and directed his friends to carry) to his wife, three portions of poison, to be taken, one in the morning, one at noon, and the other at night. He also jocosely tells her that he is about to be married at Malta, represents his tragical end as his nuptials, his bride as the gallows, his mother-in-law the tomb, &c. Indeed, he appeared to feel that he had been a very *religious* man; that he had now confessed, and obtained absolution for all wherein he had failed of being religious; and that therefore he had nothing more to do than to indulge in wit, humour, and sarcasm."—*Miss. Her.* vol. xxv. p. 313; vol. xxxvii. p. 487.

Mr Ladd of Brusa, in Asia Minor, thus writes:—"These Eastern Christians are very much surprised that we have so few forms connected with our religion. This destitution of forms and ceremonies is, in their view, almost equivalent to infidelity. The reason of this is obvious. They have no idea that true religion consists in an internal principle, and depends essentially upon a purified state of the heart; but they suppose it to be altogether conversant with external actions.

"It is often surprising to more enlightened Christians, that any one can possibly call himself by the name of Christ, or entertain any satisfactory hope of being saved, while he is guilty of such open flagrant immoralities as most of these Eastern Christians generally commit, not excepting priests, bishops, or patriarchs. But when their view of the nature of religion is understood, the whole mystery is solved. Immoral conduct is perfectly consistent with a strict observance of religious forms; and if their conscience still feels any compunctions of guilt, these are all quieted when confession to a priest has procured the desired absolution. The hope of salvation does not imply, in their view, holiness of life; and hence, to be a good Christian is quite consistent with all manner of wickedness."—*Miss. Her.* vol. xxxix. p. 347.

These statements give us a vivid idea of the sad condition of the ancient Churches, and explain, but too satisfactorily, the attachment of their votaries to them. They shew, also, the great difficulty there must be in gaining them over to the simplicity and purity of the gospel.

letter, was to despatch a letter that night to the officer commanding Nakchevan, to make arrangements for immediately permitting them to cross the frontier, should they not already have received their passports from Erivan; that in consideration of Mrs Perkins's situation, who was near the time of her confinement, he had sent a *taktrawan*,[1] and four mules, to relieve her from the fatigue of riding on horseback, with three or four bottles of French claret, and some tea, sugar, and biscuit, as their long detention in quarantine might have exhausted their supplies of these articles; that he had given directions for providing lodgings for them on their arrival in Tabriz, until they could make better arrangements for themselves, together with other circumstances, the whole shewing a degree of considerate kindness on the part of his excellency, which reflects much credit upon him, more especially as they were entire strangers to him. Mrs Perkins had already rode on horseback, and with comparative comfort, between six and seven hundred miles; but the exchange of her saddle for the litter was now most grateful. Next day, they had halted but a short time, when an English gentleman rode up to their tent, who proved to be no other than Dr Riach, physician of the English embassy at Tabriz, whom they had seen at Constantinople on his way to Persia. On learning their harassing circumstances on the banks of the Aras, he had procured a Russian passport, and advanced thus far on his way to the Russian frontier, with the view of remaining with them, should he not find them liberated, and of accompanying them on the road, that he might contribute to their comfort, and administer medical assistance in case of need. Such generous acts of kindness made a deep impression on their hearts, still bleeding with the recollection of their recent trials, and throbbing with joy under the feeling of their happy deliverance. After travelling other two days, they reached Tabriz in safety.[2]

[1] A kind of litter, the only vehicle used in Persia; it resembles a close palanquin, or a sedan chair, but is carried by mules instead of men.—*Perkins*, p. 471.

[2] Perkins's Residence of Eight Years in Persia among the Nestorian Christians, pp. 27, 33, 71, 81, 93, 114, 120, 123, 134, 137, 157.

Mr Perkins gives a striking instance of the confidence which is placed in Englishmen in the East. When at Erivan, he writes, "Our unanticipated expenses, arising from long detention in quarantine, and other circumstances attending our circuitous route, had nearly exhausted my purse. I stated the fact to our Persian servant, and asked him what we should do. He soon wandered away to the bazaar, and conducted to our tent a Persian merchant from Tabriz, who was an entire stranger to the servant, as

Just three days after their arrival at Tabriz, Mrs Perkins became the mother of a daughter, of whose existence she was not conscious for several days. Her previous fatigues, exposures, and anxieties, had shaken her system; incessant vomiting for several hours was attended by repeated and so severe convulsions, that they appeared enough to shake to pieces the firmest frame; after which the vital spark seemed, for nearly a week, as if almost extinguished. Three English physicians were in attendance, Dr Riach, who met them on the road, Dr Griffiths, surgeon of the English detachment, and Dr Macneil, then first secretary of the embassy. They all manifested the utmost solicitude about her, but, at the same time, told her husband that they saw no likelihood of her recovery. His feelings in these circumstances may be more easily conceived than described; the perils and trials of their long and toilsome journey just ended; his companion for life, who had so happily survived those trials, now apparently in the agonies of death; and he himself

well as to myself, but who was still ready to lend me as much money, and for as long a period as I wished, with no other security than my promissory note, written in English, not a word of which he could understand. This implicit confidence in a foreigner and a stranger is but a fair illustration of the *unlimited credit* of the English in the East; for my servant had announced me to the merchant as an Englishman, our nationality as Americans being then hardly known in Persia. I borrowed fifty dollars of him, which I paid some weeks afterwards, on his presenting my note, at Tabriz. The Persians, for obvious reasons, will never confide in each other in that manner."—*Perkins*, p. 131. Mr Groves, when at Bagdad, mentions similar instances of confidence in him in advancing him money.

We have already mentioned the great kindness of Sir John N. R. Campbell, the English ambassador, to Mr and Mrs Perkins; but it is only due to Count Simonitch, the Russian ambassador, to state that he also acted with great promptness in interfering in their behalf, and shewed much solicitude for their speedy relief. His letter to the commanding officer of Nakchevan was in very decisive terms:—"I know not," he wrote, "under what authority you act in detaining that gentleman and lady: but, be that authority what it may, I request you to release them immediately; and if you have any apprehension that you may be blamed for so doing, I hold myself fully responsible for the measure."—*Ibid.* p. 140.

We also take this opportunity of mentioning, that the subsequent English ambassadors to the Court of Persia, the Honourable Henry Ellis and Sir John Macneil, acted in the most friendly way to the missionaries; and when the English embassy left the country, in consequence of differences with the Persian government, the Russian ambassador took them under his protection, and exerted himself in their behalf in a very friendly manner. At the same time, it is only due to the government to state, that the Persian authorities, including the king himself, shewed every disposition to protect them. The Shah even encouraged their efforts for the education of the young.—*Perkins*, pp. 218, 371, 396, 400, 419.

having only the cheerless prospect of being soon left a solitary pilgrim in this dark and distant land. "But," says he, "though no *American* voice was near to comfort me in these trying circumstances, a merciful Providence had not left me without friends. Parents and brothers could not have been more tender and assiduous in their kindness than were the English residents. Sir John Campbell, the ambassador, sent repeatedly to us, saying, 'My house is open to you; spare nothing that can contribute to your relief and comfort.' Mrs Nisbet, the wife of the commissary to the English military detachment in Persia, a pious and excellent man, took home our infant on the day of its birth, and relieved me of all anxiety respecting it; and Dr Riach stayed four days and nights at Mrs Perkins' bed-side, not leaving the house to eat or sleep (the other physicians also calling repeatedly), until, by little less than a miracle of Divine mercy, we were permitted to cherish the hope of her recovery. No one will wonder that, after a short residence in Persia, we had become tenderly attached to the English in that country; and the treatment which we received from them on our arrival is but a specimen of their kindness to us from that period to the present time."[1]

Mr Perkins remained near fifteen months at Tabriz, as it was not deemed prudent for him to take up his residence at Urumiah among the Nestorians, until he should be joined by a fellow-missionary. He however paid a short visit to that place with the view of obtaining a teacher from whom he might learn their language while he remained at Tabriz. In this he found little difficulty. Mar Yohannan, one of the Nestorian bishops, readily agreed to return with him; and he engaged a young priest, named Abraham, about twenty years of age, to accompany him as his servant. Hearing, at length, that the Rev. James L. Merrick, and Dr Asahel Grant, a physician, were on their way to Persia, he proceeded to meet them that he might conduct them to Tabriz; and after travelling between five and six hundred miles he fell in with them at a village midway between Trebizond and Erzerum. Mr Merrick was sent out with the special view of collecting information concerning the character and condition of the Mahommedans in Persia and Central Asia,

[1] Perkins, p. 142.

and of ascertaining where it might be expedient to form missionary stations.[1]

In November 1835, Mr Perkins and Dr Grant removed from Tabriz to Urumiah, which is situated on the western side of the lake of the same name, about twelve miles from the shore. The neighbouring country is of surpassing beauty and fertility, and the climate, with its brilliant skies and balmy breezes, is naturally one of the finest in the world. Yet the plain of Urumiah is very unhealthy, particularly to foreigners. Fever and ophthalmia are especially prevalent, the former arising, no doubt, from the *miasmata* of the vast amount of decaying vegetable substances, and of the many pools of stagnant water around the town. On the shores of the lake there are deposited immense quantities of salt: the lake is so salt that fish cannot live in it, and the specific gravity of the water is so great that a man will not sink in it lower than his shoulders.[2]

The Nestorian Christians are a small but venerable remnant of a once great and influential Christian church. They received the name from Nestorius, a native of Syria, who was made Bishop of Constantinople in 428, but was deposed and excommunicated by the third General Council of Ephesus in 431, upon a charge of heresy, arising probably in part from his efforts to correct the popular superstition, which had begun to give to the Virgin Mary the unscriptural title of the mother of God, and still more, perhaps, from the envy and ambition of Cyril, Bishop of Alexandria. He was first banished to Arabia Petræa; he was afterwards trans-

[1] Perkins, pp. 165, 175, 187, 188, 213, 215.—Miss. Her. vol. xxx. pp. 402, 405.

[2] Perkins, pp. 8, 227, 285, 287, 393, 464.

"The geology of this region," says Mr Perkins, "is exceedingly interesting, but very little understood. It appears to have a striking resemblance in its salt mountains, lakes, &c., to the valley of the Dead Sea. I have often regretted my inability to contribute more to the interests of the natural sciences, by not possessing a better acquaintance with them; and did not my missionary work press with a mountain weight upon me, I should be strongly tempted at least to study geology in a somewhat systematic manner, so wonderfully interesting does the face of Persia appear in a geological point of view. This and the other natural sciences have peculiar claims on foreign missionaries, who, visiting as they do all parts of the world, enjoy opportunities for contributing to this department of knowledge, with almost no sacrifice of time or effort, which are possessed by no other class of American citizens. Candidates for missions should have this in mind, and as they would increase their future usefulness, secure a good, practical knowledge of the physical sciences as an important part of their academical education." —*Perkins*, p. 394.

ported to one of the Oases of Libya; and he finally died in Upper Egypt. But though persecuted himself, his cause was taken up by his countrymen in the East, particularly in the famous school of Edessa in Mesopotamia, where many Christian youths of Persia were educated; and the numbers who favoured his views so increased, that they became the dominant Christian sect in that country. One remarkable feature of the Nestorians, was their missions in Central and Eastern Asia. At what time these were commenced, is uncertain; but the more active periods of them are supposed to have been between the 7th and the 13th centuries. Previous to the overthrow of the Caliphs in 1258, the Nestorians had become widely extended throughout the East. They are said to have had churches not only in Persia, but in Armenia, Syria, Mesopotamia, and Arabia, in Malabar in the East Indies, in the vast regions of Tartary, from the Caspian Sea to Mount Taurus, through the greater part of what is now known as Chinese Tartary, and even in China itself. "Under the reign of the Caliphs," says Gibbon, "the Nestorian Church was diffused from China to Jerusalem and Cyprus, and its numbers, with those of the Jacobites, were computed to surpass the Greek and Latin communions." Most of these churches, there is ground to conclude, have long since become extinct; the Nestorians are now found chiefly in the district of Urumiah, and in the neighbouring mountains of Kurdistan.[1]

The number of the Nestorians is not well ascertained. Mr Perkins estimates them at about 140,000,—namely, in the Moun-

[1] Perkins, pp. 1, 5, 7.—Miss. Her. vol. xxxiv. pp. 289, 297.—Gibbon, vol. viii. p. 345.

An interesting account of the missions of the Nestorian Christians in Central and Eastern Asia, may be found in *Miss. Her.* vol. xxxiv. p. 289. But though the general fact is not without interest, they were probably, in consequence of their defective Christian character, of no great importance. Such, at least, was the opinion of Neander, the distinguished ecclesiastical historian. "As late," says he, "as the ninth century, the Nestorian Church had some flourishing seminaries (especially that at Nisibis in Mesopotamia) for the education of the clergy, but after that period they seem to have declined, for the information we possess respecting the itinerant clergy in Asia, proves them to have been men greatly deficient in theological erudition, Christian knowledge, and a deep tone of Christian feeling. It is true that they were animated with a zeal for making proselytes, but frequently they were satisfied if a number of people made an outward profession of Christianity, and observed a certain round of Christian and ecclesiastical ceremonies. We must, therefore, receive with suspicion the accounts which the Nestorians themselves, inclined to extol the merits of their sect, and accustomed to

tains, 110,000, and in the district of Urumiah, between 30,000 and 40,000. The town of Urumiah contains about 25,000 inhabitants, but of these not more than 600 are Nestorians. They are numerous in the villages of the plain; in some cases occupying a village exclusively, in others, living in the same village with Mahommedans. In their manners, they partake much of the suavity and urbanity of the Persian character. Compared with them, the Nestorians of the Mountains, though originally of the same stock, are a rude, wild, uncivilized race. According to the traditions current among them, they are of Jewish descent; they dislike exceedingly the name of Nestorians, and call themselves Chaldeans.[1]

The Nestorians are much more simple and scriptural in many of their views, than the Romish, Greek, Armenian, and other oriental Churches. They professed the greatest reverence for the Holy Scriptures, were desirous of having them in their vernacular language, which all could understand, and in theory, at least, exalted them far above all human traditions. They abhorred image-worship, auricular confession, and the doctrine of purgatory. On the subject of the divinity of Christ, in relation to which the charge of heresy is made against them by the Romish Church, and many of the oriental sects, their belief is orthodox

the hyperbolical style of Asia, have given of their labours for the conversion of heathen tribes. They spread in those regions of Asia, in which a tendency to a mixture of various religions has always been observable. Opportunities for adding to this mixture some Christian elements, could easily be found, and these may have been represented by the Nestorians as conversions to Christianity."—*Neander's Church History*, vol. ix. p. 58, in *Calcutta Christ. Observer*, vol. xii. p. 719.

[1] Perkins, pp. 2, 8, 9, 175.

Dr Grant published a work entitled *The Nestorians, or the Lost Tribes*, in which he endeavoured to shew that they are the descendants of the long-lost ten tribes of Israel. We do not find that any of the other missionaries adopted his views. Dr Edward Robinson, the distinguished traveller in the East, after examining Dr Grant's theory, rejected it. His argument, drawn from the resemblance between certain customs and observances of the Nestorians, and some of the rites and practices of the Israelites, he considers as proving too much, as they are not, in general, either Jewish or Nestorian distinctively, but Oriental, in the broad sense of the term, and it might, consequently, be applied with equal propriety to most eastern nations, and shew them to be all of the same origin.—*Perkins*, pp. 2, 320. There is, besides, often much of fancy in discovering and drawing correspondences between different tribes and nations, while points of difference are overlooked, when a writer has in view the establishment of some peculiar and favourite opinion. Indeed, in regard to matters of this kind, it is scarcely possible to arrive at anything like certainty, and there will always be room for doubts and hesitation.

and Scriptural; but yet they were wofully ignorant of other and most important truths of Christianity. Of the great doctrine of justification by faith, they knew little or nothing. Of the nature and necessity of regeneration, they were equally ignorant. Repentance for sin they confounded with outward rites and bodily austerities. Many human and childish traditions were current among them, and their expositions of Scripture were at once mystical and puerile.[1]

The worship of the Nestorians in their churches consists merely in chanting portions of the Psalms, and reciting their liturgy, which are all in the ancient Syriac language, and are understood by few, either of the priests or the people. Their religious services appear to be a mere heartless form; the exercises of the people seemed to consist chiefly in bowing, kneeling, and crossing themselves.[2]

It was painful to see to what an extent the Sabbath was profaned among the Nestorians. A few of them attended prayers at the church early in the morning; the rest of the day was spent in transacting business, in visiting, feasting, amusement, and dissipation, though working does not seem to be allowed.[3]

Among the Nestorians, fastings are very frequent. About a hundred and seventy days, or nearly one-half of the year, are devoted to them. During their fasts, they abstain from animal food, but not for a single day from food altogether. Each fast is anticipated and followed by a festival, to make up for their self-denial during the fast. In this way, nearly the whole year is cut up between fasts and feasts, into seasons of partial abstinence and of gross indulgence, of senseless mummery or noisy revelling. By common consent, it is held lawful and proper among the Nestorians to labour and transact business during their fasts; the only difference between these and other times, is abstinence from animal food. It matters nothing how richly their vegetable dishes are served up; indeed the palatable preparation of Fast dishes is quite a science among them. During the festivals, on the contrary, it is reckoned very improper to labour.

[1] Grant's Nestorians, p. 6.—Perkins, pp. 20, 205, 247, 257, 417.—Miss. Her. vol. xxxix. p. 61.—Rep. Board For. Miss. 1842, p. 128.

[2] Miss. Her. vol. xxxiii. p. 33.—Perkins, pp. 182, 188.

[3] Miss. Her. vol. xxxiv. pp. 300, 305.—Perkins, p. 247.

The whole time must then be devoted to eating, drinking, and carousal. It is not easy to conceive what an amount of evil results from the weeks of idleness, and the general check to industry, caused by this prohibition of labour. The people proclaim with great self-complacency the number and the length of their fasts; they consider them as the great badge and proof of true Christians; they would sooner die than taste animal food on one of their fast days.[1]

Among the Nestorians, falsehood, swearing, and intemperance, were prevailing sins. The great majority of them, both priests and people, indulged in lying. Truth was held in small estimation among them, and falsehood was little or no reproach. Lying, they alleged, was often indispensable to save them from being overreached and oppressed by their Mahommedan masters. This want of veracity led to the frequent and general use of oaths among them. From the man of gray hairs to the child who had just learned to talk, swearing was universal. They interspersed it in their conversation on all subjects, however trivial they might be. Intemperance was in like manner exceedingly prevalent among them. With few exceptions, they were a nation of wine-bibbers. Their fertile country being like one great vineyard, they alleged that their facilities for indulging in the use of wine the only privilege left them to cheer and sustain their spirits was a precious boon vouchsafed to them by Heaven, and almost under the intolerable oppressions of their Mahommedan rulers.[2]

The morals of the Nestorians were, however, in some respects, vastly superior to those of their Mahommedan neighbours. The virtue of chastity, for example, was scarcely found among the latter, while by the former it was, to a considerable extent, held sacred.[3]

Few of the Nestorians were able to read or write. Few even of the ecclesiastics could read intelligibly. A majority of the priests could merely chant their devotional services in the ancient Syriac language, while neither they nor their hearers knew any-

[1] Miss. Her. vol. xxxiii. p. 33; vol. xxxiv. p. 299; vol. xxxix. p. 61.—Perkins, pp. 247, 254.

[2] Miss. Her. vol. xxxviii. p. 266; vol. xxxix. p. 60.—Perkins, pp. 247, 248.

[3] Miss. Her. vol. xxxv. p. 279.

thing of their meaning. Even some of the bishops in the Mountains were equally ignorant.[1]

The number of books among the Nestorians was very limited, and copies of them were extremely rare. The library of the patriarch, which had often been represented to the missionaries as altogether prodigious, and might appear so to these simple-hearted people, was found to consist of not more than sixty volumes, a part of which were duplicates; yet there was no other collection of books among the Nestorians to be compared with it. Not a single complete copy of the Holy Scriptures was to be found in the possession of any of them. Even a whole copy of the New Testament was rarely to be seen. They had the whole Scriptures in their hands, but it was in detached portions, some of which were very rare. As a consequence of this, there was great ignorance among all classes, both clergy and laity.[2]

With a name to live, and with a rigid punctiliousness in observing the outward forms of their religion, the Nestorians as a body were dead. The vitality and power of Christianity were gone. Scarcely a symptom of spiritual life remained. Indeed, in both an intellectual and religious point of view, the flame of their candle had long been flickering, and it now appeared as if ready to expire.[3]

But though Christianity was in a very decayed state among them, we must not conclude that it cost them no sacrifices. It cost them the rights and privileges of freemen, and brought upon them every kind of oppression and ignominy. Christians in England and America know nothing, in comparison with the Nestorians, of suffering for the *name* of the Lord Jesus. They are habitually called by the Mahommedans, unclean, infidels, dogs, and they are treated in accordance with such appellations. Often their property, and sometimes their children, are wantonly taken from them, on account of their profession of Christianity; while their renunciation of it would place them at once beyond the reach of such indignities and sufferings. It is wonderful that they have clung so tenaciously, from century to century, to the

[1] Miss. Her. vol. xxxiv. p. 306; vol. xxxix. p. 62.—Perkins, pp. 17, 249.
[2] Miss. Her. vol. xxxviii. p. 266; vol. xxxix. p. 62.—Perkins, pp. 14, 351.
[3] Perkins, pp. 247, 249.

religion of Christ, when they had to pay such a price for it, while yet they were uncheered and unsustained by its living power and consolations.[1]

On coming to Urumiah, the missionaries were very favourably received by the Nestorians, particularly by some of the bishops. It is also due to the Mahommedans, and especially to the higher classes, Moolahs as well as others, to state, that they uniformly treated them with great kindness and respect. The governor shewed them great consideration; and Malek Kasem Mirza, one of the princes of the royal family, who appeared very desirous of promoting the improvement of his country, was on a most friendly footing with them. The ready access which they had to persons of the highest rank in Persia, commended them to the respect and confidence of all classes, and contributed much to secure them from danger and annoyance.[2]

One of the first objects to which they directed their attention, was the education of the people. With a view to this, they commenced a seminary of a superior kind, for the purpose of preparing native agents, some for the office of teachers, and others of priests. Among their early pupils were several bishops, priests, and deacons, some of them advanced in years, who availed themselves of the advantages of the institution.[3]

Besides the seminary, the missionaries established common schools in the villages. Nearly all the more populous villages in the plain of Urumiah were, after some years, supplied with the means of education. The teachers were generally priests or deacons, or persons who had been educated in the seminary.[4]

They also, after some time, established a female boarding-school. To educate females appeared to the Nestorians at first strange and novel, and even as overstepping the bounds of modesty and propriety. A few girls had previously been received both into the seminary and the village schools, as it was thought better to bring them together, in the first instance, with the boys, than to establish a separate school for them, lest a prema-

[1] Perkins, p. 248.

[2] Ibid. pp. 208, 228, 231, 259, 282, 287, 290, 293, 300, 325, 342, 374, 383, 397, 418, 430.

[3] Ibid. p. 250.—Miss. Her. vol. xxxv. p. 279; vol. xxxix. p. 344.

[4] Rep. Board For. Miss. 1837, p. 64.—Miss. Her. vol. xxxvi. p. 387; vol. xlviii. p. 205.

ture attempt of the kind should excite undue notoriety, and perhaps call forth opposition. The boarding-school which they at length established was not attended at first by many scholars, but the few who did attend made good progress. Ultimately, it was eminently successful, and had a powerful effect in doing away with the prejudices of the people against female education. The course of study pursued in it had reference to thorough training. While the Bible, studied geographically, historically, and doctrinally, was the principal text-book, arithmetic, geography, physiology, natural philosophy, and profane history, also received a due share of attention. As regards system, order, studiousness, good conduct, and rapid improvement, the school was thought not to be surpassed by any in America.[1]

The missionaries, from the time of their arrival in the country, had sought, in their intercourse with the bishops and priests, to communicate to them Scriptural views of Christianity. They had also held meetings for religious worship with the pupils in the seminary, and such others as chose to attend. They had long looked forward to the time when the way would be opened for their preaching to the people in their own language; and this having been desired by some, they proposed making a beginning in a private house, if a convenient place could be found, rather than, by meeting in the church at Urumiah as was proposed, run the risk of exciting the jealousy and opposition of the priesthood. But on mentioning their views to several of the ecclesiastics, they assured them that there would be no objections to their preaching in the church; that bishops, priests, deacons, and people would all approve of it. They accordingly preached in the church on the following Sabbath, when about forty or fifty people assembled, and listened in perfect silence, and with encouraging attention. The Nestorians were hitherto unaccustomed to preaching in their churches; indeed, the priests, from their ignorance, were incapable of preaching.[2]

Having made a commencement of preaching in the church at Urumiah, they soon began to preach also in the churches of the neighbouring villages. The people attended in considerable num-

[1] Perkins, pp. 290, 336.—Miss. Her. vol. xxxix. p. 66; vol. xlviii. p. 67.—Rep. Board For. Miss. 1852, p. 87.

[2] Miss. Her. vol. xxxvi. p. 493.—Perkins, p. 333.

bers, and listened with apparent interest and attention. Indeed, the missionaries were obliged to refuse many applications from villages as promising as those in which they held religious services. It must not, however, be supposed that the people were so eager to hear the gospel, that they themselves made these applications. The priests of the villages were the movers; and it was, doubtless, in many cases, in the hope of finding employment as teachers of schools, or in some other way in connexion with the mission.[1]

In October 1839, Dr Grant, after a difficult and perilous journey from Constantinople, by way of Mosul, arrived at Julamerk, the metropolitan village of the independent Nestorians, who inhabit the mountains of Kurdistan, to the west of Urumiah. They were a bold hardy race; and though surrounded by powerful neighbours, had always maintained their independence, and had hitherto set at defiance even the predatory and lawless Kurds.[2] Dr Grant had been warned of the danger of penetrating into their country; and though his heart had been long set on visiting them, yet, in entering it, he was not without apprehensions as to the reception he might meet with. He gives the following account of his approach to Lezan, the first of their villages:—"I set off at an early hour in the morning; and after a toilsome ascent of an hour and a half, I found myself at the summit of the mountain, where a scene indescribably grand was spread out before me. The country of the independent Nestorians opened before my enraptured vision like a vast amphitheatre of wild precipitous mountains, broken with deep dark-looking defiles and narrow glens, into few of which the eye could penetrate, so far as to gain a distinct view of the cheerful smiling villages, which have long been the secure abodes of the main body of the Nestorian Church, the home of a hundred thousand Christians, around whom the arm of Omnipotence had reared the adamantine ramparts, whose lofty snow-capped summits seemed to blend with the skies in the distant horizon. I retired to a sequestered pinnacle of a rock, where I could feast my eyes upon the sublime spec-

[1] Miss. Her. vol. xxxvii. pp. 53, 382, 386; vol. xxxviii. p. 266.

[2] It was only, however, the more populous districts of Diss, Tyary, Jelu, Bass, and Tchoob, which could be called independent; the less populous districts were subject to the Kurdish tribes who dwell in the same parts, and, being far more numerous than the Nestorians, grievously oppressed and often plundered them.—*Perkins*, pp. 6, 501.

tacle, and pour out my heartfelt gratitude that I had been brought at length, through so many perils, to behold a country from which emanated the brightest beams of hope for the long benighted empire of Mahommedan delusion, by whose millions of votaries I was surrounded on every side.

"After gazing and wondering at the scenes before me, I sped my course down the steep declivity of the mountain, now cautiously climbing along the precipitous descent, and over the rocks, which obstructed our course; now resting my weary limbs under the inviting shade of some wild pear-tree; and anon, mounted on my hardy mule, winding along the narrow zig-zag pathway over the mountain spurs, and down, far down to the banks of the rolling, noisy, dashing Zab, where lay one of the large populous villages of the independent Nestorians, which extended, amid fertile gardens, for more than a mile in length.

"What reception shall I meet with from these wild sons of the mountain, who have never before seen the face of a foreigner? How will they regard the helpless stranger, thrown so entirely upon their mercy? One breath of suspicion might blast my fondest hopes. But God was smiling upon the work in which I was engaged; prayer had been heard; and the way was prepared before me in a manner truly wonderful. The only person I had ever seen from this remote tribe was a young Nestorian, who came to me about a year ago, entirely blind. He said he had never expected to see the light of day, till my name had reached his country, and he had been told that I could restore his sight. With wonderful perseverance he had gone from village to village, seeking some one to lead him by the hand, till in the course of five or six weeks he reached my residence at Urumiah, where I removed the cataract from his eyes, and he returned to his mountains seeing. Scarcely had I entered the first village in his country, when this young man, hearing of my approach, came, with a smiling countenance, bearing in his hand a present of honey, in token of his gratitude for the restoration of his sight, and affording me an introduction to the confidence and the affections of his people."

On arriving at Diss, the residence of the patriarch, Dr Grant met with a very friendly reception from Mar Shimon, who appeared to enter very cordially into the measures he proposed for

educating the people, providing them with the Holy Scriptures, and raising up a well-instructed priesthood.[1]

Dr Grant subsequently made repeated visits to the independent Nestorians. He travelled through the whole length and breadth of their country, traversing the mountains in almost every direction, and gained, as he thought, the friendship and confidence, not only of the patriarch and his people, but of the Kurds, with whom he was brought, in his capacity as a physician, into very intimate and friendly intercourse. Having now the prospect of being joined by other missionaries, he made arrangements for forming stations at various places; and he began to build a house for the accommodation of three mission families at a village called Asheta, in the district of Tyary; but all his plans were suddenly broken up by the calamities which now overtook the Nestorians of the Mountains.[2]

In July 1843, the forces of Nurulah Bey and Bader Khan Bey, two powerful Kurdish chiefs, made a descent upon the districts of Diss and Tyary. The Kurds and the Nestorians dwelling in the same mountains had always maintained a hostile attitude to each other. Mar Shimon, the present patriarch, had excited the violent hostility of his own people, by what they called his grasping at political power, which had been claimed by none of his predecessors, but by the Meleks only. He also roused the jealousy and hatred of his neighbour Nurulah Bey, the powerful chief of the Hakary Kurds, whose very existence as Emir would be endangered, should the Nestorians rise in political influence, as would certainly be the case if they became united under one supreme head. Nurulah Bey had himself to contend against the party of Suleiman Bey, the son of the former Emir, in his own territory; and the friendly intimacy which subsisted between the patriarch and Suleiman roused all the fears and vindictive passions of the Kurdish chief. There was, besides, no want of personal grudges and old quarrels to keep up and fan the flame of mutual hostility between Mar Shimon and the Hakary chief, who, only two years before, had burned the residence of the patriarch at Diss, and driven him to take refuge in the district of Tyary. Nurulah Bey now sought the aid of Kader Khan Bey, the chief

[1] Miss. Her. vol. xxxvi. pp. 126, 305; vol. xxxvii. pp. 114, 123.—Perkins, p. 18.
[2] Miss. Her. vol. xxxviii. pp. 44, 215, 257; vol. xxxix. p. 66.

of Buhtan, who had been extending his dominion on every side, and was now the most powerful man in Kurdistan, though nominally subject to the Porte. The combined forces of the two chiefs came down upon the small district of Diss, and then on the more populous district of Tyary, with all the fury of their own mountain storms. The Nestorians were much divided among themselves; they had no leader; there was no concert among them. It was impossible there should, there existed so much animosity between different tribes and individuals. The whole war might be called a massacre; for it was little more than a succession of slaughters. The Kurds passed from village to village, killing or taking captive the inhabitants, plundering and burning their houses, and laying waste their fields and gardens; and, except in one or two instances, without even the shadow of resistance. Each village cared only for itself; every man sought only his own personal safety; and hence they became an easy prey to their enemies. The Kurds spared neither age nor sex; in many instances they exercised the most wanton cruelties on the miserable Nestorians. Their ravages, however, were chiefly confined to the districts of Diss and Tyary. The tribes of Tehoma, Bass, and Jelu, suffered comparatively little, except in the loss of their property and independence.[1]

Immediately on the commencement of hostilities Dr Grant made his escape, though not without some difficulty, from the Mountains, and returned to Mosul, which had for some time past been the head-quarters of several missionaries who had come to co-operate with him in his labours among the Nestorians. Some of them, including their wives, had died, and that not long after their arrival; yet the survivors, notwithstanding these afflictive visitations, were not disheartened, but, putting their trust in God, resolved to persevere in the arduous work which they had undertaken. Now, indeed, a new and heavy trial befel them. Their noble pioneer and coadjutor, Dr Grant, had not long returned to Mosul when he was seized with typhus fever, and died after an illness of less than three weeks. People of every rank, men of all sects and religions, watched the progress of his disease with the utmost anxiety. The French consul visited him

[1] Miss. Her. vol. xxxix. pp. 67, 435, 453; vol. xl. pp. 23, 135, 202, 263; vol. xli. pp. 117, 121.

almost daily. The Turkish authorities sent to inquire for him. Mar Shimon, the patriarch, who had also fled to Mosul, said, "My country and my people are gone; now Dr Grant is also taken, and there remains nothing to me but God."[1]

The whole country was now in the power of the Kurds; but with the exception of a poll-tax, they imposed no burdens upon the Nestorians, nor was there any Kurdish military force or even ruler left to secure their obedience. Those who had been taken captive or driven away returned in considerable numbers. They appeared to be slowly collecting flocks and herds around them again, and gradually resuming the cultivation of the soil. Their sufferings had made them feel the importance of union; but yet the several districts took little interest in the welfare of each other, and fierce contests not unfrequently sprung up between them. There appeared to be a singular want of law and order among them. If Bader Khan Bey had taken them under his own immediate authority, their condition would probably have been improved by the change, and their subjugation have turned out a blessing rather than a curse. In one district to which his rule appears to have extended, the people, though they spoke of their oppressions, acknowledged at the same time that they were in better circumstances than they had been formerly. Previous to its coming under his stern rule, this part of Kurdistan was the theatre of constant struggles between petty chiefs, and the Christian population became the prey, now of one and then of another.[2]

In November 1844, Messrs Perkins and Stocking proceeded to Tehran, the capital of Persia, for the purpose of submitting to the government a correct view of the nature and object of their operations. The French Jesuits had pushed their proselyting measures so vigorously among the Armenians of Ispahan and Tabriz, that they were ordered away from the country two years before; and in connexion with this measure the Persian government issued a permanent order, that no native Christians should in future be proselyted from one Christian sect to another. Whether Russia, regarding French Jesuit missions with a jealous eye on account of their political bearing, was at all concerned in

[1] Miss. Her. vol. xxxix. p. 435; vol. xl. pp. 164, 264.
[2] Miss. Her. vol. xlii. p. 407.

this order, is not known; but it is very probable she was the instigator of it, as it is quite in accordance with her policy. The French government, after some delay, was induced to send an envoy to Persia, to effect, if possible, the return of the missionaries; but before he reached that country, they had clandestinely made their way to Urumiah, been seeking to gain over the Nestorians to Rome, and, in consequence of this, been ordered a second time to quit the country. The demand of the envoy that permission should be granted to the Jesuits to return having been refused, he then required the expulsion of the American missionaries, as being obnoxious to the same law. The Russian ambassador, under whose protection they had been since the withdrawal of the English embassy some years before, denied that it was the object of the mission to proselyte in the sense contemplated by the law. The French envoy then demanded an investigation, and to this the ambassador and the Persian government readily consented. Two Mahommedan mirzas were sent from Tabriz to Urumiah, to inquire into the truth of the allegation, that the missionaries had drawn away certain Nestorians from their original ecclesiastical connexion. The report of the mirzas was very artfully drawn up, and bore manifest traces of the influence of the Jesuits. Not all the Persians in the country could, uninstructed, have framed such a document. After Messrs Perkins and Stocking had given such statements and explanations as they judged necessary, the Russian ambassador procured a firman, directing that the three Nestorians, who were said in the report of the mirzas to have been drawn off to a new ecclesiastical organization, should be summoned to Tabriz, and declare upon oath whether the charge was true or not. The individuals referred to accordingly repaired to Tabriz in company with Dr Wright; and after they were examined on the subject, a full report of the proceedings was sent to the Shah at Tehran, and also to the Russian ambassador. This report having proved satisfactory to the government, the threatened storm passed away.[1]

[1] Rep. Board For. Miss. 1845, p. 120.—Miss. Her. vol. xli. pp. 213, 253, 256.

Circumstances of this kind are not perhaps likely to occur again. In 1851, Colonel Shiel, the English minister at the court of Persia, succeeded in obtaining an order from the king which grants equal protection to all his Christian subjects, including the right of proselytism, and of change from one sect to another.—*Miss Her.* vol. xlviii. p. 141.

In 1847, the Turkish government sent an army into Kurdistan for the purpose of subduing the Kurds. The strongest and most inaccessible fortresses of that wild and mountainous region were quickly occupied by the Turkish troops. Even the lofty rocky castle of Julamerk, at once the pride and the terror of the mountain tribes, was in the hands of an Osmanli garrison. Bader Khan Bey, the Buhtan chief, was a prisoner of the Turks, while the Hakary chief, Nurulah Bey, was flying before them, like a partridge, from mountain to mountain; and though he crossed the boundary of Kurdistan, and took refuge in an old fortress on the borders of Persia, he was still closely pursued, and was at length taken captive by the Turks. Thus the power of the Kurds, so terrible for centuries, was broken. There was something sublime as well as interesting in the movements of the Turkish troops in these rugged mountainous regions; and though the wild and lawless mountaineers did not much relish the Turkish sway, it ultimately conduced to their safety and security.[1]

Mar Shimon, the Nestorian patriarch, who had resided during the last four years at Mosul, nominally the guest of the Turkish authorities, though in reality the prisoner, now very unexpectedly made his appearance at Urumiah. He left Turkey and came into Persia without the knowledge or consent of the Turkish government. The Porte, in the view of the subjugation of the Kurds, had recently sent a requisition to him to come to Constantinople, with the design, it was supposed, of impressing him with the power of the Sultan, and sending him back to the mountains duly authorized as the patriarch and governor of his people; but he, jealous, perhaps, of the intentions of the Turkish government, instead of obeying the order, made the best of his way to Urumiah. At first he appeared very friendly to the missionaries; he often expressed to his people a deep sense of his obligations to them for the kindness they had shewn to members of his family in their afflictions, his confidence in them, and his satisfaction with their operations; but either won over by their enemies, among whom were two of his own brothers, or

[1] Miss. Her. vol. xliii. pp. 349, 375; vol. xlv. pp. 195, 248; vol. xlvii. p. 59.—Rep. Board For. Miss. 1848, p. 162.

what is as likely, throwing off the mask which he had hitherto worn, he, after some months, set himself in opposition to them, first secretly, and then openly, without any disguise. He first attacked the seminary; he next sought to withdraw the native assistants from co-operating with the missionaries, at one time calling into exercise all his powers of persuasion, at another abusing them in the most violent and insolent manner, threatening them with personal injury, and even pronouncing on some of them the extreme and once dreaded sentence of excommunication. In short, he endeavoured to arrest the whole operations of the mission among the Nestorians. The schools must all be closed; the preaching of the gospel must cease; and even the missionaries who had done so much for his people must be driven away. In regard to the means which he employed to accomplish his purposes, he appears to have been perfectly unscrupulous; there was nothing which he was not prepared to do, provided only he could thereby destroy the mission.

But the native preachers and other helpers were not to be deterred from prosecuting their labours by his opposition and violence. They still went about as before, proclaiming, both in the plains and in the mountains, the glad tidings of Divine mercy; nor were the people hindered by his threats from listening to the word of life. A priest, who was also the teacher of a school, being ordered by the patriarch to suspend his labours, and to discourage the preaching of the gospel, though he was not at that time considered a pious man, made him the following answer: "Please your reverence, then let a paper be drawn up with your seal upon it, saying, 'I forbid the bishops, priests, and deacons, to preach any more the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, and that the children be taught any more to read; and declare that I, Mar Shimon, take it upon myself to answer for all this before the judgment seat of Christ.' Give me such a paper, that I may be relieved of all responsibility in this matter." Such a paper, however, the patriarch did not give him.

After some time, the patriarch was almost wholly forsaken by the ecclesiastics of Urumiah. The four bishops of the province, and nearly all the priests and deacons, and many other leading persons among the Nestorians, united in a representation to the

Persian government, very commendatory of the character and objects of the mission, with the view of counteracting his machinations. The cheerfulness with which the body of the Nestorian ecclesiastics of Urumiah thus came forward to the help of the mission, at a time when they might have embarrassed it by taking a different course, was truly gratifying. It was also matter of gratitude to God, that those among the Nestorians who were regarded as pious, with scarcely an exception stood by the mission nobly, and that in the face of trial and reproach, and manifested much of the spirit of Christianity during the whole course of the patriarch's violent career; and that many who were not regarded as pious also manifested a decision in favour of what was right, which could scarcely have been expected of them under the circumstances. Indeed, though the Nestorians, like all other Orientals, were greatly disposed to reverence their ecclesiastical head, and to yield submission to his injunctions, yet Mar Shimon had now entirely lost his influence in the province of Urumiah. Hence there were times when his destructive efforts were intermitted. Having received a letter from the governor of the Nestorians, then at Tabriz, rebuking him for his conduct toward the mission, and advising him to desist from his opposition, he professed to regret his past course, and made overtures of peace to the missionaries. They, on their part, appear to have done all which they could do, as faithful servants of the Lord Jesus Christ, to restore amicable relations; but it was to no purpose. From that time forward he became more and more reckless, scattering his anathemas on every hand, and abetting measures of extreme lawlessness and violence.[1]

Though the mission was thus not without its difficulties and trials, yet it made important advances in all its branches. There were, in particular, several seasons of what are usually called *revivals*, which deserve special notice.[2]

On all these occasions the work commenced in the male and female seminaries. Many of the pupils, both boys and girls, manifested deep concern about their souls, and a large number

[1] Miss. Her. vol. xli. p. 410; vol. xliii. pp. 349, 374; vol. xliv. pp. 414, 416; vol. xlv. pp. 26, 196, 200, 243.—Report Board For. Miss. 1849, p. 126.

[2] These revivals were four in number; they all commenced in the month of January, in the years 1846, 1849, 1850, and 1851.

of them, it was hoped, were savingly converted. Every day resembled a Sabbath, so much did they give themselves up to reading, meditation, and prayer. A more delightful employment could scarcely be imagined than training up these young immortals in the knowledge of the Scriptures, and in faith and love, and other Christian graces.[1]

Though the work commenced in the male and female seminaries, it was not confined to them. It also extended to the Nestorians in the town of Urumiah, and in several of the neighbouring villages. In Geog Tapa, the largest Nestorian village in the province, there was an unusual interest manifested in religion; the whole village appeared as if awaking out of a deep sleep. In passing along the streets, one might hear the voice of prayer in not a few houses; and if he entered the fields and vineyards in the vicinity, the same hallowed sounds would reach his ears. Among those who gave evidence of piety were a number of ecclesiastics, several of them persons of influence.[2] Females also shared

[1] Miss. Her. vol. xlii. pp. 235, 238, 253, 261, 289; vol. xlv. pp. 198, 279; vol. xlvi. pp. 160, 201; vol. xlvii. pp. 163, 181.

[2] Mar Yohannan, one of the bishops, who had been connected with the mission from its commencement, and been long employed in its service, and who had even accompanied Mr Perkins to America, where he excited much interest, had afterwards greatly disappointed the missionaries, by his worldliness and backslidings. Probably he was injured by the foolish and flattering attentions which are so often shewn to persons coming from the field of missions, at least if there happen to be anything special or popular about them. It was hoped, however, that he had become of late a subject of renewing grace. In writing of him, Mr Stocking gives us the following touching narrative:—"On Sabbath morning, a special messenger was sent to Urumiah, requesting Mar Yohannan and myself to come to Geog Tapa, and aid the people in the services of the day. On reaching the village, we found a large assembly at the house of Mar Elias, listening to an exhortation from priest Abraham. Mar Yohannan was called on to address the assembly, which he did in an affecting manner, not having seen them before since the change in his own feelings. He spoke of himself as the chief of sinners, as having led more souls to destruction than any other of his people, and as being all covered with their blood. In regard to the sheep or people of his diocese, he said, the fattest of them he had eaten; the poorest he had cast away; the maimed, the lame, the sick, he had wholly neglected. He declared that an awful weight of sin rested upon him; and he entreated them to look no longer to their bishops for salvation, but to repent immediately, and turn to God.

"At the close of an earnest appeal, the younger priest Abraham, the acting priest of the village, arose and made a most humble confession of his sins, as their own priest, in leading them quietly along in carnal security and unbelief, and, next to the bishops, as stained most deeply with their blood. In a most pathetic manner, he entreated them, one and all, to attend to the salvation of their souls. This priest has been recently awakened for the first time; and he now gives evidence, by an humble Christian life, and by his efforts to save the souls he has been leading to ruin, of having come to an ex-

largely in the blessings of this work of grace. In a word, persons of all classes and ages, young and old, the learned and the wholly illiterate, were among its hopeful subjects. Even persons of the most abandoned character were awakened; numerous crimes, some of them committed twenty-five years before, were confessed, and restitution made of stolen property.[1]

The revival among the Nestorians was characterized by features

perimental knowledge of the truth."—*Miss. Her.* vol. xlii. pp. 260, 292; vol. xlv. pp. 200, 201.

Deacon Isaac, a brother of the patriarch, is another interesting example. He was a man of much vigour of mind, and had formerly opposed the missionaries; but now (1846) he became one of their constant hearers, and manifested much concern about his spiritual condition. Mr Stoddard gives the following account of a visit which he received from him:—"As I inferred from his manner that he wished to converse on the subject of religion, I began by asking him if he rejoiced in what the Lord was doing for his people. He replied, 'None but Satan can help rejoicing. I do certainly rejoice. But I am like a man that stands on the shore of a lake, and, seeing a beautiful country on the other side, is gladdened by the prospect, but has no means of reaching that beautiful country himself. Would that I were a child, that I might repent too. But no, it cannot be. My heart is ice. There is no such sinner among the people as I am. I do not believe it is possible for me to be saved.' I reminded him of the freeness of Christ's love, and his willingness to receive the vilest sinner that will come to him. After some hesitation, he admitted that it was indeed so. 'But,' said he, 'the great obstacle is myself. My heart is perfectly dead. You may cut and thrust me with a sword, but I am insensible to the stroke. And if you kindly pour ointment on my wounds, it is all the same. I choose sin: I love sin. The wild beasts in the mountains are enticed by the hunters, and seize the bait, not knowing what they do. But I take this world with my eyes open, knowing that I am choosing destruction, and eating death. It is a shame for me to remain in such a miserable condition, while these boys are weeping over their sins; and I am ashamed. But such is the fact; and I expect to die as I have lived, and go to hell.'"

Three years afterwards (1849) we have the following account of him:—"Deacon Isaac, the most intellectual and influential brother of the patriarch, appears to be a penitent and sincere believer in Jesus. Our pious natives behold, with wonder and admiration, the change in this man. By nature proud, but frank, and disdaining everything like hypocrisy, he now seems to be humble, and very much afraid of self-deception. And though he is competent, by his superior knowledge of the truths of revelation, to teach the more intelligent of the people, he feels that he is benefited by the conversation and prayers of the humblest pious child. His habits are entirely changed from those of a prayerless and worldly man, to one who daily commends himself and family to God, with the reading of the Holy Scriptures. He bears testimony, in public and in private, to the power and excellency of the gospel of Christ, and promises to become an able and valuable helper, both here and in the mountains. His greatest apprehension now is, that he may not endure to the end."—*Miss. Her.* vol. xlii. pp. 257, 347; vol. xlv. p. 200.

We have given these examples, not simply for their own sake, but also as an illustration of the intelligent views, and the serious and powerful impressions of the Nestorian converts.

[1] Miss. Her. vol. xlii. pp. 237, 289; vol. xlv. pp. 200, 241, 281; vol. xlvi. pp. 202, 237; vol. xlvii. p. 183.

which give us much confidence in its reality and purity. The following are some of these circumstances:—

1. It was characterized by *a deep and vivid sense of their own sinfulness.* Persons under convictions were, in most cases, for a considerable time in awful distress, often so intense as to shake the stoutest frame; but this arose, in general, much more from a strong impression of the number and aggravation of their iniquities, than from any apprehension of danger or punishment. "My sins," they would say, "are greater than the mountains, and more in number than the sand on the sea-shore." This, and similar expressions which were used by them, were not so much the language of oriental imagery, as the honest utterance of their burdened souls.

2. *An overwhelming sense of their lost and undone condition as sinners, and of their utter inability to save themselves,* remarkably characterized the subjects of this revival. To inquiries relative to how they were, the common reply, uttered often with difficulty, and amidst tears and suppressed sobs, was, "I am lost, I am utterly lost!" This answer appeared to be given not merely through the teachings of revelation, but still more through the convicting energies of the Holy Spirit powerfully operating on their hearts.

3. The subjects of this revival *intelligently recognized and cordially embraced the doctrine of salvation as the gift of free sovereign grace alone.* Indeed, much in proportion to the number and cumbersomeness of the dead formal religious observances of their Church, was the strength of their abhorrence of them as in any manner of way a substitute for justification by faith in the righteousness of Christ. No language could express more aptly their feelings on the subject than the words of Isaiah, which they often repeated,—"All our righteousnesses are as filthy rags." It was alike interesting and affecting to observe the artless fervour with which they turned in their prayers to the cross of Christ, as the only ground of their hope of pardon and salvation. "Blessed Saviour, we will cling to the skirts of thy garment for mercy, till our hands are cut off," was an expression employed in a prayer meeting, by a man whose heart seemed ready to burst with yearnings which appeared to be unutterable. Such an expression may be regarded as a fair example of the ardour of feel-

ing, and strength of language, with which, yet with no lack of reverence, they pressed their suit at the feet of Christ, as their all-sufficient and only Saviour.

4. *The self-consecration of the subjects of this revival to Christ and his service,* appeared to be remarkably hearty and entire. They seemed fully to comprehend, and cordially to adopt, the doctrine, that as they had before "yielded their members servants to uncleanness, and to iniquity unto iniquity, so now they should yield their members servants to righteousness unto holiness." Those who hoped that they had "passed from death unto life," appeared to regard themselves, and all they possessed, as no longer their own, but as His who had purchased them with His blood. A very common petition which they used in their prayers, was, "O Lord, we pray that we may never deny thee, even till the blood of our necks;" an expression full of meaning in a land where the heads of condemned persons were so commonly cut off with a scimitar.

5. *An ardent desire for the salvation of their friends and countrymen,* strikingly characterized the subjects of this revival. It was with difficulty that the missionaries could retain many of the pupils of the seminary till the close of the term, so intense was their solicitude for the salvation of their parents, and brothers, and sisters, and neighbours, and so irresistible their desire to go and beseech them to be reconciled to God. The prayers which they offered up for them, and which were often continued during a considerable part of the night, were most importunate and affecting; while the numerous letters which they wrote to their relations were very touching and impressive. Even illiterate persons were hardly less earnest and active in their attempts to bring their relatives and neighbours to the knowledge of the truth.

6. *A remarkable quickening of the intellectual and moral powers,* was remarkably characteristic of the subjects of this revival. Even persons who were unable to read, were distinguished by the amount of their religious knowledge, and by their acquaintance with the Scriptures. The clearness and discrimination with which illiterate persons expressed their views of gospel truth, and the ability and pertinency with which they prayed, in public as well as in private, were very surprising. The limited range of

their knowledge on other subjects, seemed to occasion a concentration of their thoughts and feelings on the subject of religion. Having little to do with science, commerce, or politics, the cross of Christ, for the time, filled the whole field of their intellectual and moral vision, and wrought in them a change at once marvellous and glorious.[1]

The Nestorians themselves, particularly the pupils in the seminaries, and several pious and zealous priests, and the native helpers, were greatly instrumental in promoting these revivals. The interest of the native preachers in the work was very deep, and their ability for it was much greater than could have been expected. Their views of Divine truth were clear and discriminating, and their statements of it very impressive. In their ability to present Divine truth to the native mind distinctly and strongly, in their careful discrimination of character, and their discernment of what constituted true and false religion, the missionaries had great confidence. In preaching, they, as well as the missionaries, sought not to excite the passions, but to inform the judgment, and impress the heart by a plain and faithful exhibition of the truths of the gospel, especially of the great doctrine of Christ and him crucified.[2]

Some of the native evangelists made tours into distant and almost unexplored districts of the mountains, travelling in most cases on foot, that they might make known the glad tidings of salvation to their benighted countrymen, who in general received them favourably, and allowed them to preach in their churches. The missionaries also occasionally penetrated into the mountains, and were received no less favourably. Even the Kurdish chiefs, though Mahommedans, granted them their powerful protection in travelling through the country.[3]

The printing-press had also been established for some years at Urumiah. The number of works printed at it was not, indeed, considerable, the population among whom they could chiefly be circulated, the Nestorians of the plains, not being great, and only a small proportion of them being able to read. Among them

[1] Miss. Her. vol xlii. p. 349; vol. xlv. pp. 202, 280; vol. xlvi. p. 201.—Stoddart's Narrative of the Revival of Religion among the Nestorians, pp. 16, 28.

[2] Miss. Her. vol. xlii. p. 349; vol. xlv. pp. 200, 202.

[3] Miss. Her. vol. xliii. pp. 53, 232, 294, 341; vol. xliv. pp. 54, 415; vol. xlvii. p. 91.

were the Old and New Testaments, translated into modern Syriac by Dr Perkins, with the ancient Syriac in parallel columns. There was also the *Pilgrim's Progress*, than which there are probably few works of Western origin more suited to Oriental minds.[1]

In November 1851, Messrs Coan and Rhea began a station among the Mountain Nestorians at the village of Memikan, in the district of Gawar, about seventy miles north-west of Urumiah. This place is within the boundaries of the Turkish empire; and, though the mission met with much hostility from the pacha, and also from the people, there is now the prospect of their enjoying the protection of the local authorities.[2]

With a view to the mission among the Mountain Nestorians, some missionaries, as we have already mentioned, had, in former years, remained at Mosul, on the western side of Kurdistan. They were severely tried by sickness and death, and that often under peculiarly distressing circumstances. After a few years, this branch of the mission was suspended; but it has of late been again renewed, not so much with a view to the Nestorians, as to the remains of the ancient churches in that quarter.[3]

We have thus given an account of the missions of the Board among the Greeks, the Armenians, the Syrians, and the Nesto-

[1] Perkins, p. 443.—Rep. Board For. Miss. 1846, p. 131.—Ibid. 1848, p. 169.—Ibid. 1853, p. 88.

It was not till 1840 that the mission printing-press was established.—*Perkins*, p. 443. It is an interesting fact, however, that printing had been introduced into Persia previous to this. "While at Tabriz," says Dr Grant, writing in 1839, "I visited a Persian printing-office and type-foundry, where beautiful types were cast, and two lithographic presses were in constant operation. The whole was the work of Persian ingenuity. The presses were made by Persians, and worked by Persian printers. They had discovered that the Tabriz marble would make very good lithographic stones, and they wrought them with great nicety for that purpose. The type-foundry, though on a small scale, was by far the most interesting sight I have seen among the Mahommedans in Persia. As we examined the punches, matrices, and type, all made by a self-taught Persian, and saw, as the result of his ingenuity, the most beautiful specimens of Persian printing which have ever met our eye, I could not but feel that a day-star of hope was rising on this benighted land.

"A new fount of type is preparing for printing a large work of Universal history, and the presses now in operation are multiplying other works of Oriental literature."—*Miss. Her.* vol. xxxv. p. 284.

[2] Miss. Her. vol. xlviii. pp. 106, 362; vol. xlix. p. 21; vol. l. p. 40.

[3] Rep. Board For. Miss. 1850, p. 110.—Dr Grant and the Mountain Nestorians, by the Rev. T. Laurie, pp. 407, 410.

rians. All these missions were originally begun on the principle of not interfering with their respective churches, of abstaining from exposing directly the error of their creeds, or the superstition of their rites and ceremonies; but it was designed to circulate among them the Holy Scriptures, and to endeavour to lead both the priests and the people to take them as the foundation of their faith and the rule of their practice. If converts were made, it was proposed not to form them into separate churches, but to leave them to remain in the communion of those to which they originally belonged.[1] It was supposed that the communication of the simple truth could not fail to eradicate error; that, in this way, these churches might be expected to become the instruments of their own reformation; that evangelical doctrine would spread among them, and spiritual life be infused into them.[2]

We have already stated our views of this theory in our account of the mission of the Church of England Society in Travancore, on the coast of Malabar. But yet the experiment made by the American Board was very important; and, as it was considerably varied, the results are the more valuable. Though the missionaries were, for the most part, favourably received at first, yet, when the objects and the tendency of their labours came to be better understood, and especially when a spirit of inquiry and of serious religion was awakened, the hierarchy, including patriarch, bishops, and priests, were armed against them, and sought to put an end to their labours, and to persecute their followers. Among the Greeks no church was formed; among the Armenians and Syrians, it was found necessary to form the converts into separate churches, and very special advantages have resulted from this measure, particularly as regards the Armenians.[3]

The missions of the London Missionary Society in the Ionian Islands, and of the Church Missionary Society in Greece, in Egypt, and in Abyssinia, were all undertaken on the same principles as those we have just mentioned, but none of them effected the smallest reformation in the Greek, the Coptic, or the Abys-

[1] Mr Schauffer, the missionary to the Jews at Constantinople, went so far as to propose turning Jewish converts over to the Greek or the Armenian Church.—*Miss. Her.* vol. xxxii. p. 137.

[2] Miss. Her. vol. xxxiv. pp. 117, 123, 125, 462; vol. xxxv. p. 41.—Rep. Board For. Miss. 1836, p. 47.—Ibid. 1837, p. 53.—Perkins, pp. 31, 352.

[3] Rep. Board For. Miss. 1844, p. 124.

sinian churches; and, so far as we know, they even produced little or no fruit as regards individuals. Thus far, therefore, the experiments have gone to confirm the views which we have expressed on this subject.

The Nestorians, however, may appear an exception to this; but we do not apprehend that the experiment as to them has proceeded far enough to warrant any such conclusion. The bishops and priests, it is true, were generally favourable to the missionaries, and several of them, from the beginning, assisted them in their labours. The people, too, were friendly; numbers, we trust, became partakers of Divine grace; and some laboured with much zeal and activity in making known the gospel to their countrymen. On the other hand, however, the patriarch, the head of their Church, though he, at first, professed himself friendly to them, afterwards became decidedly opposed to them, and nothing but the want of power kept him from following the same course as the heads of the other Churches. The Nestorians, too, of the plains were an oppressed people, and comparatively but a small body. They also derived temporal advantages from the residence of the missionaries among them; and some of the bishops and priests were actually in the service and pay of the mission, circumstances which will readily account for the want of opposition from them.[1] But, what it is of special importance to remark, though individual converts were made from among the Nestorians, the Church itself remained unreformed. Its doctrines, its rites and ceremonies, its dead forms, with its unscriptural constitution, continue the same as before, and are in the course, just as in past ages, of being handed down to future generations, so that there is no security or provision that the good which has been effected will be permanent, and go down to bless posterity. Between the prospects of an unreformed, corrupt church, such as that of the Nestorians, and those of churches constituted on Scriptural principles, like those of the evangelical Armenians in Turkey, there is all the difference in the world.[2]

[1] Rep. Board For. Miss. 1846, p. 130.

[2] The only exception which we have observed as to this was in the village of Geog Tapa. In 1849, there did begin a reformation of evil in the church in that village.—*Miss. Her.* vol. xlv. p. 396. How far it went, and whether it was permanent, we do not know.

It will be recollected, that Mr Merrick was sent out with the special view of collect-

SECT. XI.—WESTERN AFRICA.

In November 1833, the Rev. John L. Wilson, and Mr S. R. Wyncoop, sailed for Cape Palmas on the western coast of Africa, in a vessel chartered by the Maryland Colonization Society, to carry out its first Black and coloured emigrants for the purpose of commencing a colony in that part of the world. This was merely a preliminary visit for the purpose of examining that part of the coast of Africa as a field of missions, and selecting a suitable spot where to make a commencement. Having accomplished these objects, they returned to America and made their report to the Board; and in the following year, Mr Wilson proceeded again to Cape Palmas to commence a mission.[1]

Here Mr Wilson was afterwards joined by other missionaries, but the progress of the mission was considerably checked by the

ing information relative to the character and condition of the Mahommedans in Persia and Central Asia, and of ascertaining where it might be expedient to form missionary stations. The general result of his inquiries and experience do not appear to have been favourable to the establishment of missions among the Mahommedans. Though Persia appeared to be making considerable advances in civilization; though there was a disposition in high quarters to encourage education; though most of the reigning family, and thousands of men of rank and influence, daily trampled under foot the precepts of the Koran, drinking wine, and eating proscribed articles of food, and advancing sentiments adverse to the tenets of Mahommed; though the increase of European influence, and the growing conviction of the superiority of Christian nations, were awakening a desire to imitate them in the knowledge of the sciences, literature, and the arts; though the missionaries among the Nestorians were not only protected, but were treated by all classes with respect and kindness,—yet there was no reason to suppose that open and direct efforts for the conversion of Mahommedans would be tolerated. The power of the priesthood is still very great, and they have at their back a fanatical populace; while the government, even were it so disposed, is too feeble to set itself in opposition to them, for the sake of an object to which, to say the least, it is altogether indifferent. —*Rep. Board For. Miss.* 1837, p. 68.—*Miss. Her.* vol. xxxiii. p. 64; vol. xxxiv. pp. 63, 66; vol. xxxv. pp. 276, 283, 286; vol. xxxviii. p. 300.—*Perkins*, p. 184.

[1] Miss. Her. vol. xxix. p. 400; vol. xxx. p. 73.

In the report which they made to the Board, they mention the remarkable fact of the invention of an alphabet by one of the negro tribes on that coast. "The Vey people, the tribe residing on Grand Cape Mount," they say, "have recently invented a system of writing entirely new, and altogether different from any other we have seen, in which, although it is not more than two years since it was first invented, they write letters and books. Some of their characters resemble the Arabic, some resemble Hebrew letters, others, Greek; but all of them, except those resembling the Arabic, are merely fanciful. The alphabet is syllabic."—*Miss. Her.* vol. xxx. p. 215.

Mr Wyncoop gives the following account of the origin of the invention:—"A few in-

early death or ill health of several of them. Besides the station at Cape Palmas, there were several out-stations in the neighbouring country. Not much was effected in the way of preaching; the attendance on it was small. There were several small schools which were generally taught by native teachers, and there was a boarding-school or seminary for both boys and girls, one great object of which was the raising up of native teachers, and suitable helpmates for them. The printing press was also introduced, and there were printed at it school books, the Gospels of Matthew, Mark, and John, and other portions of Scripture, and various tracts in the Grebo language, and also a grammar and a dictionary of the language itself. The children in the seminary were taught the English as well as their own language. It was a comparatively easy task for them to learn to read their own language, and they readily received and understood instruction communicated to them in it; but it required years of irksome labour to acquire even an imperfect and superficial knowledge of the English language; and when learned, they seemed to derive little

dividuals of this people are engaged in reducing their language to a written form. It was commenced about a year since. An old man dreamed that he must immediately begin to make characters for his language, that his people might write letters as they did at Monrovia. He communicated his dream and plan to some others, and they began the work. The progress they have made has satisfied them that it can be accomplished." —*Ibid.* vol. xxx. p. 336. It was in fact accomplished. About 200 symbols represented the sounds of all the syllables occurring in the language, which is simple in its construction. Many of the symbols, however, appeared to be superfluous, and were never used in their books. The real number of syllables in the language was not more than 100.— *Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc.* 1850, p. 68.

The Vey tribe were in some degree a civilized people. Mr Wilson says there was a very striking difference between them and all other tribes he saw on the coast. Nor were they ignorant of the existence of alphabetical characters; there was a school at Grand Cape Mount, under a Foulah man, for teaching Arabic, and they had before them the example of the colonists of Liberia, of which their country now formed a part, writing the English language. Still the invention of an alphabet for themselves, and reducing their language to writing, is a very remarkable fact. We know no other example of this in modern times, except that of the Cherokee Indians; and it is a singular circumstance, that the alphabet invented by both should have been syllabic. From the number and diversity of alphabets in the world, there must have been many examples of such an invention in ancient times; and it is the more singular that this should now be so rare, when, from the greater intercourse of nations, we might have expected it would be more frequent. Indeed the observation may be extended to civilization generally. In ancient times, there must have been many examples of nations rising to a considerable height of civilization, and to great proficiency in many of the arts; in modern times, we have no examples of savage or barbarous tribes rising to a similar height of civilization, and similar skill in the arts. The fact is remarkable.

advantage from it in the way of acquiring knowledge. But as soon as books were put into their hands in their own language, their progress in knowledge was exceedingly rapid. In fact, the English language was but imperfectly understood even by those who could read it mechanically, and this will always be the case with the great body of any people who, though taught to read it, do not use it as their ordinary medium of communication with their fellow-men. The English language may be of great use to those who are training to be instructors of others, on account of the treasures of knowledge which it opens up to them; but to think to communicate religious, or other knowledge, to a people through the medium of any other language but their own, will always be found a vain attempt.[1]

After some years, it became necessary to look out for another field of labour, in consequence of the embarrassments to which the mission was subjected by the laws of the colony. The colonial authorities appear to have been adverse to attempts to civilize and Christianize the inhabitants of the neighbouring districts of Africa, as being calculated to interfere with the temporal interests and prosperity of the colony.[2] A more short-sighted and narrow-minded policy it is not easy to conceive.

In June 1842, Mr Wilson commenced a new station at a place called Baraka, on the north side of the Gaboon river, about eight miles from its mouth, and after some months, the other missionaries removed thither from Cape Palmas. The Gaboon negroes, though not numerous, were greatly superior to most others on the coast of Africa. In their houses, dress, and manner of transacting business, in their treatment of females, and in their habits generally, they made some approach to civilized nations; and they appeared very desirous of instruction, thinking, no doubt, that by increasing their knowledge they would improve their

[1] Rep. Board For. Miss. 1836, p. 36.—Ibid. 1837, p. 41.—Ibid. 1838, p. 56.—Ibid. 1839, p. 53.—Ibid. 1841, p. 85.—Ibid. 1842, p. 97.—Miss. Her. vol. xxxv. pp. 351, 358; vol. xxxvi. pp. 219, 221; vol. xxxvii. p. 351.

"Our present policy," the missionaries afterwards write, "is to teach those whom we expect to make teachers, both languages; but we would regard it as a needless waste of time and money, to introduce the English language into our schools generally."—*Miss. Her.* vol. xxxvi. p. 222.

[2] Rep. Board For. Miss. 1842, p. 47.

condition, and, in their mercantile transactions, be more on a level with White men.[1]

The labours of the missionaries in the Gaboon country were much of the same nature as at Cape Palmas. Besides Baraka, one or two other stations were occupied by them more in the interior. Schools were opened by them, but the preaching of the gospel was their chief employment. Besides school books, they printed the gospels of Matthew and John, and several religious pieces, in Mpongwe, as the language of the Gaboon people is called. They also prepared a grammar and vocabulary of that

[1] Miss. Her. vol. xxxviii. p. 497; vol. xxxix. p. 232.—Rep. Board For. Miss. 1843, pp. 83, 86.

The Gaboon river, near the ocean, is from eight to fourteen miles wide. The Senegal, the Niger, and the Congo, are navigable to a greater distance; but for the last thirty miles of its course, it is fully equal in size to any of them, and much superior in grandeur and beauty. The entire trade of the river, exclusive of slaves, was estimated at upwards of 100,000 dollars.

"The native merchants," says Mr Wilson, "through whose hands the whole of this trade passes, are, for uneducated men, much more respectable than any I have known in Africa. Some of them are frequently trusted with goods by the captain of a single vessel, to the amount of two, three, or four thousand dollars; and as a general thing, I believe they are honourable and punctual in discharging their debts. There are a few who transact business to the amount of twelve or fifteen thousand dollars a year; how they manage a business of this extent, in the smallest fractions and driblets, without the aid of written accounts, is very surprising. It is done, however, and with the utmost accuracy, without any other aid than that of the memory. These merchants live in a respectable style, and associate with foreigners on terms of general equality. Their houses are supplied with many useful and costly articles of European furniture, and their tables, though spread with articles of food peculiar to the country, are nevertheless sufficiently tempting, even to the most fastidious appetites."

"The people," he says afterwards, "are inquisitive, and much pleased at the prospect of being taught to read and write. A few of them, impressed with the need of some knowledge of figures, have obtained sufficient acquaintance with arithmetic for the ordinary purposes of trade; so that we have here what may appear a little anomalous, good arithmeticians who do not know a letter of the alphabet."—*Miss. Her.* vol. xxxix. pp. 229, 231, 233.

The following statement by the missionaries is also remarkable, and is deserving of further investigation:—"There is probably no people on the Western coast of Africa, who have made further advances towards civilization, than those who reside upon the Gaboon, unless it be some who have been long under Christian instruction. And it may be questioned whether there are any of this description who have all the urbanity of manners, and kindliness of feeling, uniformly manifested by natives on this river. The cause of such a state of society, with barbarians on every side, is to us unknown. We have not yet learned that they have had any more, or even as much, intercourse with Europeans, as many other people, who are still as fierce and barbarous as ever. We cannot learn their origin, even from tradition; and we know not the causes that have been operating upon them to make them what they are.

"They have many improbable traditions of a man who lived long since (no one pretends to say when), and who holds the same rank, in the estimation of this people, that

language, which were printed at New York. Some small pieces in the Bakele language were likewise prepared and printed by them.[1]

SECT. XII.—SOUTH AFRICA.

ZULU COUNTRY.

In December 1834, the Rev. D. Lindley, the Rev. A. E. Wilson, M.D., and the Rev. H. I. Venable; the Rev. A. Grout, the Rev. G. Champion, and N. Adams, M.D., sailed from Boston for the Cape of Good Hope, with a view to missionary operations in the Zulu country; the first three in the interior, the last three on the coast at Port Natal or its vicinity.[2]

After arriving at the Cape of Good Hope, Messrs Lindley, Wilson, and Venable proceeded by way of Griqua town and Kuruman, stations of the London Missionary Society, to Mosika, where the French missionaries had begun a station a few years before among the Baharutsi, who then occupied that part of the country, but who were afterwards driven from it by Moselekatsi,

Confucius does in the opinion of the Chinese. Ragombe, however, has left his sayings to be handed down by tradition, and magnified by ten thousand rehearsals, until they are truly wonderful. They give him the credit of making their language and laws, and they ascribe to him superhuman wisdom and power. There can be little doubt that the real or fancied wisdom of some remarkable man has exerted a powerful influence on the character of this people."—*Miss. Her.* vol. xl. p. 185.

"The Gaboon people were once much more numerous than they are now. According to their own statements, they have greatly diminished within the last half century; the causes of this are not certainly known. Mr Wilson supposed that the Gaboon people, properly so called, did not exceed 6000. Including their slaves and the bushmen (negroes from the interior), who are living among them, they may amount to 25,000. Most of the men, perhaps four-fifths, spoke intelligible English. They had learned the art, not only of amassing property, but what is very rare in Africa, of keeping it also. The women were treated with much more consideration and kindness than in most heathen countries. They were required to perform less hard labour, and were more constantly employed in those pursuits which were appropriate to their sex, sewing, washing, cooking, &c. The general disposition of the people was mild and peaceful. In their intercourse with White men, they were uniformly civil and polite, and carefully avoided everything like obtrusiveness.

"Still, however, this was a heathen land. Slavery, polygamy, belief in witchcraft, intemperance, licentiousness, were prevailing evils."—*Miss. Her.* vol. xxxix. p. 230; vol. xl. p. 185.

[1] Miss. Her. vol. xl. pp. 112, 184; vol. xliii. p. 256.—Ibid. vol. xlix. p. 227.—Rep. Board For. Miss. 1848, p. 133.—Ibid. 1850, p. 96.—Ibid. 1852, p. 53.

[2] Miss. Her. vol. xxxi. p. 32.

a Zulu chief who was the terror of all his neighbours; but the new missionaries had been there only three or four months when that chief, without any provocation, attacked a small body of Dutch farmers, who, being dissatisfied with the English government, had removed to the northward, far beyond the limits of the colony, and had come into the neighbourhood of what he claimed as his country. In his first attacks upon them he was successful, and carried off great numbers of their cattle, sheep, and goats. The farmers fell back toward the colony, and being reinforced by new emigrants, they returned and attacked Moselekatsi's people. "One morning, some time before sunrise," say the missionaries, "we were aroused by the startling cry, 'A commando, A commando!' Instantly a brisk fire commenced on a kraal a few hundred yards from our house. In a few minutes we were in the midst of the slaughter. The people fled towards our house, some of them that they might find protection in it, and others that they might hide themselves among some reeds growing in a small stream near it. Those who fled were pursued by the boers, with a determination to avenge themselves for the injuries they had received This brought us into the midst of the carnage. Several balls passed over our house, some struck it, and one passed through Mr Venable's chamber window, and, rebounding from the opposite wall, fell on his bed, in which he and his wife were lying at the time. The boers attacked and destroyed thirteen, some say fifteen kraals. Few of the men belonging to them escaped, and many of the women were either shot or killed with assagais." The farmers were determined to continue hostilities until they had either destroyed the power of Moselekatsi, or driven him and his people out of the country. As the prospects of the mission appeared thus completely darkened, the missionaries accepted the invitation of the boers to leave the country under their protection, and to join their brethren at Port Natal.[1]

In May 1836, Messrs Champion, Grout, and Adams had arrived at Port Natal; and they commenced a station at Umlazi, a few miles from that place, and another at Ginani, within the territory of Dingaan, the Zulu chief. After the arrival of the missionaries from the interior, three other stations were formed,

[1] Miss. Her. vol. xxxiii. pp. 187, 236, 338, 416.

one on the Ilova river, another at Klangezoa, and a third at Umhlatusi, the last two within the country of Dingaan. But it was not long before the whole mission was broken up.[1]

It seems the design of the Dutch farmers in emigrating from the colony was to make, if possible, their principal residence near Port Natal. Accordingly, after destroying the power of Moselekatsi, a portion of them moved in that direction. When within five or six days' journey of Dingaan's capital, they encamped, and Mr Retief, their governor, with about sixty other persons, came on to that place for the purpose of obtaining his consent to their settling in that quarter. He appeared to receive them in the most friendly manner, and gave his consent to their settling in the country. On the morning of the day fixed on for concluding the negotiation, and for their taking leave, he invited the whole party to the town under this pretext; and while they were partaking of his hospitality, they were treacherously seized by his soldiers, and put to death, their carcases being left to be devoured by the vultures and hyenas.[2]

In March 1838, the missionaries, alarmed by the massacre of the boers, made the best of their way to Port Natal, and as even that part of the country was in a very unsettled state, they sailed to Port Elizabeth in the colony. Dingaan now sent his army to attack the body of the boers in their encampment; hostilities also commenced between him and the settlers at Port Natal, who sought to co-operate with the farmers. He was at first completely successful in his attacks upon them, but was afterwards defeated with great loss. His own brother, Umpandi, now revolted from him, and was joined by a large body of his subjects; and his army having again been completely routed in battle, he fled, and it was reported he was taken and put to death by Sapusa, a hostile chief, in the north-east of the Zulu country. The boers were now masters of an extensive tract of country; and Umpandi was acknowledged by them as the chief of the Zulus.[3]

In June 1839, Dr Adams and Mr Lindley returned to Port

[1] Rep. Board For. Miss. 1837, p. 45.—Ibid. 1838, p. 58.

[2] Rep. Board For. Miss. 1838, p. 59.—Miss. Her. vol. xxxiv. p. 307.—Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. 1839, p. 43.

[3] Miss. Her. vol. xxxiv. p. 310; vol. xxxv. pp. 49, 109, 268, 384; vol. xxxvi. pp. 58, 122, 385, 503.

Natal: the station at Umlazi was resumed; and another station was afterwards begun in Umpandi's country; but it was given up in about a twelvemonth, in consequence of the jealousy and hostility of that chief. Natal was now declared to be a British colony. Great numbers of the Zulus emigrated thither in the hope of finding that protection which they could not enjoy under the cruel and despotic rule of their own chief; and the British authorities adopted the plan of assigning to them considerable tracts of country, in different parts of the colony, on which they might settle; and as it was their wish that the missionaries should settle among them and instruct them, a number of stations were in the course of a few years formed in various parts of the country.[1]

The progress of the mission appeared for some years to be encouraging; but, as the character of the Zulus developed itself, the difficulties of their conversion became more manifest. One which met the missionary in the threshold of his labours, was their deep ignorance. It seemed scarcely possible to cast even one ray of light into minds so darkened and perverted by sin. This was especially true of the female sex, whose condition, both temporal and spiritual, seemed almost beyond the reach of improvement. As the Zulus obtained some knowledge of the nature and requirements of the gospel, they appeared to become more settled in their conviction that it was not the religion for them, and more resolved not to receive it. Their conduct was characterized, not so much by hostility, as by stupid indifference, though instances were not wanting of their shewing the most determined and inveterate opposition. A niggardly selfishness was also most thoroughly wrought into the very fibres of the Zulu character; and unless the gates of the church were guarded with double vigilance, unconverted persons might find entrance into it. This may seem inconsistent with their general disposition to reject the gospel. But for self-interest the Zulus will forsake their friends, and people, and customs. For gain, they will become slaves to God, or Satan, or man, apparently indifferent as to the nature of their service, whether it be to pray or to ridicule, to be honest, or to deceive. Yet, they are most at home in lying and deceit;

[1] Rep. Board For. Miss. 1840, p. 78.—Ibid. 1842, p. 94.—Ibid. 1843, p. 81.—Ibid. 1844, p. 81.—Ibid. 1847, p. 73.

and however ignorant of other arts, in this they are practised from youth to old age. Could it be shewn to be for their worldly interest to receive the gospel, they would soon rush to the Church of Christ, abounding in counterfeit penitence, faith, and prayer. "Whether any, or how many of our church members," say the missionaries, "are such from mercenary motives, we do not know. But we fear and tremble, when we see the vileness and selfishness of some who know, and ought to do, better. They love the mercy of the gospel when tendered to them; but the strictness of the law is uncongenial to their tastes and habits. And hence it is, that some who appear exemplary and conscientious, when under the eye and enjoying the kindness of a missionary, assume a different character, when placed in different circumstances."[1]

Nor were the missionaries without their difficulties and dangers of another kind. Mr Butler having occasion to go to Amahlongwa, to make some arrangements for the preservation of the house and premises, until he should be able to remove thither, had to pass the river Umkomazi; but on coming to it, there being no natives at hand to manage the boat, he ventured to cross on horseback, though it was then deep and turbid. As he got over safely, when he returned the next day he again ventured into the river in the same manner. When about two-thirds of the way across, his horse suddenly kicked and plunged, as if to disengage himself from his rider; and the next moment, a crocodile seized Mr Butler's thigh with his horrible jaws. The river at this place is about 150 yards wide, if measured at right angles to the current, but from the point at which one enters, to that at which he comes out, is three times as broad. The river at high tide, and when it is not swollen, is from four to eight or ten feet deep, and on each side the banks are skirted with high banks and reeds.

Mr Butler, when he felt the sharp teeth of the crocodile, clung to the mane of his horse with a deathlike hold. Instantly he was dragged from the saddle, and both he and the horse were floundering in the water, often dragged entirely under it, and rapidly going down the stream. At first the crocodile drew them again into the middle of the river; but at last the horse gained shallow water, and approached the shore. As soon as he was within

[1] Miss. Her. vol. xlix. pp. 35, 38, 227.

reach, natives ran to his assistance, and beat off the crocodile with spears and clubs.

Mr Butler was pierced with five deep gashes, and had lost much blood. He had left all his clothes, except his shirt and coat, on the opposite shore, with a native, who was to follow him; but when the struggle commenced, the native returned, and durst not venture into the water again. It was now dark, and without clothes, and weak from loss of blood, he had seven miles to ride before he could reach the nearest missionary station. He borrowed a blanket from a native; and, after two hours' riding, he succeeded in reaching it more dead than alive.

His horse also was terribly mangled; a foot square of the flesh and skin was torn from his flanks. The animal, it was supposed, first seized the horse, and when shaken off, caught Mr Butler, first below the knee, and then by the thigh. There were five or six wounds, from two to four inches long, and from one half to two and a half inches wide. For eight or ten days he seemed to recover as fast as could be expected; but he was then seized with fever, which threatened to be fatal. There was a tendency to lock-jaw. He, however, recovered so far, as to be able to return to his family.[1]

In June 1853, the number of church members at the various stations, in good standing, was 141.[2]

[1] Miss. Her. vol. xlix. p. 229.

[2] Miss. Her. vol. xlix. p. 386.

CHAPTER XXIII.

PROPAGATION OF CHRISTIANITY BY THE AMERICAN BAPTIST MISSIONARY UNION.

SECT. I.—BURMAH.

In May 1814, the General Missionary Convention of the Baptist Denomination in the United States of America for Foreign Missions,[1] was instituted at Philadelphia. Nearly two years previous to its appointment, Messrs Judson and Rice, two missionaries of the American Board for Foreign Missions, had, on their arrival in Bengal, changed their sentiments on the subject of baptism, and were baptized at Calcutta, by the Serampur missionaries. Scarcely, indeed, had they landed, when they received orders from the India government to return immediately to America, in the same ship in which they came out; but this mandate was afterwards so far modified, that they obtained permission to go to the Isle of France, which is not within the Company's dominions. But as they were not immediately able to obtain a passage to that island, the government, probably imagining that they designed to remain in Bengal, issued a peremptory order for their being sent on board one of the Company's ships bound to England, and their names were accordingly inserted in the public papers as passengers. Having heard, however, of a vessel which was to sail for the Isle of France in two days, they applied for a passport from the chief magistrate, but this was refused. They, therefore, made known their circumstances to the captain, and asked him whether he would take them on board without a passport; to which he replied, that he would be neutral: there was his ship, they might do as they pleased. Having, with the assistance of

[1] In 1846 the name was changed to "The American Baptist Missionary Union."—*Report*, 1846, p. 7.

the gentleman in whose house they resided, obtained coolies to convey their baggage on board, they embarked at twelve o'clock at night. The vessel, however, had proceeded down the river only two days, when a despatch was received from government, prohibiting the pilot to go farther, as there were passengers on board who had been ordered to England. It was one o'clock in the morning when this order arrived; but yet they immediately went on shore. They knew not, however, what course now to take, feeling assured that if they returned to Calcutta, they would be sent to England, and yet, if they continued at that place, they would as certainly be discovered. They, therefore, went down the river as far as Fultah, about fifty miles below Calcutta. Here they partook, in some measure, of the feelings of a fugitive who is every moment expecting to be discovered; and though they were conscious of having done their duty in refusing to comply with the orders of government, they could not help being alarmed at the arrival of every boat, and the appearance of every new face. In this painful situation they remained four days, anxiously applying to every ship which passed down the river to receive them on board, to whatever port it was bound. At last, when they had given up all hope of escape, and were thinking of returning to Calcutta, a letter was handed to Mr Judson, containing a pass to go on board the ship they had so lately left. The vessel, however, had already gone down the river four days, and was probably out at sea. It was then dark; but they immediately went on board their boats, and after rowing hard all night, and all next day, they had the inexpressible pleasure of discovering the ship at anchor in Saugur Roads, having been detained much longer than was expected, from the circumstance that some of the Lascars had not arrived. On reaching the Isle of France, Mr Rice proceeded to America, with the view of interesting the Baptist churches in that country in the mission, and obtaining their support. His efforts in this respect were eminently successful, and led to the appointment of the Convention for Foreign Missions, and to the organization of numerous auxiliary societies over the whole country for its support.[1] Thus,

[1] Proceedings of the Baptist Convention for Missionary Purposes, 1814. pp. 3, 27.—Reports of the Baptist Board of Foreign Missions, pp. 12, 68, 142.—Mrs Judson's Account of the American Baptist Mission to the Burman Empire, p. 10.

the change in the sentiments of Messrs Judson and Rice, on the subject of baptism, which, combined as it was with other inauspicious circumstances, threw a dark cloud over the first efforts of America to extend Christianity beyond her own boundaries, terminated in calling forth more powerfully the energies of a numerous body of Christians in that country in support of missions to the heathen; and, like the difference between Paul and Barnabas of old, contributed ultimately "to the furtherance of the gospel."

In the meanwhile, Mr Judson and his excellent wife, after waiting in vain at the Isle of France for a passage to some of the Eastern islands, sailed for Madras, with the view of proceeding from thence, as circumstances might direct. On their landing, however, they were reported at the police-office, and an account of their arrival was transmitted to the supreme government in Bengal. As, therefore, it was highly probable that, as soon as an order could arrive from Calcutta, they would be arrested and sent to England, their only safety consisted in escaping from Madras before such instructions were received. Under these circumstances, it may easily be conceived with what anxious feelings Mr Judson inquired the destination of the vessels in the roads of Madras. To his great disappointment, he found that none would sail that season, except a small Portuguese vessel to Rangoon. A mission to the Burman Empire they had been accustomed to contemplate with feelings of horror, from the accounts which they had received of the sanguinary character of the government of that country, and of the barbarity of the people. The matter, however, was now brought to a point; either they must go thither, or be sent to England. Contrary to the advice of all their friends, they resolved to proceed to Rangoon, as, from finding their path so hedged in, they thought the hand of Providence pointed to the Burman Empire as the scene of their future labours. With what truly Christian feelings they proceeded thither, is finely depicted in the following extracts of a letter from Mrs Judson, to her friends in America:—"My heart," says she, "often sinks within me, when I think of living among a people whose tender mercies are cruel. But when I reflect on their miserable state, as destitute of the gospel, and that it is easy for our heavenly Father to protect us in the midst

of danger, I feel willing to go, and live and die among them; and it is our daily prayer, that it may please God to enable us to continue in that savage country. Farewell to the privileges and conveniences of civilized life! Farewell to refined Christian society! We shall enjoy these comforts no more; but Burmah will be a good place to grow in grace, to live near to God, and to be prepared to die! Oh, my dear parents and sisters, how little do you know how to estimate your enjoyments, in your quiet homes, with all the comforts of life! How little do you know how to prize Christian society, as you have never been deprived of it! How little can you realize the toils and perplexities of traversing the ocean; and how little can you know of the solid comfort of trusting in God, when dangers stand threatening to devour! But these privations, these dangers, these comforts are ours, and we rejoice in them, and think it an inestimable privilege that our heavenly Father has given us, in allowing us to suffer for his cause."

Just as they sailed, a valuable European servant, whom they were taking with them, dropped down on board, gasped a few times, and then expired. Mrs Judson received such a shock from this solemn and striking event, that she was immediately taken dangerously ill. She thought that the time of her departure was at hand, and that all her toils and perplexities were at an end; while her excellent husband experienced all those painful feelings which naturally resulted from the prospect of an immediate separation from one whom he loved, and who was now the only remaining companion of his wanderings. After some time, however, she began to recover, though, on arriving at Rangoon, she was still so feeble, that she was scarcely capable of being removed ashore. At the first sight of that place, they felt very gloomy and dejected; but, by degrees, they became not only reconciled, but attached to the country. "We had never before," says Mr Judson, "seen a place where European influence had not contributed to smooth and soften the rough features of uncultivated nature. The prospect of Rangoon, as we approached it, was quite disheartening. I went on shore at night, to take a view of the place; but so dark, and cheerless, and unpromising did all things appear, that the evening of that day, after my return to the ship, we have marked as the most gloomy and distressing we ever passed. Such was our weakness, that we felt we had no

portion here below, and found consolation only in looking beyond our pilgrimage, which we flattered ourselves would be short, to that peaceful region, where 'the wicked cease from troubling, and where the weary are at rest.' But if ever we commended ourselves sincerely, and without reserve, to the disposal of our heavenly Father, it was on this evening; and, after some recollection and prayer, we experienced something of the presence of Him who cleaveth closer than a brother; something of that peace which our Saviour bequeathed to his followers, and which endures when the fleeting and unsubstantial riches of this world have passed away. We soon began to find that it was in our hearts to live and to die with the Burmans."[1]

Having now reached the scene of their labours, they took up their residence in the mission-house, which had been erected by the Baptist missionaries from Serampur, and which lay about half a mile from the town, in the midst of woods. They found it necessary to proceed with extreme caution, as one unadvised step might excite the suspicion of so despotic a government, and plunge all in ruin. The language they found extremely difficult, and they had no teacher who understood both Burman and English. Their only way of ascertaining the names of objects which met their eye, was to point to them in the presence of their teacher, who gave them the names in Burman. They then expressed them as nearly as possible in the Roman character, till they had sufficiently acquired the Burman. They spent their time in great solitude, and passed through much personal and family affliction. They were often harassed with midnight alarms, and, on account of the frequent and daring robberies committed in their neighbourhood, they removed to Rangoon; but, in the course of a few weeks, they were driven from thence, as the whole of that town was laid in ashes.[2]

In October 1816, they had the pleasure of welcoming to their lonely habitation Mr and Mrs Hough, who had been sent from America to assist them in their labours. After a seclusion from

[1] Judson's Account, p. 15.—New York Christ. Her. vol. iii. p. 277.—Rep. Bapt. Board For. Miss. p. 38.

[2] Rep. Bapt. Board For. Miss. pp. 38, 102, 154.—Bapt. Period. Accounts, vol. v. p. 486; vol. vi. pp. 63, 228.—Circular Letters relative to the Bapt. Miss. Soc. vol. ix. pp. 276, 297.—Judson's Account, pp. 22, 61.

all Christian society for three years, it was no common gratification to them to meet again with friends and fellow-labourers from their native country. Mr Hough possessed a knowledge of printing, and having visited Bengal in his way to Burmah, he received from the Serampur missionaries the valuable present of a press, and types in the Burman character. He immediately proceeded to print a tract by Mr Judson, containing a Summary of the Principles of the Christian Religion; a Catechism by Mrs Judson, and a translation of the Gospel by Matthew.[1] The circulation of these small pieces excited considerable attention among the Burmans, and many called at the mission-house to make inquiry about the new religion; but they remarked that their visitors often betrayed a fear lest others should discover their errand. Sometimes, when two or three intimate friends were seriously engaged in conversation on religious subjects, if others with whom they were unacquainted called, they became silent and went away. In several instances, the hopes of the missionaries were raised by the apparent seriousness of some of the Burmans; but their goodness proved like "the morning cloud and the early dew, which passeth away."

Mr Judson was now anxious to commence in a more public manner the preaching of the gospel; but he, at the same time, felt the importance of beginning in a way the least calculated to excite the prejudices of the Burmans. He had heard of the conversion of several Arracanese at Chittagong, one of the stations connected with the Baptist Mission in India, and thinking that, as they spoke the Burman language, he might find among them some one who would be able to afford him assistance in communicating Divine truth to the Burmans, he proceeded thither, partly with this view, and partly for the sake of his health, which had of late been on the decline. The voyage did not usually occupy more than ten or twelve days, and the vessel was expected to return immediately. Three months, however, had nearly expired, when a boat arrived from Chittagong, bringing the distressing intelligence, that neither Mr Judson nor the vessel had been heard of at that port, a report which was corroborated by communications which were about the same time received from Bengal. Such intelligence must have been exceedingly painful to

[1] Judson's Account, pp. 74, 76, 89, 96, 98.

Mrs Judson; yet she was doomed to experience for other four months that agonizing state of suspense, which is often more distressing than the most painful certainty.[1]

Two or three days after the arrival of this painful intelligence, Mr Hough received an order, couched in the most menacing language, to appear immediately at the court-house. The message spread consternation and alarm among their domestics and adherents, several of whom followed him at a distance, and heard from some of the petty officers, that a royal order had arrived for the banishment of all foreign teachers. As it was late when Mr Hough reached the court-house, he was merely ordered to give security for his appearance at an early hour next day, when he was told, "If he did not tell all the truth relative to his situation in the country, they would write with his heart's blood." The embarrassments of the missionaries at this period were greatly increased by the circumstance, that the Viceroy and his family, who had always been their steady friends, had been recently recalled to Ava, and the present Viceroy, with whom they had but a slight acquaintance, had left his family at the capital. Mr Hough was not sufficiently acquainted with the language, to allow of his appealing in person to the Viceroy; and as it is not customary for females to appear at his court in the absence of his lady, they had nothing before them but the prospect of being obliged to submit to all those evils which it is often in the power of petty officers to inflict on those who are unprotected by higher authority.

The two following days, Mr Hough was detained at the court-house, and was under the necessity of answering through an interpreter, the most trivial questions, as, what were the names of his parents, how many suits of clothes he had, all which were written down in the most formal manner imaginable. The court would not allow him to retire for any refreshment, and this, together with several other petty grievances, convinced them that it was the object of the court to harass and distress them as much as possible, thinking that they were not in circumstances to appeal to the Viceroy, who does not usually attend these courts, but has cases of importance submitted to him privately for his decision. Next morning, which was Sabbath, another message was

[1] Judson's Account, pp. 103, 112, 118.

received from the court-house for Mr Hough's appearance, that the examination might be continued. They now, however, resolved to ascertain whether these orders emanated from the Viceroy, or whether he was entirely ignorant of them. Mrs Judson's teacher having come in just at that time, drew up a petition to the Viceroy, stating the grievances to which Mr Hough had been subjected, and the order for his appearance that day, which was their sacred day, and requesting that his highness would give directions that he should no longer be molested. Accompanied by Mr Hough, Mrs Judson proceeded to the government house; and on reaching the outer court, she caught the eye of the Viceroy, who sat surrounded by the officers of his court; but having recognized her, he, in a very condescending manner, called her to come in and make known her request. She therefore presented her petition to one of the secretaries, who was immediately ordered to read it; and after hearing it, the Viceroy inquired in an austere manner, at the very officer who had been most forward in making Mr Hough's situation unpleasant at the court-house, "why the examination of this foreign teacher had been prolonged." He, at the same time, gave orders that he should be no longer molested. The officers of government now saw their plan defeated, which probably was to extort from Mr Hough a large reward for his liberation. It was, however, a fact, that a royal order had been received for the banishment of all the Portuguese priests in the country. To ascertain who they were, the Viceroy had issued an order that all foreign priests should appear at the court-house, not intending that any but the Portuguese should undergo an examination, farther than to ascertain that they were not Portuguese.[1]

The trials and dangers of the missionaries were not a little increased at this period, by a report that differences had arisen between the English and Burman governments, and that an attempt would soon be made by the English to take possession of the country. This report appeared to be confirmed by the circumstance, that there had been no arrivals from any English port for some months past, and that the few remaining captains were making every possible effort to hasten the departure of their ships. The only vessel which remained was now on the point of taking

[1] Judson's Account, p. 113.

its departure, and unless the missionaries embraced this opportunity of leaving the country, there was no saying what dangers might await them. Mr Hough had for some time past been anxious to remove with his family and Mrs Judson to Bengal; but as, amidst their other trials, she had heard nothing of Mr Judson, she was unwilling to leave the country until she received some intelligence concerning him. She at last, however, acquiesced, though with the greatest reluctance, in Mr Hough's proposal, and actually embarked with him and his family for Bengal; but as the vessel was detained several days in the river, she, with a singular degree of Christian heroism, resolved to give up the voyage and return to Rangoon. She reached the town in the evening, spent the night at the house of the only Englishman who remained in the place, and next day returned to the mission-house, to the great joy of all the Burmans left on the premises. Here, surrounded by dangers on every hand, and without any earthly friend or protector, she felt calm and tranquil, persuaded that, though the course she pursued might appear to others rash and presumptuous, it was the path of duty. Ten days after her return, the vessel in which Mr Judson had sailed arrived at Rangoon. The captain had not been able to reach Chittagong, and after being tossed about in the bay near three months, he made Masulipatam. There Mr Judson left the ship, and proceeded immediately to Madras, in the hope of finding a passage from that place to Rangoon. This intelligence was some relief to the mind of Mrs Judson, as she had hitherto been apprehensive that the ship and all on board were lost; yet still she was in a state of suspense as to Mr Judson's return. She, however, daily pursued her studies, which she found one of the best means of preserving her mind from dejection; and, indeed, her conscience would not allow her to sit idly down, indulging in feelings of despondency, which she conceived to be inconsistent with the Christian character. Mr Judson at length arrived in safety, after an absence of about eight months, during which time he had passed through various trials, as well as experienced much anxiety from the painful circumstances in which he was placed. Mr Hough and his family had also in the meanwhile returned to the mission-house, the ship not having been able to proceed on its voyage for some weeks.[1]

[1] Judson's Account, pp. 118, 125.

In November 1817, the Rev. Edward W. Wheelock and James Colman, sailed from Boston for Calcutta, with the view of joining the Burman mission. Both of these excellent young men burned with desire to proclaim the glad tidings of salvation to the perishing heathen. Scarcely have we ever seen the passion for missions more ardently expressed, than in the letter which Mr Wheelock addressed to the Board when he offered himself as a missionary. "'Language fails me," says he, "when I attempt to describe my feelings on this subject. 'Thought is poor, and poor expression.' To you, honoured fathers, I offer, freely and joyfully offer myself to become your missionary, to aid those already under your patronage, in turning the poor Burmans from idols to serve the living and true God. And O! if it is consistent that one so unworthy and so unqualified as myself should engage in this glorious work, deny me not, I beseech you, the unspeakable privilege; deny me not the fondest, the most ardent desire of my soul that can in this world be gratified. To deny me this, would be to deny me the greatest happiness which in this world I can possibly enjoy. I had rather be a missionary of the cross, than a king on his throne. Let the men of this world possess its glittering toys; let the miser grasp his cankered gold; let the voluptuary enjoy his sensual pleasures; let the ambitious ascend the pinnacle of earthly honour; but let me enjoy the sweet satisfaction of directing the poor pagans to the Lamb of God. I covet no greater good; I desire no greater joy; I seek no greater honour. To Burmah would I go; in Burmah would I live; in Burmah would I toil; in Burmah would I die; and in Burmah would I be buried." The parting scene with these missionaries and their wives was truly affecting. Their parents, brothers, and sisters, and indeed all who were present, wept; many fell on their necks and kissed them, "sorrowing most of all that they should see their faces no more." None discovered so much fortitude as the missionaries themselves. While their friends were weeping around them, they manifested the greatest firmness. As Mrs Wheelock stepped on the plank which connected the vessel with the wharf, she said to a female friend, "I would not exchange situations with any of you." When the vessel began to move, the father of Mr Wheelock, with all the tenderness of a parent, took off his hat and said, "Well, Edward, my dear son, let me see your face

once more." Edward came to the side of the vessel. The father gazed on his amiable son, then covered his head, and immediately forced his way through the crowd to his carriage.[1]

In September 1818, the missionaries reached the scene of their labours; but Mr Wheelock, who had of late been attacked with successive colds, had been only a week in Rangoon when he was seized with a spitting of blood. The disease gradually made progress, and insensibly exhausted his strength. He still wished to live, that he might preach among the Burmans "the unsearchable riches of Christ;" but yet he manifested in this respect the utmost resignation to the will of God. During the whole of his illness, he was never heard to utter a murmur or complaint of any kind. His mind was completely occupied with divine things; he seemed to have much enjoyment in communion with God. Thinking, however, that it was his duty to use every means for the restoration of his health, he embarked for Bengal, in the hope that a change of air and medical advice might prove beneficial to him. For about a week after his departure, he was in the same tranquil and happy frame of mind in which he had been for some months past; but about five days before the fatal catastrophe, his spirits became much depressed, his fever greatly increased, his head was affected with a severe pain, and his temples were much swelled. In other respects, Mrs Wheelock saw no particular change on him, till one morning, as she was reading to him, he suddenly rose from the chair on which he sat and went into the quarter gallery. Being surprised at his starting so suddenly, she instantly followed him, and was just in time to save him from jumping out at one of the windows of the ship. When she had helped him to bed, and was a little recovered from the shock she had received, she tried to converse with him, but he was perfectly insensible. He answered her questions with great solemnity, but with a strange wildness. Next day, he seemed tranquil and happy for a short time, and said that "Christ was precious to him, and that His comforts delighted his soul." But soon the fever began to rage as before, and he was in a state of violent delirium. Early next morning, he expressed great anxiety to know where he was; and after Mrs Wheelock had told him, she asked him if he knew her, to which he replied, "No, sir, it is impossible to

[1] Judson's Account, p. 132.—New York Miss. Herald, vol. iv. p. 342.

know who, or what you are, or what you will be." In the forenoon, his reason appeared to return, and in the afternoon, he seemed to fall into a gentle sleep. Mrs Wheelock left him for a few moments to write a short note, to inform their friends in Calcutta of their arrival; but it was not two minutes after, when she heard the quarter gallery door close. She instantly rose to shut it, fearing the noise it made would awake him, but when she turned round, she saw he was gone; she hastened to the place, but, alas! it was too late. Search was made through the ship, but he was nowhere to be found. Either he had fallen overboard, or, what is more probable, he had in a fit of frenzy thrown himself into the sea. Such was the melancholy end of this interesting young man! It is scarcely necessary to remark, that Mr Wheelock cannot for one moment be considered as chargeable with suicide, nor can his precipitating himself into the river, if this was actually the case, be viewed as affecting the evidence of his piety. In cases of delirium, wherein reason is completely overpowered by the force of disease, we cannot suppose a person more accountable for what he does than for what he says, and many can recollect persons distinguished for their piety, who, in the delirium of a fever, have uttered things of which in their sober senses they would have felt the utmost abhorrence.[1]

Previous to the death of Mr Wheelock, Mr Judson had commenced the public preaching of the gospel. With this view, a zayat, the Burman name for a place of worship, was erected in the neighbourhood of the mission-house, on one of the principal roads leading from the city to the great pagoda. His hearers were at first few in number; and much disorder and inattention prevailed among them, most of them not having been accustomed to attend Burman worship. Mrs Judson also held meetings with the females, and she had often much pleasure in reading the Scriptures to them, and in explaining to them the things which belonged to their everlasting peace. There was certainly a considerable number of the Burmans whose sentiments were changed, and who might be considered as in the state of many nominal Christians, somewhat enlightened and partially convinced. The small number of inquirers was frequently diminished by the removal of some of them to other parts of the country, or

[1] The Friend of India, 1819, pp. 387, 493.—Amer. Miss Her. vol. xv. p. 63.

by a sudden alarm from government; and again increased by new acquaintances. Several, however, appeared to be seriously impressed with divine truth, and, after a short time, Mr Judson had the pleasure of baptizing three of them.[1]

In December 1819, Messrs Judson and Colman proceeded to Amarapoora, the capital, with the view of presenting a petition to the new king, for a toleration of the Christian religion in Burmah. Some time before the baptism of the last two Burmans, the death of the king changed the aspect of religious affairs in that country: his late majesty having been hostile to the priests of Budhu, while the present king was supposed to be favourable to them. Schway-gnong, one of the inquirers, a man of learning and influence, was accused to the Viceroy of heretical sentiments, and in consequence of this he went to the head of ecclesiastical affairs in Rangoon, made his peace with him, and from that time visited the missionaries only occasionally, and that privately. This circumstance spread an alarm among all their acquaintances, and with the exception of the baptized, occasioned a complete falling away of their visitors. Messrs Judson and Colman now thought that they had no resource left but "to go up to the golden feet, and lift up their eyes to the golden face," in other words, to go directly into the royal presence, lay their designs before the king, and solicit toleration for themselves and their converts.[2]

After a dangerous voyage of more than a month up the river Irrawaddy, they reached the capital in safety; and, through the friendly interposition of the late Viceroy of Rangoon, they early obtained permission to visit the king. Having proceeded to the palace, they were detained a long time at the outer gate, until the various officers were satisfied that they had a right to enter; after which they deposited a present for the private minister of state, Moung Zah, and were ushered into his apartments in the palace-yard. He received them very pleasantly, and now, for the first time, they disclosed their character and object, that they were missionaries or "propagators of religion;" that they wished to appear before the king, and present to him their sacred books, accompanied with a petition for toleration to them-

[1] Judson's Account, pp. 97, 144, 146, 148, 156, 176, 179, 201.
[2] Judson's Account, pp. 200, 206, 209, 217, 219.—Miss. Reg. vol. ix. p. 108.

selves and their converts. He took the petition into his hand, looked over part of it, and then asked them several questions about their God and their religion. Just at this crisis some person announced, that the "golden foot" was about to advance; upon which the minister hastily rose, and put on his robes of state, saying, that he must seize that opportunity of presenting them before the king. When he was dressed, he said, "How can you propagate religion in this kingdom? But, come along." He then conducted them through various splendour and parade, until they ascended a flight of stairs, and entered a most magnificent hall. He directed them where to sit, and took his place on one side, while on the other was placed the present which they proposed to offer to the king, consisting of that book which they wished to translate, under his patronage,—the BIBLE, in six volumes, covered with gold leaf, in the Burman style, and each volume enclosed in a rich wrapper. The spacious extent of the hall, the number and magnitude of the pillars, the height of the dome, the whole of which was completely covered with gold, presented a grand and imposing spectacle. Very few were present, and these evidently principal officers of state.

Here they remained about five minutes, when every one put himself into the most respectful attitude, and Moung Yo, one of the officers, whispered that the king had entered. They looked through the hall, as far as the pillars would allow, and presently caught a view of his majesty. He came forward, unattended, in solitary grandeur, exhibiting the proud gait of an eastern monarch. His dress was rich but not distinctive; and he carried in his hand a gold sheathed sword, which seems to have taken the place of the sceptre of ancient times. But it was his high aspect and commanding eye that chiefly riveted their attention. Every head, excepting the missionaries', was now in the dust. They remained kneeling, with their hands folded, and their eyes fixed on the monarch. When he drew near, he stopped, and turning towards them, said, "Who are these?" "The teachers, great king," replied Mr Judson. "What! you speak Burman—the priests that I heard of last night?—When did you arrive?—Are you teachers of religion?—Are you like the Portuguese priests?—Are you married?—Why do you dress so?" When they had answered these and other similar questions, he appeared

to be pleased, and sat down on an elevated seat, his hand resting on the hilt of his sword, and his eye intently fixed on them. Moung Zah now began to read the petition, which was as follows:

"The American teachers present themselves to receive the favour of the excellent king, the sovereign of land and sea. Hearing that, on account of the greatness of the royal power, the royal country was in a quiet and prosperous state, we arrived at the town of Rangoon, within the royal dominions; and, having obtained leave of the governor of that town to come up and behold the golden face, we have ascended and reached the bottom of the golden feet. In the great country of America, we sustain the character of teachers and explainers of the contents of the sacred Scriptures of our religion. And, since it is contained in those Scriptures, that if we pass to other countries, and preach and propagate religion, great good will result, and both those who teach and those who receive the religion will be freed from future punishment, and enjoy without decay or death the eternal felicity of heaven—entreating that royal permission be given, that we, taking refuge in the royal power, may preach our religion in these dominions, and that those who are pleased with our preaching, and wish to listen to or be guided by it, whether foreigners or Burmans, may be exempt from molestation by government, they present themselves to receive the favour of the excellent king, the sovereign of land and sea."

The king having heard this petition, stretched out his hand, when Moung Zah crawled forward, and presented it. His majesty began at the top, and deliberately read the whole. In the meantime, Mr Judson gave Moung Zah a copy of a tract, which was put into the handsomest style and dress possible. After the king had perused the petition, he handed it back without saying a word, and took the tract. The hearts of the missionaries now rose up in prayer to God for a display of his grace. "Oh! have mercy on Burmah! have mercy on her king!" He held the tract long enough to read the first two sentences, which assert that there is one eternal God, who is independent of the incidents of mortality, and that, besides him, there is no God; and then, with an air of indifference, he threw it on the ground. Moung Zah stooped forward, picked it up, and handed it to the mission-

aries. He now made a slight attempt to save them, by unfolding one of the volumes, which constituted their present, and displaying its beauty; but his majesty took no notice of it. After a few moments, Moung Zah interpreted his royal master's will in the following terms:—"Why do you ask for such permission? Have not the Portuguese, the English, the Mahommedans, and people of all other religions, full liberty to practise and worship according to their own customs? In regard to the objects of your petition, his majesty gives no order. With respect to your sacred books, his majesty has no use for them: take them away." Something was now said about Mr Colman's skill in medicine, on which the king said, "Let them proceed to the residence of my physician, the Portuguese priest: let him examine whether they can be useful to me in that line, and report accordingly." He then rose from his seat, strode on to the end of the hall, and threw himself down on a cushion, where he lay listening to the music, and gazing at the parade spread out before him.

As for the missionaries and their present, they were huddled up and hurried away, without much ceremony. They passed through the palace gates with much more facility than they had entered, and were afterwards conducted two miles through the sun and dust of the streets of Amarapoora, to the residence of the Portuguese priest, who speedily ascertained that they were in possession of no wonderful secret which would secure the king from all disease, and insure him immortality. They were accordingly allowed to take leave of the reverend inquisitor, and return to their boat. It afterwards appeared that he gave a very false representation of them, particularly that they were a sect of Zandees, a race very obnoxious to former kings.[1]

Before leaving Amarapoora they made some further attempts to obtain the great object of their wishes; but every account they received confirmed them in the opinion that no toleration would be granted them; and, indeed, we cannot see how they could expect that a heathen government like the Burman would grant them formal permission to convert its subjects to a new religion; their labours might be winked at, but a legal toleration of them they had no reason to expect.[2]

On returning to Rangoon, Messrs Judson and Colman com-

[1] Judson's Account, pp. 220, 225, 240. [2] Ibid. p. 236.

municated to the three converts a full account of their reception at the capital, apprehending that when they saw their teachers driven away in disgrace from the presence of their monarch, they would have little zeal for a cause thus virtually proscribed at court; but in this they were happily mistaken. They themselves, in fact, appear to have been more discouraged than the converts, and proposed retiring from Burmah to Chittagong, which was under the British government, and where a language similar to the Burman was spoken. But the three baptized Burmans shewed so much steadfastness, and vied with each other in explaining away difficulties, and encouraged them with hopes of other inquirers, that the missionaries could not refrain from tears at their representations, and told them that as they lived only for the promotion of the cause of Christ in Burmah, they had no desire, if there was any prospect of success in Rangoon, to go to any other place. They however thought it very important that Chittagong should not be neglected, and Mr Colman accordingly proceeded thither; but he died after being there only about two years. Meanwhile, Mr Judson was encouraged in his labours by the appearance of new inquirers among the Burmans, several of whom he baptized. It may, however, be remarked that baptism was in most instances administered at night, for the sake of concealment; and, except in their own private circle, it was scarcely known that a single individual had renounced Budhism, and been initiated into the Christian faith.[1]

In August 1822, Mr Judson and Dr Price, who had lately come to his assistance, proceeded to court, having been summoned thither in consequence of the medical skill of the latter. As soon as the king was informed of their arrival, a royal order was issued for their immediate introduction. They were obliged to submit to no ceremony; but as they entered, his majesty, with the impatience of a despotic prince, asked which was the doctor. They were taken into an open court, and seated on a bamboo floor, about ten feet from the chair of the monarch. He then interrogated Dr Price as to his skill in curing eyes, cutting out wens, setting broken bones, besides many other things to which his skill did not extend. His medicines were then called for, and all his stock inspected. The surgical cases were much admired.

[1] Judson's Account, pp. 245, 249, 258, 300, 309, 318, 325.

After looking at them, the king sent for his own, one case of which being unlike Dr Price's, he immediately gave it into his hands, which might be considered as equivalent to saying that he must in future make the capital the place of his residence. After the king and his courtiers had amused themselves with his galvanic pile for an hour, the missionaries were dismissed with an order to look out a place which they liked, and he would build a house for them. His majesty apparently had the good of his people, as well as the glory of his empire, at heart; and encouraged foreign merchants, and especially artizans, to settle in his capital.[1]

At Ava, Mr Judson had frequent interviews with the king and several members of the royal family, and some of the chief officers of state. He was anxious to obtain a piece of ground on which to build a kyoung, and he at length obtained a small spot from the chief minister of state. It was the wish of the king that he would settle at Ava; and accordingly, though he went back to Rangoon, it was with the view of returning to the capital. While he was at Rangoon, Mrs Judson, who two years before had gone to America on account of her health, arrived again in the country; and immediately after her arrival, they both proceeded to Ava.[2]

Mrs Judson had come along with Mr and Mrs Wade, two new missionaries, by way of Calcutta. While there, they were informed, on the best authority, that there was every likelihood of war between the English and the Burmese, and they were urgently advised by their friends to delay proceeding to Rangoon. It was well ascertained that the King of Burmah cherished the design of invading Bengal; and, with this view, he had collected in Arracan an army of 30,000 men, under the command of his most distinguished general Bandoola. The Bengal government, however, resolved to anticipate the blow, by invading the Burman Empire. The encroachments of the Burmese government on the Company's territories had long been a subject of complaint, and

[1] Judson's Account, p. 321.—Miss. Her. vol. xix. p. 189.

[2] Memoir of Mrs Judson, pp. 181, 201, 213, 217.

In 1823, Brown University, in the United States, conferred on Mr Judson the degree of D.D., but he declined the intended honour, deeming such titles inconsistent with the "commands of Christ, and the general spirit of the gospel."—Wayland's *Memoir of the Rev. A. Judson*, vol. i. p. 259.

He no doubt had in view such passages as Matthew xx. 25-28; xxiii. 1-12.

all attempts to obtain redress had hitherto been met with neglect, and at last by preparations for invasion, on the part of the Burmans.

'In May 1824, a fleet of ships, having on board about 6000 troops, under the command of Sir Archibald Campbell, appeared at the mouth of the Rangoon river, to the great dismay of the Burmans, who were little prepared to repel any attack. This event proved an occasion of inexpressible sufferings to the missionaries and other foreigners in Rangoon. Nearly all the English gentlemen were dining that day, in a Spanish gentleman's garden, and before they had finished dinner, they were seized by about fifty armed men, it being the order of the yahwoon, who acted at this time as viceroy, that every person accustomed to wear a hat, should be conveyed to the king's godown, and confined in chains. Messrs Hough and Wade hoped that they would escape, being Americans; but while they were at tea, a king's linguist appeared with about a dozen of men, and escorted them to the godown, where they were put with the other foreigners, and were bound to each other by irons round their ankles. Orders from the yahwoon were communicated to their guards, that the moment the ships should open a fire upon the town, they were to massacre all the prisoners. The guards immediately began to sharpen their instruments of death with bricks; and brandishing them about the heads of the prisoners, shewed with how much dexterity and pleasure they would execute the order. On the place which was intended for the scene of butchery, a large quantity of sand was strewed to receive their blood. Among the prisoners reigned the gloom and silence of death. Mr Hough and Mr Wade threw themselves down upon a mattress, scarcely expecting ever to rise again, and calmly waited to hear the first gun that should be fired upon the town as the signal for their execution. Meanwhile, an account of their situation, which they had used various means to conceal, reached the ears of their wives, whose feelings may be more easily conceived than described. At length the fleet arrived, and the attack commenced. The first ball thrown into the town came with a tremendous noise over their heads. The guards, filled with consternation and amazement, and seemingly unable to execute their murderous orders, slunk away into a corner of the prison, where they remained perfectly quiet, until a broadside from the *Liffey*, which made the

prison shake to its very foundation, so frightened them, that they cried out through fear like children, and resolved on breaking open the door, and making their escape. This they soon found the means of doing; but they took the precaution to secure the door again, by fastening it with rattans on the outside. A few moments after the firing ceased on both sides, and the prisoners, who were now left alone, began to indulge the hope of deliverance by the English troops.

Meanwhile, the wives of the missionaries heard the firing commence, under the impression that at that moment the Burmans might be embruing their hands in the blood of their husbands; and they had reason to fear that they themselves might shortly share a similar fate, as they were told that the Burmans would come in search of them; it being an invariable practice with them, when they put a man to death under such circumstances, to sacrifice also his wife and children, and other relatives. Apprehending that they could not remain in their house with safety, they secreted their most valuable articles of furniture; and having taken a few clothes, a pillow, and a Bible, they sought refuge within the walls of a Portuguese church, a little way off; but on begging the priest to open the doors to them, he drove them from the church, from his own house, and even out of his verandah. They then disguised themselves, as they were obliged to go out into the streets, which were filled with Burmans. For this purpose they obtained clothes from the servants who attended them, which they put over their own, dressing their heads in the Burman style, and blackening their faces and hands. In this disguise they mixed with the multitude, and passed along undiscovered, while they frequently heard Burmans inquiring for the teachers' wives, which kept them in constant fear lest they should be known. After going some distance, they came to the house of a Portuguese woman, into which they entered, and begged protection; and though she refused their request, saying, if she gave them protection she would endanger her own life, yet, being entirely exhausted with fatigue and distress of mind, they threw themselves down upon a mat, feeling that they were unable to proceed any further.

Meanwhile, all remained quiet in the prison for about half an hour, but in a moment the whole scene was changed. About

fifty armed Burmans rushed into it, like so many madmen. "We were instantly seized," says Mr Wade, "dragged out of the prison, our clothes being torn from our bodies, and our arms drawn behind us with cords, so tight, that it was impossible to move them. We were now put in front of several armed men, whose duty it was to goad us along with the points of their spears. Others had hold of the cords which bound our arms, and they would pull us, first one way, then another, so that it was impossible for us to know in what direction they would have us to go. Sometimes we were impelled forwards, then drawn backwards; and again our legs were so entangled with our chains, as to throw us down. In short, they seemed to study methods of torturing us; but complaints were useless.

"After making an exhibition of us through almost every street of the town, they brought us to the yongdau, or place where all causes are tried, and sentences passed. Here sat the dispenser of life and death, surrounded by other officers of the town. He ordered us to be placed before him in a kneeling posture, with our faces to the ground, to which we submitted in the most respectful manner. On one side of us was a noisy rabble, crying, 'Let them be put to death! Let them be put to death!' Between us and the yahwoon were two linguists kneeling, and, with tears, begging for mercy to us. The cries of the multitude prevailed. The executioner, who stood on one side, with a large knife in his hand, waiting the decision, was ordered to proceed; but just as he was lifting the knife to strike off the head of the prisoner who was nearest to him, Mr Hough begged permission to make a proposal to the yahwoon; who having beckoned to the executioner to desist a little, demanded what he had to say. The proposal was that one or two of the prisoners should be sent on board the ships, in which case he would at least promise that the firing on the town should cease directly. At this moment a broadside from the *Liffey* occasioned great alarm. The yahwoon and other officers instantly dispersed, and sought refuge under the bank of a neighbouring tank. The firing increased, and the multitude began to flee with great precipitancy. Though our ankles were already miserably galled with our chains, the cords intolerably painful to our arms, and we were destitute of clothes except pantaloons, yet, urged along with spears, we were obliged

to keep pace with those whom fear impelled with hasty step. Having passed through the gate of the town, they kept close under the walls, that they might not be cut down by the cannon balls, which were falling in every direction around us. At length they bent their course toward the place of public execution, whither we supposed they intended to carry us. We passed directly by the Portuguese woman's house, where our wives had but a few minutes before turned in to ask protection. They saw us as we passed. They knew that they were driving us toward the place of execution, and said to each other, 'This is the last time we shall ever behold our husbands!' They thought, till now, that we were already dead; it was therefore a little relief to them to know that we were still living. Their first impression, as they afterwards told me, was to follow us, and share our fate; but a moment's reflection convinced them of the impropriety of such a step: it would make the parting intolerable, both to them and us, to be murdered before their eyes. Happily for us, we did not know that they saw us until all was over.

"We soon after found that they did not design to carry us to the place of execution; for, having passed by that spot, they proceeded in the direction of the great pagoda. Looking behind, we saw the yahwoon and his officers following us on horseback. When they had overtaken us, they alighted, and having seated themselves in a zayat, ordered us to be placed before them a second time, but not in so humiliating a posture as before; indeed, their whole treatment of us was somewhat more mild. After a few moments' consultation upon the proposal made by Mr Hough, it was assented to; and his chains were taken off. He asked to have me sent with him; but this was refused.

"Mr Hough being gone, the other prisoners were committed to the charge of an inferior officer, with strict orders, if he did not succeed, to put us to death; which was also the substance of the message sent by the yahwoon to the English general by Mr Hough, on whose success now hung all our hopes of life. The officer directed that we should be deposited in a building which stood on the base of the great pagoda, and be treated hospitably, until Mr Hough's return.

"Mr Hough delivered his message from the yahwoon to Sir Archibald Campbell, who said in reply, 'If the Burmans shed

one drop of White blood, we will lay the whole country in ruins, and give no quarter.' He returned to the place where he had left the yahwoon, for the purpose of delivering the general's answer; but as he neither found him, nor was he able to gain any information about him, he went back to the town. It appears that the yahwoon and his attendants, being informed that a company of troops was advancing upon him, had fled to the jungles.

"It was now near eight o'clock, and the firing from the ships still continuing, gave us reason to apprehend that Mr Hough had done little good by his message to the general. Exhausted by hunger and the fatigues of the day, we laid our naked bodies upon the ground, in hopes of gaining a little rest; but our situation was too uncomfortable to admit of sleep. Early next morning a party of Burmans came, evidently with the design of putting us to death, or carrying us with them into the jungle; but finding the door of the place where we were locked, they were about to burst it open, when some person from the outside cried that the English were coming, on which they were alarmed, and fled with great precipitation. Now the most sanguine hopes succeeded to fear. All the Burmans had fled, and the English troops were near; we even heard some of their voices distinctly. But we were soon again plunged into the depths of despair. The English troops passed by, and the Burmans again took possession of the pagoda. At length, however, the moment of deliverance came. Another party of troops, headed by Sir Archibald Campbell himself, advanced. The Burmans, seeing them at some distance, fired two guns, which they had planted on the pagoda; but no sooner were they discharged than they all took to their heels and fled; and, about ten minutes after, we had the unspeakable pleasure of discovering to the troops the place of our confinement. It was General Campbell, I believe, who burst open the door. We crawled out of our dungeon, naked, dirty, and almost suffocated. The general welcomed us to his protection, and ordered our chains to be taken off immediately; but they were so large and stiff, that all attempts were ineffectual, so that we were obliged to walk two miles into the town, still in irons. Clothes, victuals, &c., were immediately given us. Mrs Wade had no intelligence of me until I returned to the mission-house. I need

not attempt to describe the feelings produced on meeting again, after we had passed through so many and so great dangers; but at length we found ourselves again all together, well, and beyond the power of barbarous and unmerciful Burmans. For my part, I was rendered almost delirious, by so sudden a transition from the deepest distress to the highest pitch of joy."[1]

After the landing of the British, Rangoon was completely evacuated by the Burmans, who fled into the jungle or into the interior of the country. Messrs Hough and Wade, with their wives, returned soon after to Bengal, their stay in Rangoon not being without danger, while they had no opportunity of carrying on the work of the mission.[2]

The situation of the missionaries at Ava now became a subject of much anxiety to the friends of the mission. There was reason to fear they might have fallen victims to the resentment of a barbarous and vindictive government. For nearly two years a thick cloud concealed their fate from their friends and relatives; and when it was at length dispelled, it was found they had passed through a series of sufferings scarcely paralleled in the history of missions.

The first certain intelligence which Mr and Mrs Judson received of the war, was on their arrival at Tsenpyoo-kywon, about a hundred miles from Ava, where part of the troops under the command of Bandoola had encamped. Proceeding on their voyage, they met Bandoola himself, with the remainder of his troops, gaily equipped, seated in his golden barge, and surrounded by a fleet of gold war-boats, one of which was despatched to the other side of the river to hail them, and to make the necessary

[1] Judson's Memoir, p. 217.—Miss. Reg. 1825, p. 279 (Baptist).—Miss. Her. 1825, p. 6.

[2] Judson's Memoir, pp. 223, 225.

Mr Hough, some time after his arrival in India, not only ceased to be a missionary, but, in an article in a Calcutta periodical, entitled *Missionary Adventures in Burmah*, scoffed at his former zeal in having ever engaged in such a work, ascribing his doing so to "a spice of fanaticism or enthusiasm, or both, in his nature, which, coming in contact with the glowing representations of the state of the heathen," led him "to forsake a father in the decline of life, to tear a wife from a numerous family of affectionate relations, and leave a land of liberty, of republican institutions, for one whose monarch was a god of despotic power, whose subjects breathed for him alone, whose will was the fountain of law and life."—See *Cal. Chris. Obser.* vol. i. p. 129. What a melancholy story is that of Mr Hough! Surely it may well lead candidates for missionary service to scrutinize well their own character and motives before offering themselves for it.

inquiries. They were allowed, however, to proceed, when they had informed the messenger that they were Americans, not English, and were going to Ava in obedience to the command of his majesty.

On their arrival at Ava, they found that Dr Price was out of favour at court, and that suspicion rested on most of the foreigners then in that city. Mr Judson visited at the palace two or three times, but found the king's manner toward him much changed from what it had been formerly; and the queen, who used to express wishes for Mrs Judson's speedy arrival, now made no inquiries after her, nor expressed any wish to see her. Mrs Judson consequently made no effort to visit at the palace, though invited almost daily to visit some of the branches of the royal family, who were living in their own houses without the palace enclosures. Under these circumstances they judged it most prudent to prosecute their original design of building a house, and commencing missionary operations as opportunities might offer, thus endeavouring to satisfy the government that they had nothing to do with the war.

Intelligence at length arrived that Rangoon was taken by the English; and some now began to conclude that the few foreigners resident in Ava were spies. Three Englishmen, Messrs Gouger, Laird, and Rogers, were put in confinement first, and shortly after, orders were given for the arrest of the two missionaries, Mr Judson and Dr Price.[1] We shall give the account of the scenes through which they passed, in the words of Mrs Judson, and, though it is long, we doubt not it will be read with deep interest.

"One day," says she, "just as we were preparing for dinner, an officer, at the head of a dozen Burmans, with one whose spotted face indicated him to be an executioner, rushed into the house, and asked for Mr Judson. 'You are called by the king,' said the officer to him,—a form of speech always used when about to arrest a criminal; and instantly the man with the spotted face seized him, threw him on the floor, and tied his arms behind him. The scene was now dreadful. The whole neighbourhood had collected; the masons at work on the brick-house threw down their tools, and ran; the little Burman children were

[1] Judson's Memoir, p. 225.

screaming and crying; the Bengali servants stood in amazement at the indignities offered to their master. I offered money to the executioner, and entreated him to untie Mr Judson; but my tears and entreaties were in vain. They led him away, I knew not whither; and I was left guarded by ten men, who had received strict orders to confine me close, and let no one go out or in. I retired to my room, and attempted to pour out my soul to Him who for our sakes was bound and led away to execution; and even at that dreadful moment I experienced a degree of consolation hardly to be expected. But our faithful Moung Ing followed them at a short distance to see what would become of him. I had then no doubt but that I could procure his release (if he had not been executed) by getting a petition presented to the queen. But I also was a prisoner, and could not move out of the house. After dark, Moung Ing returned with the intelligence that he saw Mr Judson conducted to the court-house, thence to the death-prison, the gates of which were closed, and he saw him no more.

"Next morning I sent Moung Ing with a piece of silver to gain admittance into the prison, and to ascertain the situation of Mr Judson. He soon returned with the information that Mr Judson, Dr Price, and the three Englishmen were all confined in the inner prison, each with three pairs of iron fetters, and fastened to a long pole. The day dragged heavily away, and another dreadful night was before me. I endeavoured to soften the feelings of my guard by giving them tea and cigars for the night, and they allowed me to remain inside of my room, without threatening me as they did the night before. But the idea of my husband being stretched on the bare floor in irons and confinement, haunted my mind like a spectre, and prevented my obtaining any quiet sleep, though nature was almost exhausted.

"On the third day I sent a message to the governor of the city, who has the entire direction of prison affairs, requesting him to allow me to visit him with a present. This had the desired effect, and he immediately sent orders to the guards to permit my going into town. The governor received me pleasantly, and asked me what I wanted. I stated to him the situation of the foreigners, and particularly of the teachers, who were Americans, and had nothing to do with the war. He told me

it was not in his power to release them from prison or irons; but that he could make their situation more comfortable; there was his head officer, with whom I must consult relative to the means. The officer, whose countenance at the first glance presented the most perfect assemblage of all the evil passions of human nature, took me aside, and sought to convince me that myself, as well as the prisoners, was entirely at his disposal; that our future comfort must depend on my liberality as to presents; and that these must be made in a private way, and unknown to any officer of the government. 'What must I do,' said I, 'to obtain a mitigation of the present sufferings of the two teachers?' 'Pay to me,' said he, 'two hundred tickals,[1] two pieces of fine cloth, and two pieces of handkerchiefs.' I had taken money with me in the morning, our house being two miles from the prison, and I could not easily return. This I offered to the officer, and begged he would not insist on the other articles, as they were not in my possession. He hesitated for some time; but fearing to lose the sight of so much money, he concluded to take it, promising to relieve the teachers from their present painful situation.

"I then procured an order from the governor for my admittance into prison; but the sensations produced by meeting Mr Judson in that wretched, horrid situation, and the affecting scene which ensued, I will not attempt to describe. He crawled to the door of the prison (for I was not allowed to enter it), and gave me some directions relative to his release; but before we could make any arrangement, I was ordered to depart by the iron-hearted jailer. The same evening, however, the missionaries, together with the other foreigners, who paid an equal sum, were taken out of the common prison, and confined in an open shed in the prison enclosure. Here I was allowed to send them food, and mats to sleep on, but was not permitted to enter again for several days.

"My next object was to get a petition presented to the queen, whose brother is by far the most powerful man in the empire; but as no person is admitted into the palace who is in disgrace with his majesty, a personal interview with her was impossible. I was obliged, therefore, to address her through the medium of her brother's wife, who, as are all the relations of the queen, is

[1] About one hundred dollars.

of low origin, and consequently proud, haughty, and ambitious. I had visited her in better days, and received particular marks of her favour. But now, times were altered. Mr Judson was in prison, and I in distress, which was a sufficient reason for giving me a cold reception. I took with me a present of considerable value. She was lolling on her carpet as I entered, with her attendants around her. I waited not for the usual question to a suppliant, 'What do you want?' but in a bold, earnest, yet respectful manner, stated our distresses and our wrongs, and begged her assistance. She partly raised her head, opened the present I had brought, and coolly replied, 'Your case is not singular; all the foreigners are treated alike.' 'But it is singular,' said I; 'the teachers are Americans; they are ministers of religion, and have nothing to do with war or politics, and came to Ava in obedience to the king's command. They have never done anything to deserve such treatment; and is it right they should be treated thus?' 'The king does as he pleases,' said she; 'I am not the king; what can I do?' 'You can state their case to the queen, and obtain their release,' replied I. 'Place yourself in my situation: were you in America, your husband, innocent of crime, thrown into prison—in irons, and you a solitary, unprotected female, what would you do?' With a slight degree of feeling, she said, 'I will present your petition; come again tomorrow.'

"Next day, Mr Gouger's property, to the amount of 50,000 dollars, was taken and carried to the palace. The officers, on their return, politely informed me that they would visit our house on the morrow. I felt obliged for this information, and accordingly made preparations to receive them, by secreting as many little articles as possible, together with considerable silver, as I knew if the war should be protracted, we would be in a state of starvation without it. But my mind was in a dreadful state of agitation, lest it should be discovered, and cause my being thrown into prison. Had it been possible to obtain money from any other quarter, I would not have ventured on such a step.

"The following morning, the royal treasurer, Prince Tharyawadees, and Koung-tone Myoo-tsa, who was afterwards our steady friend, attended by forty or fifty followers, came to take possession of all we had. I treated them civilly, gave them chairs to

sit on, tea and sweetmeats for their refreshment; and justice obliges me to say, that they conducted the business of confiscation with more regard to my feelings than I could have thought it possible for Burmese officers to exhibit. The three officers, with one of the royal secretaries, alone entered the house; their attendants were ordered to remain outside. They left us many articles, which were of inestimable value to us during our long imprisonment.

"As soon as they had finished their search, and departed, I hastened to the queen's sister-in-law, to hear what had been the result of my petition, when all my hopes were dashed, by her coolly saying, 'I stated your case to the queen, but her majesty replied, The teachers will not die; let them remain where they are.' With a heavy heart, I departed, and on my way home attempted to enter the prison gate, to communicate the sad tidings to Mr Judson; but I was harshly refused admittance; and for the ten days following, notwithstanding my daily efforts, I was not allowed to enter. We attempted to communicate with each other by writing; but after being successful for a few days, this was discovered. The poor fellow who carried the communications was beaten, and put in the stocks; and the circumstance cost me about ten dollars, besides two or three days of agony, for fear of the consequences.

"Notwithstanding the repulse I had met with in my application to the queen, I could not remain without making continual efforts for his release, while there was the least probability of success. Time after time my visits to the queen's sister-in-law were repeated, till she refused to answer my questions, and told me, by her looks, I had better keep out of her presence. For the seven following months, hardly a day passed that I did not visit some one of the members of government, or branches of the royal family, in order to gain their influence in our behalf; but the only benefit which resulted from this was, that their encouraging promises preserved us from despair, and induced a hope of the speedy termination of our difficulties, which enabled us to bear our distresses better than we might otherwise have done. I ought, however, to mention, that by my repeated visits to the different members of government, I gained several friends, who were ready to assist me with articles of food, though in a private manner, and

who used their influence in the palace to destroy the impression of our being in any way connected with the war. But no one dared to speak a word to the king or queen in behalf of a foreigner, while there were such continual reports of the success of the English arms.

"During these seven months, the continual extortions and oppressions to which Mr Judson and the other White prisoners were subject, is indescribable. Sometimes sums of money were demanded, sometimes pieces of cloth, and handkerchiefs. At other times an order would be issued that the White foreigners should not speak to each other, or have any communication with their friends without. Then, again, the servants were forbidden to carry in their food, without an extra fee. Sometimes for days together, I could not go into the prison till after dark, when I had two miles to walk, in returning to our house. Oh, how many many times have I returned from that dreary prison at nine o'clock at night, solitary, and worn out with anxiety and fatigue, and thrown myself down in my rocking-chair, and endeavoured to invent some new scheme for the release of the prisoners! Sometimes, for a moment or two, my thoughts would glance toward America, and my beloved friends there; but for nearly a year and a half, so entirely engrossed was every thought with present scenes and sufferings, that I seldom reflected on a single occurrence of my former life, or recollected that I had a friend in existence out of Ava.

"But the point, the acme of my distress, consisted in the awful uncertainty of our final fate. My prevailing opinion was, that my husband would suffer a violent death, and that I would of course be a slave, and languish out a miserable, though short existence, in the tyrannical hands of some unfeeling monster. But the consolations of religion were, in these circumstances, neither few nor small. It taught me to look beyond this world, to that rest—that happy, peaceful rest—where Jesus reigns, and oppression never enters.

"So great was the hatred of the Burmans to the very appearance of a foreigner, that I frequently trembled when walking the streets; and that I might not be immediately recognised as a stranger, and sometimes gain admittance into Mr Judson's prison, I adopted the Burman dress altogether. The means which we

invented for communication were such as necessity alone could have suggested. At first I wrote to him on a flat cake, baked for the purpose, and buried in a bowl of rice; and he in return communicated his situation on a piece of tile, on which, when wet with water, the writing became invisible, but when dried, perfectly legible. But, after some months' experience in the art of deception, we found the most convenient, as well as safest, mode of writing, was to roll up a sheet of paper, and put it in the long nose of a coffee pot in which I sent his tea. These circumstances may appear trivial, but they serve to shew to what straits and shifts we were driven.

"We at length gave up all idea of being released from prison until the termination of the war; but I was still obliged to visit constantly some of the members of government with little presents, particularly the governor of the city, for the purpose of making the situation of the prisoners tolerable. I generally spent the greater part of every other day at the governor's house, giving him information relative to American manners, customs, government, &c. He used to be so much gratified with my communications, as to feel greatly disappointed if any occurrence prevented my spending the usual hours at his house.

"Some months after Mr Judson's imprisonment, I was permitted to make a little bamboo-room in the prison enclosures, where he could be much by himself, and where I was sometimes allowed to spend two or three hours with him. It so happened, that the two months he occupied this place was the coldest part of the year, when he would have suffered much in the open shed which he had previously occupied. After the birth of my little girl, I was unable to visit the prison and the governor as before, and found I had lost considerably the influence which I had previously gained; for he was not so forward to hear my petitions when any difficulty occurred as he had been formerly. When my infant was nearly two months old, her father sent me word one morning that he and all the White prisoners were put into the inner prison, in five pairs of fetters each, that his little room had been torn down, and his mat-pillow, &c. taken by the jailer. This was to me a dreadful shock, as I at once thought it was a prelude to greater evils.

"I should have mentioned before this the defeat of Bandoola,

the Burman general, of whose success in conquering the English the most extravagant expectations had been entertained; his escape to Danooboo, the complete destruction of his army, and the consternation this intelligence produced at court. The English army had left Rangoon, and was advancing towards Prome, when these severe measures were taken with the prisoners.

"I went immediately to the governor's house. He was not at home; but he had ordered his wife to tell me when I came, not to ask to have the additional fetters taken off, or the prisoners released, for it could not be done. I went to the prison gate, but was forbidden to enter. All was as still as death. Not a White face was to be seen, nor a vestige of Mr Judson's room remaining. I was determined to see the governor, and know the cause of these new oppressions; and for this purpose I returned into the town the same evening, at an hour when I knew he would be at home. The old man's heart was melted by my appeal, for he wept like a child. 'I pity you,' said he; 'I knew you would make me feel; I therefore forbade your application. But you must believe me when I say, I do not wish to increase the sufferings of the prisoners. When I am ordered to execute them, the least I can do is to put them out of sight. I will now tell you what I never told you before, that I have three times received instructions from the queen's brother to put all the White prisoners to death privately; but I would not do it. And now I repeat it, though I should execute all the others, I will never execute your husband. But I cannot release him from his present confinement, and you must not ask it.' I had never seen him manifest so much feeling or so resolute in denying me a favour, which circumstance gave me reason for thinking dreadful scenes were before us.

"The situation of the prisoners was now dreadful beyond description. It was at the commencement of the hot season. They were in the common prison, where they were so crowded with Burman thieves and robbers, that they had not sufficient room to lie down. There were nearly a hundred prisoners all in one room, without a window or hole for the admission of air, and the door was kept closed. I sometimes obtained permission to go to the door for five minutes, when my heart sickened at the wretchedness I witnessed. The White prisoners, from incessant perspira-

tion and loss of appetite, looked more like the dead than the living. I made daily applications to the governor, offering money, which he refused; but all that I gained was permission for the foreigners to eat their food outside; and even this continued but a short time.

"After continuing in the inner prison for more than a month, Mr Judson was taken with fever. I felt assured he would not live long, unless removed from that noisome place. To effect this, and in order to be near the prison, I removed from our house, and put up a small bamboo room in the governor's enclosure, which was nearly opposite the prison gate. Here I incessantly begged the governor to give me an order to take Mr Judson out of the large prison, and place him in a more comfortable situation; and the old man, being worn out with my entreaties, at length gave me the order in an official form; and he also gave orders to the head jailer to allow me to go in and out at all times of the day, to administer medicines, &c. I now felt happy indeed, and had Mr Judson instantly removed into a little bamboo hovel, so low that neither of us could stand upright in it, but yet a palace in comparison with the place he had left.

"Notwithstanding the order the governor had given for my admittance into prison, it was with the greatest difficulty that I could persuade the under-jailer to open the gate. I used to carry Mr Judson's food myself for the sake of getting in, and would then remain an hour or two, unless driven out. We had been in this comfortable situation but two or three days, when one morning, having carried in Mr Judson's breakfast, which, in consequence of fever, he was unable to take, I remained longer than usual, when the governor sent for me in great haste. I promised to return as soon as I had ascertained the governor's will, he being much alarmed at this unusual message. I was very agreeably disappointed, when the governor informed me that he only wished to consult me about his watch, and seemed unusually pleasant and conversible. I found afterwards, that his only object was to detain me until the dreadful scene about to take place in the prison was over. For when I left him to go to my room, one of the servants came running, and, with a ghastly countenance, informed me that all the White prisoners were carried away. I would not believe the report, and instantly went back to the

governor, who said he had just heard of it, but did not wish to tell me. I ran hastily into the street, hoping to get a glimpse of them before they were out of sight, but in this I was disappointed. I ran first into one street, then into another, inquiring of all I met, but no one would answer me. At length an old woman told me the White prisoners had gone towards the little river, for they were to be carried to Amarapoora. I then ran to the banks of the little river, about half a mile, but saw them not, and concluded the old woman had deceived me. Some of the friends of the foreigners went to the place of execution, but found them not. I then returned to the governor to try and discover the cause of their removal, and the probability of their future fate. The old man assured me that he was ignorant of the intention of government to remove the foreigners, till that morning; that since I went out, he had learned that the prisoners were to be sent to Amarapoora; but for what purpose, he knew not. 'I will send off a man immediately,' he said, 'to see what is to be done with them. You can do nothing more for your husband,' continued he; 'take care of yourself.' With a heavy heart I went to my room, and having no hope to excite me to exertion, I sunk down almost in despair. For several days previous I had been actively engaged in building my own little room, and making our hovel comfortable. My thoughts had been almost entirely occupied in contriving means to get into prison. But now I looked towards the gate with a kind of melancholy feeling, but with no wish to enter. All was the stillness of death—no preparation of my husband's food—no expectation of meeting him at the usual dinner hour—all my employment, all my occupations seemed to have ceased. I had nothing left but the dreadful recollection that he was carried off, I knew not whither. It was one of the most insupportable days I ever passed. Towards night, however, I came to the determination to set off the next morning for Amarapoora; and for this purpose, I was obliged to go to our house out of town.

"Never before had I suffered so much from fear in traversing the streets of Ava. The last words of the governor, 'Take care of yourself,' made me suspect there was some design with which I was unacquainted. I saw, also, he was afraid to have me go into the streets, and advised me to wait till dark, when he would

send me in a cart, and a man to open the gates. I took two or three trunks of the most valuable articles, together with the medicine chest, to deposit in the house of the governor, and after committing the house and premises to our faithful Moung Ing and a Bengali servant, who had continued with us (though we were unable to pay his wages), I took leave, as I then thought probable, of our house in Ava for ever.

"On my return to the governor's, I found a servant of Mr Gouger, who happened to be near the prison when the foreigners were led out, and followed on to see the end, who informed me that the prisoners had been carried before the Lamine Woon, at Amarapoora, and were to be sent the next day to a village he knew not how far distant. My distress was a little relieved by the intelligence that Mr Judson was yet alive, but still I knew not what was to become of him. The next morning I obtained a pass from government, and with my little Maria, who was then only three months old, Mary and Abby Hasseltine (two of the Burman children), and our Bengali cook, who was the only one of the party that could afford me any assistance, I set off for Amarapoora. The day was dreadfully hot, but we obtained a covered boat, in which we were tolerably comfortable till within two miles of the government house. I then procured a cart, but the violent motion, together with the dreadful heat and dust, made me almost distracted. But what was my disappointment, on my arriving at the court-house, to find that the prisoners had been sent on two hours before, and that I must go in that uncomfortable mode four miles further with little Maria in my arms, whom I had held all the way from Ava! The cart-man refused to go any further, and after waiting an hour in the burning sun, I procured another, and set off for that never-to-be-forgotten place, Oung-pen-la. I obtained a guide from the governor, and was conducted directly to the prison-yard. But what a scene of wretchedness was presented to my view! The prison was an old shattered building without a roof; the fence was entirely destroyed; eight or ten Burmese were on the top of the building trying to make something like a shelter with leaves; while under a little low projection, outside of the prison, sat the foreigners, chained together two and two, almost dead with suffering and fatigue. The first words of my husband were, 'Why have you

come? I hoped you would not follow, for you cannot live here.' It was now dark. I had no refreshment for the suffering prisoners, or for myself, as I had expected to procure all that was necessary at the market of Amarapoora, and I had no shelter for the night. I asked one of the jailers if I might put up a little bamboo house near the prison; he said no, it was not customary. I then begged he would procure for me a shelter for the night, and on the morrow I could find some place to live in. He took me to his house, in which there were only two small rooms, one in which he and his family lived, the other, which was then half full of grain, he offered to me, and in that little filthy place I spent the next six months of wretchedness. I procured some half-boiled water instead of my tea, and, worn out with fatigue, laid myself down on a mat spread over the paddy, and endeavoured to obtain a little refreshment from sleep. The next morning, Mr Judson gave me the following account of the brutal treatment he had received on being taken out of prison:—

"As soon as I had gone out at the call of the governor, one of the jailers rushed into his little room, roughly seized him by the arm, pulled him out, stripped him of all his clothes, excepting shirt and pantaloons, took his shoes, hat, and all his bedding, tore off his chains, tied a rope round his waist, and dragged him to the court-house, where the other prisoners had previously been taken. They were then tied two and two, and delivered into the hands of the Lamine Woon, who went on before them on horseback, while his slaves drove the prisoners, one of the slaves holding the rope which connected two of them together. It was in May, one of the hottest months of the year, and eleven o'clock in the day, so that the sun was intolerable indeed. They had proceeded only half a mile when Mr Judson's feet became blistered, and so great was his agony, even at this early period, that, as they were crossing the little river, he ardently longed to throw himself into the water to be free from misery. But the sin attached to such an act alone prevented him. They had then eight miles to walk. The sand and gravel were like burning coals to the feet of the prisoners, which soon became perfectly destitute of skin, and in this wretched state they were goaded on by their unfeeling drivers. Mr Judson's debilitated state in consequence of fever, and of having taken no food that morning, rendered him less

capable of bearing such hardships than the other prisoners. When about half way on their journey, as they stopped for water, he begged the Lamine Woon to allow him to ride his horse a mile or two, as he could proceed no further in that dreadful state. But a scornful, malignant look, was all the reply that was made. He then requested Captain Laird, who was tied with him, and who was a strong healthy man, to allow him to take hold of his shoulder, as he was fast sinking. This the kind-hearted man granted for a mile or two, but then found the additional burden insupportable. Just at that period Mr Gouger's Bengali servant came up to them, and seeing the distress of Mr Judson, took off his head-dress, which was made of cloth, tore it in two, gave half to his master, and half to Mr Judson, which he instantly wrapt round his wounded feet, as they were not allowed to rest even for a moment. The servant then offered his shoulder to Mr Judson, who was almost carried by him the remainder of the way. Had it not been for the support and assistance of this man, he thinks he would have shared the fate of the poor Greek, who was one of their number, and who, when taken out of prison that morning, was in perfect health; but he was a corpulent man, and the sun affected him so much that he fell down on the way. His inhuman drivers beat and dragged him until they themselves were wearied, when they procured a cart, in which he was carried the remaining two miles; but the poor creature expired in an hour or two after their arrival at the court-house. The Lamine Woon seeing the distressed state of the prisoners, and that one of their number was dead, concluded they should go no further that night, otherwise they would have been driven on until they reached Oung-pen-la the same day. An old shed was appointed for their abode during the night, but without even a mat or pillow, or anything to cover them. The curiosity of the Lamine Woon's wife induced her to make a visit to the prisoners, whose wretchedness considerably excited her compassion, and she ordered some fruit, sugar, and tamarinds, for their refreshment; and the next morning rice was prepared for them, and poor as it was, it was refreshing to the prisoners, who had been almost destitute of food the day before. Carts were also provided for their conveyance, as none of them were able to walk. All this time the foreigners were entirely ignorant of what was to become

of them; and when they arrived at Oung-pen-la, and saw the dilapidated state of the prison, they immediately concluded that they were there to be burnt, agreeably to a report which had previously been in circulation at Ava. They all endeavoured to prepare themselves for the awful scene; and it was not until they saw preparations making for repairing the prison, that they had the least doubt that a cruel lingering death awaited them. My arrival was in an hour or two after this.

"The next morning, I arose and endeavoured to find something like food. But there was no market, and nothing to be procured. One of Dr Price's friends, however, brought some cold rice and vegetable curry from Amarapoora, which, together with a cup of tea from Mr Lansago, answered for the breakfast of the prisoners; and for dinner, we made a curry of dried salt fish, which a servant of Mr Gouger had brought. All the money I could command in the world I had brought with me, secreted about my person, so you may judge what our prospects were, in case the war should continue long. But our heavenly Father was better to us than our fears; for notwithstanding the constant extortions of the jailers during the whole six months we were at Oung-pen-la, and the frequent straits to which we were reduced, we never really suffered for the want of money, though frequently for want of provisions, which were not procurable. Here my personal bodily sufferings commenced. While Mr Judson was confined in the city prison, I had been allowed to remain in our house, in which I had many conveniences left, and my health had continued good beyond all expectations; but now I had not a single article of convenience, not even a chair or seat of any kind, except a bamboo floor. The very morning after my arrival, Mary Hasseltine was taken ill with the natural small-pox. She, though very young, was the only assistant I had in taking care of little Maria. But she now required all the time I could spare from Mr Judson, whose fever still continued in prison, and whose feet were so dreadfully mangled, that for several days he was unable to move. I knew not what to do, for I could procure no assistance in the neighbourhood, or medicine for the sufferers, but was all day long going backwards and forwards from the house to the prison, with little Maria in my arms. Sometimes I was greatly relieved by leaving her for an hour when asleep by the side of her father,

while I returned to the house to look after Mary, whose fever ran so high as to produce delirium. She was so completely covered with the small-pox, that there was no distinction in the pustules. As she was in the same little room with myself, I knew Maria would take it; I therefore inoculated her from another child, before Mary's had arrived at such a state as to be infectious. At the same time, I inoculated Abby and the jailer's children, who all had it so lightly as hardly to interrupt their play. But the inoculation in the arm of my poor little Maria did not take. She caught the disease of Mary, and had it the natural way. She was then only three months and a half old, and had been a very healthy child; but it was above three months before she perfectly recovered from the effects of this dreadful disorder.

"I had never had the small-pox, but was vaccinated previously to leaving America. In consequence of being for so long a time constantly exposed, I had nearly a hundred pustules, though without any previous symptoms of fever, &c. The jailer's children having had the small-pox so lightly, in consequence of inoculation, my fame spread all over the village, and every child, young and old, who had not previously had it, was brought to me for inoculation. Though I knew nothing about the disorder, or the mode of treating it, I inoculated them all with a needle, and told them to take care of their diet—all the instructions I could give them. Mr Judson's health was gradually restored, and he found himself much more comfortably situated than when in the city prison.

"The prisoners were at first chained two and two, but as soon as the jailers could obtain chains sufficient, they were separated, and each prisoner had but one pair. The prison was repaired, a new fence made, and a large airy shed erected in front of the prison, where the prisoners were allowed to remain during the day, though locked up in the little close prison at night. All the children recovered from the small-pox; but my watchings and fatigue, together with my miserable food, and more miserable lodgings, brought on one of the diseases of the country, which is almost always fatal to foreigners. My constitution seemed destroyed, and in a few days I became so weak as to be hardly able to walk to the prison. In this debilitated state, I set off in a cart

for Ava to procure medicines and some suitable food, leaving the cook to supply my place. I reached the house in safety, and for two or three days the disorder seemed at a stand, after which it attacked me so violently, that I had no hopes of recovery left, and my only anxiety now was, to return to Oung-pen-la to die near the prison. It was with the greatest difficulty that I obtained the medicine-chest from the governor, and then I had no one to administer medicine. I got, however, at the laudanum, and by taking two drops at a time for several hours, it so far checked the disorder as to enable me to get on board a boat, though so weak that I could not stand, and I again set off for Oung-pen-la. The last four miles was in that painful conveyance the cart, and in the midst of the rainy season, when the mud almost buries the oxen. You may form some idea of a Burmese cart, when I tell you that the wheels are not constructed like ours, but are simply round thick planks with a hole in the middle, through which a pole that supports the body is thrust.

"I reached Oung-pen-la just when my strength seemed entirely exhausted. The good native cook came out to help me into the house, but so altered and emaciated was I, that the poor fellow burst into tears at the first sight of me. I crawled on to the mat in the little room, to which I was confined for more than two months, and never perfectly recovered until I came to the English camp. At this period, when I was unable to take care of myself, or to look after Mr Judson, we must both have died had it not been for the faithful and affectionate care of our Bengali cook. A common Bengali cook will do nothing but the simple business of cooking, but he seemed to forget his caste, and almost his own wants, in his efforts to serve us. He would provide, cook, and carry Mr Judson's food, and then return and take care of me. I have frequently known him not taste food till near night, in consequence of having to go so far for wood and water, and in order to have Mr Judson's dinner ready at the usual hour. He never complained, never asked for his wages, and never for a moment hesitated to go anywhere, or to perform any act we required. I take great pleasure in speaking of the faithful conduct of this servant, who is still with us, and has been, I trust, well rewarded for his services.

"Our dear little Maria was the greatest sufferer at this time,

my illness depriving her of her usual nourishment, and neither a nurse nor a drop of milk could be procured in the village. By making presents to the jailers, I obtained leave for Mr Judson to come out of prison and take the little emaciated creature round the village, to beg a little nourishment from those mothers who had young children. Her cries in the night were heart-rending, when it was impossible to supply her wants. When in health, I could bear the various trials and vicissitudes through which I was called to pass. But to be confined with sickness, and unable to assist those who were so dear to me when in distress, was almost too much for me to bear; and had it not been for the consolations of religion, and an assured conviction that every additional trial was ordered by infinite love and mercy, I must have sunk under my accumulated sufferings. Sometimes our jailers seemed a little softened at our distress, and for several days together allowed Mr Judson to come to the house, which was to me an unspeakable consolation. Then again they would be as iron-hearted in their demands as though we were free from sufferings, and in affluent circumstances. The annoyance, the extortions and oppressions to which we were subject, during our six months' residence in Oung-pen-la, are beyond enumeration or description.

"It was some time after our arrival at Oung-pen-la, that we heard of the execution of the Pakan Woon, in consequence of which our lives were still preserved; for we afterwards ascertained that the foreigners had been sent to Oung-pen-la for the express purpose of sacrificing them, and that he himself intended witnessing the horrid scene. We had frequently heard of his intended arrival at Oung-pen-la, but we had no idea of his diabolical purposes. He had raised an army of fifty thousand men (a tenth part of whose advanced pay was found in his house), and expected to march against the English army in a short time, when he was suspected of high treason, and instantly executed without the least examination. Perhaps no death in Ava ever produced such universal rejoicings, as that of the Pakan Woon. We never to this day hear his name mentioned, but with an epithet of reproach or hatred.

"The time at length arrived for our release from that detested place, the Oung-pen-la prison. A messenger from our friend, the governor of the north gate of the palace, who was formerly

Koung-tone Myoo-tsa, informed us that an order had been given the evening before in the palace for Mr Judson's release. On the same evening, an official order arrived, and with a joyful heart I set about preparing for our departure, early the following morning. But an unexpected obstacle occurred, which made us fear that I should still be retained as a prisoner. The avaricious jailers, unwilling to lose their prey, insisted, that as my name was not included in the order, I should not go. In vain I urged that I was not sent there as a prisoner, and that they had no authority over me; they still determined I should not go, and forbade the villagers letting me have a cart. Mr Judson was then taken out of prison and brought to the jailer's house, where, by promises and threatenings, he finally gained their consent, on condition that we would leave the remaining part of our provisions which we had recently received from Ava. It was noon before we were allowed to depart. When we reached Amarapoora, Mr Judson was obliged to follow the guidance of the jailer, who conducted him to the governor of the city. Having made all necessary inquiries, the governor appointed another guard, which conveyed Mr Judson to the court-house in Ava, at which place he arrived some time in the night. I took my own course, procured a boat, and reached our house before dark.

" My first object the next morning was to go in search of Mr Judson, and I had the mortification to meet him again in prison, though not in the death prison. I went immediately to my old friend, the governor of the city, who was now raised to the rank of a Woon-gyee. He informed me that Mr Judson was to be sent to the Burmese camp, to act as translator and interpreter; and that he was put in confinement for a short time only, till his affairs were settled. Early the following morning I went to this officer again, who told me that Mr Judson had that moment received twenty tickals from government, with orders to go immediately on board a boat for Maloun, and that he had given him permission to stop a few moments at the house, it being on his way. I hastened back to the house, where Mr Judson soon arrived; but he was allowed to remain only a short time, while I could prepare food and clothing for future use. He was crowded into a little boat where he had not room sufficient to lie down, and where his exposure to the cold damp nights threw him into

a violent fever, which had nearly ended all his sufferings. He arrived at Maloun on the third day, where, ill as he was, he was obliged to enter immediately on the work of translating. He remained at Maloun six weeks, suffering as much as he had at any time in prison, except that he was not in irons, nor exposed to the insults of those cruel jailers.

"For the first fortnight after his departure, my anxiety was less than it had been at any time previous, since the commencement of our difficulties. I knew the Burmese officers at the camp would feel the value of Mr Judson's services too much to allow their taking any measures threatening his life. I thought his situation, also, would be much more comfortable than it really was; hence my anxiety was less. But my health, which had never been restored since the violent attack I had at Oung-pen-la, now daily declined, till I was seized with the spotted fever, with all its attendant horrors. I knew the nature of the disease from its commencement; and, from the shattered state of my constitution, together with the want of medical attendants, I concluded it must be fatal. The day I was taken with the fever, a Burmese nurse came and offered her services for Maria. This circumstance filled me with gratitude and confidence in God; for though I had so long and so constantly made efforts to obtain a person of this description, I had never been able; when at the very time I most needed one, and without any exertion on my part, a voluntary offer was made. My fever raged violently, and without any intermission. I began to think of settling my worldly affairs, and of committing my dear little Maria to the care of a Portuguese woman, when I lost my reason, and was insensible to all around me. At this dreadful period, Dr Price was released from prison, and, hearing of my illness, obtained permission to come and see me. He has since told me that my situation was the most distressing he had ever witnessed, and that he did not then think I would survive many hours. My hair was shaved, my head and feet covered with blisters, and Dr Price ordered the Bengali servant who took care of me, to endeavour to persuade me to take a little nourishment, which I had obstinately refused for several days. One of the first things I recollect was seeing this faithful servant standing by me, trying to induce me to take a little wine and water. I was in fact

so far gone, that the Burmese neighbours who had come in to see me expire, said, 'She is dead; and if the king of angels should come in, he could not recover her.'

"The fever, I afterwards understood, had run seventeen days when the blisters were applied. I now began to recover slowly; but it was more than a month after this before I had strength to stand. While in this weak, debilitated state, the servant who had followed Mr Judson to the Burmese camp, came in, and informed me that his master had arrived, and was conducted to the court-house in town. I sent off a Burman to watch the movements of government, and ascertain, if possible, in what way Mr Judson was to be disposed of. He soon returned with the sad intelligence, that he saw Mr Judson go out of the palace yard, accompanied by two or three Burmans, who conducted him to one of the prisons; and that it was reported in town, that he was to be sent back to the Oung-pen-la prison. I was too weak to bear ill tidings of any kind; but a shock so dreadful as this almost overwhelmed me. For some time I could hardly breathe; but at last gained sufficient composure to despatch Moung Ing to our friend, the governor of the north gate, and begged him to make one more effort for the release of Mr Judson, and prevent his being sent back to the country prison, where I knew he must suffer much, as I could not follow. Moung Ing then went in search of Mr Judson; and it was nearly dark, when he found him in the interior of an obscure prison. I had sent food early in the afternoon, but being unable to find him, the bearer had returned with it, which added another pang to my distresses, as I feared he was already sent to Oung-pen-la.

"If I ever felt the value and efficacy of prayer, I did at this time. I could not rise from my couch; I could make no efforts to secure my husband; I could only plead with that great and powerful Being who has said, 'Call upon me in the day of trouble, and I will hear, and thou shalt glorify me;' and who made me at this time feel so powerfully this promise, that I became quite composed, feeling assured that my prayers would be answered.

"'When Mr Judson was sent from Maloun to Ava, it was on five minutes' notice, and without his knowledge of the

cause. On his way up the river, he accidentally saw the communication made to government respecting him, which was simply this: 'We have no further use for Yoodathan; we therefore return him to the golden city.' On arriving at the court-house, there happened to be no one present who was acquainted with Mr Judson. The presiding officer inquired from what place he had been sent to Maloun. He was answered, from Oung-pen-la. Let him then, said the officer, be returned thither. He was then delivered to a guard, and conducted to the place above mentioned, there to remain until he should be conveyed to Oung-pen-la. In the meantime, the governor of the north gate presented a petition to the high court of the empire, offered himself as Mr Judson's security, obtained his release, and took him to his house, where he treated him with every possible kindness, and to which I also was removed as soon as returning health would allow.

"The rapid strides of the English army towards the capital at this time threw the whole town into a state of the greatest alarm, and convinced the government that some speedy measures must be taken to save the golden city. They had hitherto rejected all the overtures of Sir Archibald Campbell, imagining, until this late period, that they could in some way or other drive the English from the country. Mr Judson and Dr Price were daily called to the court-house and consulted; in fact nothing was done without their approbation. Negotiations for peace were now renewed with the English, and the Burman government pled sore for a relaxation of the terms, but the general and commissioners would abate nothing, except that the hundred lacs[1] of rupees demanded by them might be paid at four different times, the first twenty-five lacs in twelve days, or the army would continue its march. In addition to this, the prisoners, including the missionaries, were to be given up immediately, if they themselves wished to leave the country. After much hesitation and some delays, the Burman government found it necessary to submit to the terms which were dictated to it by the English. Mr Judson had been employed in the negotiations which led to the conclusion of peace, and some of the members of the government said to him, 'You will not leave us; you shall become a great man if you will.

[1] A lac is 100,000.

remain.' He then sheltered himself from the odium of saying that he wished to leave the service of his majesty, by recurring to the order of Sir Archibald Campbell, that whoever wished to leave Ava should be given up, and that I had expressed a wish to go, so that he of course must follow. In two days from the time of Mr Judson's return, we took an affectionate leave of the good-natured officer who had so long entertained us in his house, and who now accompanied us to the water side when we left the golden city and all its magnificence, and turned our faces towards the British camp, then within forty miles of Ava.

"It was on a cool, moonlight evening, when, with hearts filled with gratitude to God, and overflowing with joy at our prospects, we passed down the Irrawaddy, surrounded by six or eight golden boats, and accompanied by all we had on earth. The thought that we had still to pass the Burman camp would sometimes occur to damp our joy, for we feared that some obstacle might there arise to retard our progress. With what sensations of delight did I then next morning behold the masts of the steamboat, a sure presage of our being within the bounds of civilized life! The British general received us with the greatest kindness, had a tent pitched for us near his own, took us to his own table, and treated us with the kindness of a father, rather than as strangers of another country. We feel that our obligations to General Campbell can never be cancelled. Our final release from Ava, and our recovering all the property that had there been taken from us, was owing entirely to his efforts. The treaty of peace was soon concluded, signed by both parties, and the termination of hostilities publicly declared. We left the English camp after a fortnight's residence, and safely reached the mission-house in Rangoon, after an absence of two years and three months." [1]

[1] Judson's Memoir, p. 231.—Miss. Her. 1827, pp. 1, 12.

Long as is the preceding account, we have omitted many of the details in Mrs Judson's letter contained in her Memoir. We have also, in many instances, substituted and combined with it the statements, and in some cases, merely a sentence or part of a sentence, from another letter written by her, printed in the *Missionary Herald* of the Baptist Missionary Society.

It might appear from Mrs Judson's own letters as if her services were nearly confined to her husband; but from the following account, published in a Calcutta newspaper by an English gentleman, who was in prison at Ava along with him, it will be seen that her care extended also to his fellow-prisoners:—

"Mrs Judson was the author of those eloquent and forcible appeals to the govern-

By the late treaty the Burman government ceded to the British the province of Arracan on the west, and on the south, the provinces of Yeh, Tavoy, Mergui, and Tenasserim, which are commonly called the Tenasserim Provinces. In these the English fixed on a spot about thirty miles up the Martaban River for the site of a town, which they called Amherst. Mr Crawford, who had been appointed to negotiate a secondary treaty with the court of Ava, begged Mr Judson to accompany the embassy, and promised, in the event of his complying with this request, to use his interest to obtain the insertion of an article in the treaty in favour of religious toleration, an object on which the heart of our excellent missionary had been for many years set, and which, though now, in consequence of the opening for missions in the English provinces, not so necessary as formerly, would yet be greatly favourable to the propagation of Christianity in other parts of the country. With these views, he thought it his duty to accede to Mr Crawford's request. Desirous, however, of making a commencement at Amherst as early as possible, and unwilling to disappoint the native converts, several of whom had proceeded to that place, in the expectation of his immediately

ment which prepared them by degrees for submission to terms of peace never expected by any who knew the *hauteur* and inflexible pride of the Burman court.

"And while on this subject, the overflowings of grateful feelings on behalf of myself and my fellow-prisoners, compel me to add a tribute of public thanks to that amiable and humane female, who, though living at a distance of two miles from our prison, without any means of conveyance, and very feeble in health, forgot her own comfort and infirmity, and almost every day visited us, sought out and administered to our wants, and contributed in every way to alleviate our misery.

"While we were all left by the government destitute of food, she, with unwearied perseverance, by some means or other obtained for us a constant supply.

"When the tattered state of our clothes evinced the extremity of our distress, she was ever ready to replenish our scanty wardrobe.

"When the unfeeling avarice of our keepers confined us inside, or made our feet fast in the stocks, she, like a ministering angel, never ceased her applications to the government until she was authorized to communicate to us the grateful news of our enlargement, or of a respite from our galling oppressions.

"Besides all this, it was unquestionably owing, in a chief degree, to the repeated, eloquent and forcible appeals of Mrs Judson, that the untutored Burman was finally made willing to secure the welfare and happiness of his country by a sincere peace."—Wayland's *Memoir of the Rev. A. Judson*, vol. i. p. 299.

Of Mrs Judson's influence in bringing about peace, we are not aware of any other evidence; but even though the writer should be mistaken as to this point, it would afford no ground for doubting his other statements, referring as they do to matters in which he was personally and deeply interested.

following, he accompanied Mrs Judson and family thither, and after seeing them comfortably settled he returned to Rangoon, and afterwards proceeded along with Mr Crawford to Ava.

About two months after his departure, Mrs Judson was seized with remittent fever; and the shocks which her constitution had sustained from previous attacks of disease, and during the heart-rending scenes through which she had passed at Ava, rendered her unable to withstand the violence of this new illness. From the first she was persuaded she would not recover; but her mind appeared to be calm and tranquil in the prospect of death. She only occasionally expressed regret at leaving her infant child, the native converts, and the schools, before her husband or another missionary could arrive. During the last days of her illness, her head was much affected, and she spoke but little. She sometimes, however, according to the accounts received from the native converts, would say, "The teacher[1] is long in coming, and the new missionaries are long in coming; I must die alone, and leave my little one; but as it is the will of God, I acquiesce in his will. I am not afraid of death, but I am afraid I shall not be able to bear these pains. Tell the teacher the disease was most violent, and I could not write: tell him how I suffered and died; tell him all that you see; and take care of the house till his return." When she was unable to notice anything else, she would still call for her child, which had been long in a declining state of health, and charge the nurse to be kind to it, and indulge it in everything until its father should return. The last day or two she lay almost senseless and motionless on one side, her head reclining on her arm, and her eyes closed, and at eight o'clock on the evening of October 24, 1826, with an exclamation of distress in the Burman language, she breathed out her spirit into the hands of her God and Saviour.

Mr Judson was still at Ava, when the painful tidings reached him of his wife's death, and nearly three months elapsed before he was able to return to Amherst. Mr Wade had, in the meanwhile, arrived at that place, and Mrs Wade had taken charge of his poor motherless infant. He was unable to obtain any accounts of the child at Rangoon, and it was only on his arrival at Amherst that he learned she was still living. "Mr Wade," says he, "met

[1] Mr Judson.

me at the landing-place, and as I passed on to the house, one and another of the native Christians came out, and when they saw me, they began to weep. At length we reached the house, and I almost expected to see my love coming out to meet me as usual; but no: I saw only, in the arms of Mrs Wade, a poor little puny child, who could not recognize its weeping father, and from whose infant mind had long been erazed all recollections of the mother who loved her so much. She turned away from me in alarm, and I, obliged to seek comfort elsewhere, found my way to the grave. But who ever found comfort there? Thence I went to the house in which I left her, and looked at the spot where we last knelt in prayer, and where we exchanged the last parting kiss." "Oh!" he afterwards adds, referring to the privations and trials through which she had passed at Ava, as having been a chief predisposing cause of her death, "Oh! with what meekness, patience, magnanimity, and Christian fortitude, did she bear these sufferings! And can I wish they had been less? Can I sacrilegiously wish to rob her crown of a single gem? Much she saw and suffered of the evil of this world, and eminently was she qualified to relish and enjoy the pure and holy rest on which she has entered. True, she has been taken from a sphere in which she was singularly qualified by her natural disposition, her winning manners, her devoted zeal, and her perfect acquaintance with the language, to be extensively serviceable to the cause of Christ. True, she has been torn from her husband's bleeding heart, and from her darling babe; but infinite wisdom and love have presided as ever in this most afflicting dispensation. Faith decides that it is all right; and the decision of faith, eternity will soon confirm."

But Mr Judson's cup of affliction was not yet full. His little Maria pined away, and six months after its mother she also breathed her last, to the unspeakable grief of her poor sorrowing father, who was thus bereaved, not only of a beloved wife, but of their only remaining child.[1]

With respect to the main object of Mr Judson's visit to Ava, it had entirely failed. In the very commencement of the negotiations he found that it would be impossible to effect anything in favour of religious toleration. The Burmese government had

[1] Judson's Memoir, pp. 87, 264, 267.

merely agreed to make a commercial treaty, and its commissioners were resolved to confine the discussions to points strictly commercial; so that, instead of a treaty of twenty-two articles calculated to place the relations of the two countries on the most liberal and friendly footing, the new treaty was confined to four articles, and these utterly insignificant.[1]

After the conclusion of peace, Dr Price returned to Ava, and remained there in the service of his Burmese majesty. His medical skill procured for him the favour of the king and the nobility, and he had frequent opportunities of conversing with them on the subject of religion. He received under his tuition a number of boys, the sons of some of the chief officers of government, to whom he communicated some knowledge of the gospel, as well as of the principles of science. He had even several interesting conversations with the king, and other persons of high rank, in which he was allowed to state the truths of the gospel, and to expose the absurdities of Budhism. He hoped that the instructions which he imparted by public lectures, and by private conversations, on astronomy, geography, natural philosophy, and other branches of science, would tend indirectly to shake the popular system of faith, which in Burmah, as in many other countries, is closely interwoven with erroneous and absurd notions of science. But while he was proceeding in this course, he was attacked by consumption, and died, after a lingering illness.[2]

In 1827, the missionaries removed from Amherst to Maulmain, a new town, about twenty-five miles higher up the river Salwen or Martaban, as the expectations which had been entertained of the former place becoming a considerable town were not likely to be realized. Maulmain being within the British territory, the missionaries here enjoyed full protection and toleration, and it henceforth became the head-quarters of the mission.[3]

In April 1828, Mr Boardman began a new station at Tavoy, the chief town in the British province of that name. Here he baptized, shortly after his arrival, a Karen, named Ko Thay-byo, who had come with him from Maulmain. The Karens are a numerous, but a poor wretched people, scattered through Burmah

[1] Judson's Memoir, p. 266.
[2] Judson's Memoir, pp. 263, 289.—Miss. Reg. 1828, pp. 288, 395.
[3] Miss. Reg. 1829, p. 67.

and the neighbouring countries, living in the jungles, on the banks of rivers, and in the mountains, in places almost inaccessible to any but themselves and the wild beasts. According to Mr Boardman they were atheists, in the fullest sense of the word, and were absolutely destitute of any kind of religion; but according to Mr Mason, another of the missionaries, they were so far from being atheists, like the Burmans and other Budhists, that they had among them many remarkable traditions or sayings, which embody much religious truth, and coincide, in a singular degree, with the representations of Scripture relative to the eternity, unchangeableness, omniscience, omnipresence, holiness, and other perfections of God, to his creation of all things, the fall of man, and also to the duties which we owe to Him, and to one another.[1]

Ko Thay-byo, the first of the Karens who was baptized, was a poor man, and a slave, till Mr Judson set him free. He was a man of very ordinary abilities. His natural temper was exceedingly bad; he was a wicked and ungovernable boy, and when he grew up to manhood, he became a robber and a murderer. Yet was the heart of this man subdued by Divine grace, and he became a distinguished instrument in the hand of God of bringing many of his countrymen to a knowledge of the gospel. Immediately after his baptism he left Tavoy, accompanied by two of his countrymen, to visit the Karens beyond the eastern mountains, in the valley of the Tenasserim provinces, and several of these poor people were led, through his means, to come to the missionary, in order to obtain further instruction. Indeed, from the time of his baptism till his death, he never intermitted his labours in making known the gospel where Christ had not before been named—from Tavoy to Siam, from Martaban to the borders of Zimmay, and from Rangoon to Arracan. No fatigue, no difficulties, hindered him from seeking out his countrymen. In his excursions among them he was occasionally accompanied by one of the missionaries, and still more frequently by one or two of the converts. He had a passion for preaching; it was in fact his ruling passion. In every other work he was indolent and inefficient; but in preaching Christ crucified, his soul seemed nerved

[1] Memoir of G. D. Boardman, pp. 51, 54, 56, 59, 110.—Mason's Karen Apostle, or Memoir of Ko Thay-byo, pp. 7, 14, 72, 76, 95.

with more than mortal energy. On one occasion, when out in a boat with one of the missionaries, he was in danger of his life; but his great concern was, not that he should never again see his wife and children, nor did he utter a cry to God for mercy on his soul, but he said, "I shall be drowned, and never more preach the Word of God to the Karens." He was fitted in a special manner for the work he undertook. He was not adapted for the pastoral office. His work was that of a pioneer; for breaking up the fallow-ground, and casting in the first seed, he was singularly qualified. Send him to a new post, and everything seemed to give way before him. Allow him to remain, and the very individuals who a little before had blessed God for having made him the instrument of their conversion, were ready to exchange his services for those of any other man. Yet no man was more highly esteemed by the native Christians than Ko Thay-byo, while he applied himself to his proper work. In that he exhibited powers of a superior order, and few men have seen their labours attended with more success. With the great leading truths of the gospel he was as familiar as one is with the alphabet, and on these he delighted to dwell. In fact he knew but little else. He had felt their renovating influence on his own heart, and had proved in his own experience that they had power to change the lion into a lamb. "It was the death of Christ," he used to say with peculiar emphasis, "it was the death of Christ, as a substitute, that laid the foundation of all our hopes. It is because he stood in our place, and suffered the penalty due to our sins, that we who believe in him may now be saved." This great truth he used to bring, in various ways, into almost every sermon, so that those converted through his instrumentality, Mr Vinton states, had usually a more thorough knowledge of the doctrine of Justification by faith, than an equal number of persons whom he ever knew, either in heathen or Christian countries. Should the question still be asked, How was it that a man whose intellectual resources were so limited, should yet prove so powerful and so successful as a preacher? it may be answered, that he not only had the rare faculty of concentrating all his powers, and bringing them to bear on a single point, but he was in a remarkable degree a man of prayer. When not employed in preaching, he used to spend his time almost exclusively in read-

ing and praying. Sometimes he would spend whole days in this way, and occasionally, it was said, whole nights in prayer. Supposing there to be no exaggeration in the narrative, it is truly gratifying to find such an account given of a native preacher, and especially of one whose mental faculties appear to have been anything but of a high order. We are no advocates for the employment in the ministry, either at home or abroad, of persons of inferior understanding and limited education. Much evil has often resulted from such a practice; but yet, in some instances, the defect of intellectual qualifications has been made up, in a remarkable manner, by moral qualities, of which Ko Thay-byo appears to have been a striking example.[1]

In February 1830, Mr and Mrs Wade paid a visit to Rangoon, where there was a small church of Burmans, which had been lately placed under the care of a native pastor. Many crowded to their present visitors to inquire and be instructed; great numbers of tracts were circulated among them. Mr Judson arrived a few months afterwards, and sailed up the Irrawaddy, distributing in most of the towns and villages which line its banks, large quantities of tracts, which were received by the people with great eagerness. Having arrived at the ancient town of Prome, he stopped there, "a great door and effectual" appearing to be opened to him. At one time, the whole town seemed to be roused to listen to the news of an eternal God, of the mission of Jesus Christ, and of the way of salvation through his atonement. But there was at length a threatening of opposition; the people became frightened, many sent back the tracts they had received, and there was a general falling off in the attendance at the zayats. Mr Judson was summoned to undergo an examination at the court-house, not, however, on the subject of religion, but concerning the whole of his past life since he had been in Burmah. The result was forwarded to Ava, where he had been regarded as a suspicious character ever since he declined remaining there at the close of the war, and joined the British. The king, it would appear, gave orders that he should be removed from Prome, and he was given to understand that he must confine himself to Rangoon. He accordingly returned to that place, and renewed his labours in this the original sphere of the mission, which had,

[1] Mason's Karen Apostle, pp. 3, 20, 33, 35, 40, 65.

however, been relinquished by the missionaries for several years. Rangoon may be considered as the key of the whole country. Besides being the chief centre of commerce, it attracts multitudes to it by its religious festivals, and thus furnishes unusual facilities for the circulation of books throughout the kingdom.[1]

In April 1833, Mr Kincaid, accompanied by several native assistants, embarked at Rangoon, on the Irrawaddy, for Ava, with the view of renewing the mission in that city, which had been suspended for several years. In the voyage up the river, they preached the gospel in nearly three hundred towns and villages, and distributed great numbers of tracts. On arriving at Ava, a spirit of inquiry, it is stated, was awakened and increased so rapidly, that, in a few weeks, crowds of visitors came to them daily. One day about fifty priests called. It is an utterly false idea, that they are a learned class of Burmans. As a general body they are the most proud, stupid, ignorant class of people in the whole country. In Ava and the neighbouring cities, there are great numbers, particularly among the higher classes, who are free-thinkers. They do not openly oppose Budhism, but they despise it in their hearts. These persons, when reasoned with, quickly yield to the truth, that there is only one living and true God; but the doctrine of the cross was to them, as to the Greeks of old, foolishness. Mr Kincaid suspected some of their visitors might be spies. They professed great anxiety to know more of geography and astronomy, but they did not care about the subject of religion. The gospel was often preached in zayats and market-places to listening crowds; but many who professed to be inquirers afterwards went back, and a general apathy appeared to prevail.[2]

In June 1837, Mr Kincaid again left Ava. The country had of late been involved in all the horrors of anarchy and civil war. It was also overrun with robbers. A few months before, he had made a voyage of about 350 miles, chiefly up the Irrawaddy, to Mogaung, the most northern city of Burmah; and on his return, when about a hundred miles to the north of Ava, he was attacked

[1] Report Bapt. Board for For. Miss. 1831, p. 13.—Miss. Reg. 1831, pp. 325, 353.—Ibid. 1832, p. 32.—Ibid. 1835, p. 92.

[2] Miss. Reg. 1835, p. 93.—Rep. Bapt. Board for For. Mis. 1834, p. 16.—Amer. Bapt. Magazine 1834, pp. 105, 277, 280.—Ibid. 1836, pp. 97, 98, 100.

by a body of about two hundred robbers. Not supposing there were more than two boats, with about twenty-five men on board, he made a show of resistance by taking a pair of pistols in his hand, upon which they rowed off; but, in a few minutes, six boats, filled with armed men, came on and surrounded his boat. When quite near, they fired a volley of twenty-five or thirty muskets. His boatmen, except the one at the helm, lay in the boat as closely as possible, to avoid the balls that whistled around them and fell in the water in every direction. It would have been madness to think of repelling so large a force with only one musket and a pair of pistols. He therefore laid down the pistols, and told them to cease firing. They, however, fired four or five more shots at him, when he held up his hands, and told them to look and see he was unarmed; that he would offer no resistance, and that they might take everything they wished from the boat. About seventy men, the greater part of them armed with muskets, and the others with spears and drawn swords, came and seized him; and in a few minutes they were on shore, before the head robber and the rest of the banditti.

On the following day, Mr Kincaid was attacked again, and stripped of his last rag of clothing, except a narrow cloth to fasten around his loins. The robbers then tied him with ropes, and led him away under a guard of 150 men. A large party demanded his execution, but another party opposed this as impolitic. He was carefully guarded; but, after about a week, he found means to escape to the mountains, and made his way, through a desolate region, to Ava.

A revolution was now effected in Burmah. Prince Tharawadi dethroned the king his brother, threw all the nobles and officers of the old government into prison, and loaded them with irons. Ava, Amarapoora, and Sagaing, were invested by his armies. The whole country, in every direction around Ava, presented a scene of desolation and misery truly heart-rending; indeed, the whole empire, in its length and breadth, was laid waste.

During the civil war, and after the new king came into power, Mr Kincaid had sanguine hopes that under him the prospects of the mission would be improved, and residence in the country rendered more permanent and secure. He had always been ready to hold intercourse with foreigners, and was remarkable for the

liberality of his opinions. He had often expressed his disapprobation of the exclusive and jealous policy of the former government, and had spoken disapprovingly of the harassing and vexatious course which it had pursued to Mr Kincaid himself during the first two years he was in Ava. There is no reason to doubt that he then expressed his honest opinions. But he now found himself in a new position. The first intimation which the missionaries had of a change in his sentiments was a message which he sent to them by Mr Edwards, the clerk of Colonel Burney, the British Resident. "Tell the American teachers," he said, "that they must give away no more religious books. I know the old government told them so, and still let them go on; but I shall not do so. My authority must be regarded." When they visited him some days after, he treated them with great personal kindness, came and sat down beside them, talked pleasantly, asked a great many questions, and evidently wished them to feel that he was not unfriendly. He, however, said, "I am now King of Burmah, and am therefore defender of the faith, and must support the religion of the country. You must give away no more of Christ's books." This he said before the whole assembled court, and added many expressions, intimating that the royal will must not be trifled with. Mr Kincaid inquired, "Has your Majesty any objection to scientific books?" "No, no," he replied; "bring up a press; print and circulate as many as you please; I will give you a good place to live in." Previous to this, he had also expressed his determination not to adhere to the treaty which was made with the English at the end of the late war, and that he would have no intercourse with them based on that instrument. Colonel Burney, the Resident, therefore left Ava, and the missionaries and other foreigners accompanied him.[1]

The missionaries at Rangoon remained there some time longer; but in the following year they left that place also, in consequence of the distracted and dangerous state of the country. Burmah proper was thus once more left without a missionary. In Rangoon, the few converts were subjected to much persecution. Ko Sanlone, a native assistant, was arrested, beaten, imprisoned, loaded with irons, and at times subjected to severe labour; nearly every native Christian was fined; the members of the

[1] For. Miss. Chron. of the Board of Missions of the Pres. Church, vol. vi. p. 125.

church were scattered abroad; it might almost be said to be extinct. Though foreigners were allowed the free and full exercise of their religion, there was no such thing as toleration for the natives of the country.[1]

But though obliged to leave Burmah proper, the missionaries continued to carry on their labours in the British territories without interruption, though not without opposition from the natives; nor were their stations confined to Maulmain, Tavoy, Amherst, and other places in the eastern provinces; several were also begun in Arracan, the western province. In carrying on the mission, they made great use of the native converts, chiefly Karens, as assistants in communicating the gospel to their countrymen, and that not only in the British provinces, but in Burmah Proper and the neighbouring countries. Some were employed as evangelists, and made extensive excursions for this purpose, visiting places whither the missionaries themselves could not have gone;[2] others were placed as pastors over native churches, and had from twenty to sixty families under their care. From the numbers who were thus employed,[3] or who took part in the work, and considering their previous low mental cultivation, we cannot but apprehend that many of them must have been very imper-

[1] Amer. Bapt. Mag. 1834, p. 198.—Rep. Bapt. Board for Foreign Miss. 1836, p. 20.

[2] The hospitality of the Karens is remarkable, and must have facilitated greatly such visits. The Rev. H. Malcolm, of Boston, who was sent by the Board to visit its missions in Eastern Asia, gives the following account of the reception which he and Mr Vinton, one of the missionaries, met with on the island of Balu, which lies near Maulmain, and is inhabited chiefly by Karens:—"Though we lodged each night in the boat, we spent our time and ate among the people. The glance thus gained of native character, was very gratifying. We saw no house where poverty seemed to dwell (though we passed through four or five villages), and no disorder in any place. Wherever we stopped to eat, we entered a house freely, and were immediately offered clean mats, and treated with the utmost hospitality. Able and willing to supply our wants, they sometimes expostulated with the servant, as he was cooking our meals, that he had brought rice and fowls, instead of allowing them to furnish our table. This trait is prevalent among the Karens. Native assistants go from village to village among them, even where the gospel has never been heard, and take literally 'neither purse nor scrip.' They are bountifully supplied, even where their message meets only with opposition. Mr Vinton on one occasion went several days' journey among Karen villages, without servant or food. Everywhere they killed for him their best fowls, and spread before him rice, fruits, honey, and whatever they had, and gave him their best place to sleep in."—Malcolm's *Travels in South-Eastern Asia*, vol. i. p. 56.

[3] In 1846, the native preachers and assistants were about 90 in number.—*Bapt. Miss. Her.* 1847, p. 158.

fectly qualified for it. According to some accounts, indeed, they were a faithful, laborious, successful, worthy set of men; but according to another account, the amount of Scriptural knowledge possessed by even the most successful of them, was exceedingly small, and the graces of the Christian character were, in many instances, very imperfectly understood and exemplified by them. "Alas!" says Mr Mason, "they are very little in advance of the people they are set over, and one reason why help is so urgently requested, is to instruct them. Because the assistants are useful, it is not therefore to be taken for granted that they are well-versed in the truth. While the riches of Divine grace are displayed in converting Karens, who know very little of Christian doctrine, it is no less displayed in making very ignorant assistants instruments in the conversion of souls." He then proceeds to remark on the gross immoralities and improprieties into which some of the assistants fell, in consequence of former depraved habits, their exceeding incapacity to manage church difficulties on account of the violence of their temper and recklessness and extreme ignorance, and their frequently injudicious and unscriptural method of dealing with inquirers. "I am sometimes led to think," he adds, "that the people are converted to the truth in spite of their teachers." The missionaries took some of the converts under instruction with the view of better qualifying them for teaching their countrymen; and they ultimately established theological seminaries for giving candidates for the ministry, both Karens and Burmans, a more extended and thorough course of preparatory instruction and discipline.[1]

In connexion with the distribution of books and tracts, the converts received into the several churches, were made chiefly through the instrumentality of the native preachers. These were not for some years ordained to the ministry, as it was not deemed prudent to intrust them with the power of baptizing and admitting persons into the fellowship of the Church; but this wise resolution was afterwards departed from, and then we find them baptizing their countrymen in great numbers. In 1846, the number of converts was estimated at upwards of 6000; those in Burmah alone, were supposed to be not fewer than 3000. We

[1] Proceed. Bapt. Convention, 1832, p. 16.—Rep. Bapt. Board, 1833, p. 13.—Ibid. 1843, pp. 35, 54.—Ibid. 1844, pp. 57, 61, 86.—Ibid. 1846, pp. 29, 32.

have strong testimonies by the missionaries, some years ago, to the simple, humble piety of the converts, and to their general exemplary conduct; but then the number was comparatively small. We are always jealous of the baptism of great numbers, and we have generally found, in the history of missions, that it ultimately turned out that our suspicions were well-founded. Even the missionaries baptized in such numbers, that we fear it must often have been on very slender evidence of their piety, consisting, as they commonly did, of persons who had received their chief instruction from the native assistants, whose own knowledge of Divine truth was in most instances so very imperfect.[1]

Among the features of this mission, not the least remarkable was the extent to which books and tracts were circulated among the people. A number of presses were actively at work, furnished with founts of types in the Burman, Karen, Peguan, and English languages, and the missionaries also established a type and stereotype foundry. The Old and New Testaments were translated by Mr Judson into Burman. Versions of the New Testament were also made by others of the missionaries, into the Karen- and Peguan languages. Great numbers of books and tracts, on a variety of subjects, were also prepared and printed in these languages, including elementary books for the schools, in history, geography, astronomy, trigonometry, surveying, and other branches of knowledge, it being justly thought of much importance to give the people correct views on these subjects, both as enlarging their minds, and as being calculated to undermine their religious system, which is founded on and closely interwoven with the grossest whims and conceits, particularly in regard to the solar system. Mr Judson also compiled a grammar and dictionary of the Burman language, the latter in two parts, Burmese

[1] Rep. Bapt. Board, 1843, p. 45.—Bapt. Miss. Herald, 1847, p. 157.—Mason's Karen Apostle, pp. 56, 76.

On one occasion, three of the missionaries visiting Maubee and its vicinity, where Ko Thay-byo had been labouring for some time, but where no missionary had ever been, baptized during the week 167 persons.—Mason's *Karen Apostle*, p. 59.

On another occasion, we find Mr Judson falling in with a perfect stranger, and baptizing him the same day before they parted.—*Rep. Bapt. Board*, 1833, p. 12. He appears, in fact, to have been in the practice of baptizing persons on a very short and slight acquaintance with them.—Wayland's *Memoir of the Rev. A. Judson*, vol. ii. pp. 3, 15, 18, 33.

In 1844, Myat Kyau, one of the native preachers, in an excursion from Arracan into

and English, and English and Burmese.[1] Mr Mason compiled a grammar, and Mr Wade a dictionary of the Karen language, which had never been reduced to writing till this was done by the missionaries.[2]

Much was said in the communications from the missionaries, and in the statements of the Board, of the great spirit of inquiry which was awakened in Burmah; of the eagerness with which books and tracts were received; of the conviction in the minds of multitudes of the falsehood of Budhism and of the truth of Christianity; and high anticipations were expressed of the early triumph of the gospel in that country.[3]

Burmah of three or four months, baptized 1550 persons.—*Amer. Bapt. Mag.* 1845, p. 101.

In 1846, he and Ko Dwai baptized 812 persons, and 1427 were waiting for admission into the churches.—*Bapt. Miss. Her.* 1847, p. 157.

Mr Kincaid, some years ago, expressed by anticipation the fears we have stated on this subject. Speaking of the native preachers, he says, "It would be imprudent now to intrust them with power to baptize and admit persons to church membership. They must have more instruction in 'the mysteries of the Kingdom,' more experience and more knowledge of character, or there would be danger of *their filling the Church with mere nominal Christians.*"—Mason's *Karen Apostle*, p. 83.

[1] He did not, however, live to complete it, but it was afterwards carried on by Mr Steven, another of the missionaries.—*Bapt. Miss. Her.* 1851, p. 164.

[2] Miss. Reg. 1835, p. 93.—Rep. Bapt. Board For. Miss. 1831, p. 10.—Ibid. 1833, p. 9.—Ibid. 1839, p. 16.—Ibid. 1845, pp. 31, 34.

[3] We have often had occasion to regret the bright and sanguine prospects which have been held out by missionaries, and still more, perhaps, by the friends of missions at home, of the progress of the gospel in various parts of the world. A volume might be compiled of these disappointed hopes. Of nothing should man speak with so much caution and reserve, as of futurity. In reference to the spirit of inquiry which it was alleged was excited among the Burmans, it was asked, about the year 1832, "What means this excitement, *pervading, as it were, a whole nation*, if it be not a *clear indication* that, in the language of Mr Judson, '*the great renovation of Burmah is drawing near?*'"

"His Majesty," writes Mr Judson, "has banished me from Prome, where I was spending a few months, and has forbidden my advancing above Rangoon. He has levelled our brick house at Ava to the ground; but on the subject of tracts, the government appears to be quite indifferent. If there should be no government prohibition, and we could be furnished with the means of throwing in an incessant flood of tracts *for three years*, I should hope, from what I know of the habits of the people, that *Budhism would be shaken to its base.* The Burmans are a reading people beyond almost any other eastern nation; probably nine-tenths of the male population throughout the country can read. They are also a careful, deliberate people, who turn a thing over many times before they take it. They are not disposed to give much credit to the words of a missionary; but when a tract is put into their hands, they wrap it up carefully, deposit it in a fold of their waistcoat or turban, carry it home to their village, however distant, and when a leisure evening occurs, the family-lamp is produced, the man, his wife, and relations gather round, and the contents of the new writing receive a full discussion."

We have felt much difficulty in forming an estimate of such statements, and of the character of the effects referred to. We see no reason, however, for supposing that there was in all this any special work of the Spirit of God. That there were individuals who were the subject of his hallowed influences, we do not doubt; but that there was a general awakening of the people to attend to the great concerns of religion, appears to us very improbable; and this supposition is confirmed by the fact, that among the Burmans at least (whatever there might be among the Karens), there was comparatively little fruit of the spirit of inquiry, which is so often and so much spoken of. Perhaps, indeed, the whole may be partly explained by the facts, that the population of Burmah are said to be generally taught to read; that their books, being in manuscript, must have been comparatively rare and somewhat expensive; that printed books were a perfect novelty to them; that it was a singular thing to have books of any kind given away gratuitously among them;

"Our tracts are *pervading the whole country* from the frontiers of China to the banks of the Ganges, and from the borders of Cassay to the most southern village of British Pegu."—*Miss. Reg.* 1833, p. 36. Who but must see that this was a highly-coloured picture!

The Board in America was not less sanguine in its expectations. In 1832, a committee, to which the consideration of the Burman mission was referred, reported that, "in their opinion, the whole history of missions has recorded but very few opportunities for disseminating the gospel of Christ, so inviting as that which is now presented in Burmah." "Within a few years, the people have manifested a spirit of inquiry on the subject of religion, to which *scarcely any parallel is to be found in the history of pagan nations;* and, besides all this, the Holy Spirit has been poured out, and conversions in greater numbers, and under more interesting circumstances than common, have attended the preaching of the gospel at all the stations."

The Board itself, referring to the measures which it had adopted for increasing the printing establishment, says, "From the above *facts*, it appears that *we are rapidly approaching* a consummation long desired by the friends of Burmah. The power which the press is capable of wielding over the millions of that country, is no longer doubtful. The people *will* read when the truth is put into their hands. The spirit of inquiry increases as the means which are to awaken it are multiplied."

"From such an accession of strength as is now promised, the best results may be anticipated. *The thousands who ask for light*, from Yeh, Mergui, Tavoy, and the entire kingdoms of Burmah and Siam, *will receive it.*" The sacred Scriptures, so long desired in Burmah, will be sent forth. The power of issuing new translations of the Word, as in the Taling (Peguan), and other languages, will be possessed, and *we may hope in a few years, those vast regions of darkness will be filled with the knowledge and glory of God.*"—*Proceedings of the Bapt. Gen. Convention*, 1832, pp. 20, 31.

In the Report of the Board for 1834, p. 4, we have still more glowing anticipations of "the day of Burmah's renovation being at hand," but the passage is too long for us to extract. What a commentary on these representations is the present state of Burmah!

and hence might arise the readiness and even eagerness with which they received them, and perhaps, in the first instance, read them; and the effect of the whole might be increased, at least for a time, by the circumstance that it was strangers and foreigners who attacked their religion, and brought so many new and strange things to their ears. Missionaries and the friends of missions, we think, often attach far too much importance to slender circumstances as indicative of an interest on the part of the people among whom they labour, in the truths of the gospel, and even of the working of the Holy Spirit on their minds, which the result afterward shews, and which a little reflection at the time might have shewn, were the operation of mere natural causes, and admitted of a very simple explanation.[1]

In 1852, the following were stated to be the numbers of the baptized connected with the Burman mission:—

Maulmain, Burman	181
Do. Karen	1750 (?)
Carry forward . . .	1931

The views we have expressed, particularly in reference to tracts, are confirmed and further illustrated by the Rev. Mr Malcolm, who visited, as the Representative of the Board, its various missionary stations in Burmah in 1836.

"It has been inferred," says he, "that a general spirit of inquiry has been excited throughout the empire. Alas! the very contrary is the fact. In general, tracts are received more cordially at first than ever afterwards; and often, on visiting a village a second or third time, few will accept of a tract at all."—*Malcolm's Travels*, vol. i. p. 123.

In giving an account of his voyage up the Irrawaddy to Ava, he says:—"We follow the remote windings of the river to avoid the powerful current of the main stream, and thus find many villages where no White face was ever seen. As no missionary has gone up the river to give tracts in the rainy season, there is little doubt that many of these people now for the first time receive the knowledge of the true religion. On the great river we often find persons who have had tracts, and now utterly refuse them. But in these by-ways all receive them with gladness."—*Ibid.* vol. i. p. 93.

"On the way up, we visited and distributed tracts in eighty-two cities, towns, and villages. In general the tracts were received with the utmost avidity, and those who got one would often clamour for another. Scores waded or swam to the boat after them; and often we were so thronged with applicants, when moored to the shore, that we could scarcely eat or sleep. But this fact is far from proving a general desire among the people for the knowledge of the true religion. A tract is in every respect a curiosity. They have never seen such *paper*,—their own books being made of palm-leaf, or black pasteboard, which is written upon with a steatite pencil. The *printing* is a great curiosity. The *shape of the book* is a curiosity. Besides, it is *property*, and no Burman will refuse a gift without a strong reason."—*Ibid.* vol. i. p. 105.

Brought forward . . .	1931
Tavoy, Karen	1000 (?)
Arracan, Burman	59
Sandoway, Karen	5000 (?)
Ava	27
	8017[1]

SECT. II.—NORTH AMERICA.

The Baptist Board for Foreign Missions established numerous stations among the North American Indians; but as they resemble in many respects other missions among the Indians, of which we have already given an account, we shall not enter into particular details regarding them.

For many years the efforts of the Board for the evangelization and civilization of the Indians seemed of little avail; and many began to question the wisdom of expending large sums annually on what seemed the vain attempt to elevate the character and ameliorate the condition of this degraded and miserable portion of the human family. Many of the stations were originally in the country to the east of the Mississippi; but the great body of the various tribes of Indians having after some years been removed by the American government to a tract of country west of that river, the Board not only followed them, but extended its operations among them. Schools were opened at most of the stations; at that among the Shawanoes a press was also established, and books in several of the Indian languages, including translations of portions of the Holy Scriptures, were printed; a considerable number, chiefly among the Cherokees, were, it is hoped, brought under the influence of religion, and were baptized; several were even ordained as preachers, and laboured as missionaries among their countrymen. The Indians at some of the stations were greatly improved in their character and condition, and made considerable progress in agriculture and other useful arts.[2]

In 1852, the following were the numbers of the baptized connected with the missions among the Indians:—

[1] Wayland's Memoir of the Rev. A. Judson, vol. ii. p. 419.
[2] Reports Bapt. Board For. Missions, *passim*.

Ojibwas	22
Ottawas	25 (?)
Shawanoes	107
Cherokees	1225 (?)
	1379 [1]

Besides establishing missions in Burmah and among the North American Indians, the Baptist Board sent missionaries to Hayti, to Greece, to Liberia on the coast of Africa, to India, to Assam, to Siam, and to China; but as they also furnish few details materially different from those we have given in our accounts of other missions, we must content ourselves with this general enumeration of them.[2]

[1] Wayland's Memoir of the Rev. A. Judson, vol. ii. p. 419.
[2] Reports Bapt. Board For. Missions, *passim*.

LIBRARY OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

CHAPTER XXIV.

PROPAGATION OF CHRISTIANITY BY THE AMERICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

In April 1819, the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States was organized. The Methodist Church in America consisted of a number of annual conferences, under a general conference, which met every four years. It appears to have been chiefly through these district conferences that the various missions of the Methodists were carried on. Their first and chief efforts, as regards the Heathen, were directed to the Indian tribes of North America; but they also sent missionaries to Liberia, on the Western coast of Africa, and to China.

Many of the Indians, among whom missionary stations were established, were compelled by the government of the United States to remove west of the Mississippi; but the missions were still continued among them. In 1851 the number of Indians of various tribes who were members of the Methodist Church, amounted to about 5200.[1] Many of them, particularly at some of the stations, made considerable advances in agriculture and other arts of civilized life. Several of them even laboured as missionaries among their countrymen.

Besides establishing missions among the Indians, the Methodists laboured, with much success, among the Black and Coloured people of the United States, particularly among the slave population of the Southern States. In 1843 there were 128,410 Black and Coloured people, members of the Methodist Church in the United States, and it is probable the number has since that time greatly increased.

[1] Miss. Her. vol. xlviii. p. 128.

CHAPTER XXV.

PROPAGATION OF CHRISTIANITY BY THE BOARD OF MISSIONS OF THE AMERICAN EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

In 1820 was established "The Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America;"[1] but several years elapsed before it undertook any foreign mission.

In October 1830, the Rev. J. J. Robertson and J. H. Hill, with Mr Bingham, a printer, sailed from Boston, with the view of commencing a mission in Greece; and, on arriving in that country, they took up their residence in Athens; for, though that city had been entirely destroyed in the late war of the Revolution, yet, from its central situation in regard to the whole Greek population, its facilities of communication with them, and its salubrity, it promised to be a very eligible missionary station. "The whole city," the missionaries wrote, "is one heap of ruins, and the Greeks, who have returned to claim their former possessions, are dwelling in wretched hovels, hastily put together: they already amount to upwards of 6000. Hardly half a dozen of houses were spared in the general destruction of the city, and not so many have yet been rebuilt. It is, indeed, a heart-rending spectacle to walk through the streets, half choked up with ruins, and view the desolation which presents itself on every side, or to look down from the summit of the Parthenon on the entire scene of destruction below. Yet, desolate as it is, Athens is not without its attractions. Nowhere does nature present itself arrayed in

[1] Miss. Her. vol. xxxii. p. 74.

In 1835 the organization of the society was altered, and the new body, to which was committed the management of the missions, was named, "The Board of Missions of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America."

greater charms. Mountain and plain, wood and water, diversify the prospect. The extensive and beautiful olive grove, of which a large part yet remains, is everywhere filled with rich and fertile gardens, and a fine transparent atmosphere, almost constantly purified by cooling breezes, renders the situation one of the healthiest in Greece. We feel the mercy of our heavenly Father in bringing us to so goodly a land."[1]

The principle on which the mission was established was that which was so generally adopted in relation to the Eastern Churches, of not attempting to make proselytes, or to withdraw the people from their own Church, and to form them into a new church, but of spreading Scriptural truth among them, without, however, interfering with the ecclesiastical authorities, in the expectation that this would lead eventually to the reformation of the Church by the Greeks themselves.[2]

The missionaries commenced their operations by establishing two schools, one for boys, the other for girls. They found among the Greeks an anxious thirst for education; and there seemed to prevail an enthusiastic feeling in favour of Americans, as having taken such a deep interest in the cause of the liberty and independence of Greece. A Greek of distinction, on visiting the girls' school, after attentively surveying it for some time in silence, addressed Mrs Hill in these emphatic words:—"Lady, you are erecting in Athens a monument more enduring and more noble than yonder temple," pointing to the Parthenon. An infant school was also opened, and was particularly interesting. The natural vivacity of the Greek character fell in admirably with the varied machinery of the infant school system. Hence, the progress of the little scholars was rapid, and truly surprising.[3]

The missionaries subsequently established other kinds of schools, among which were a high school for boys who had passed through an elementary course, for the purpose of carrying them on in the higher branches of Christian and scientific education, and a school for training female teachers. There was also a domestic or boarding institution, under the care of Mr and Mrs Hill, which excited great interest, even beyond the borders of Greece. The

[1] Miss. Her. vol. xxvi. p. 361.—Miss. Reg. 1832, p. 258.
[2] Miss. Reg. 1832, p. 260.—Miss. Her. vol. xxvii. p. 390.
[3] Miss. Reg. 1832. p. 259.—Ibid. 1833, p. 26.

government maintained in it, for several years, twelve female pupils, who were preparing to become government teachers in various parts of the country; and applications came from wealthy Greeks in Moldavia, Constantinople, and Asia Minor, to have their daughters received into it, they of course paying for their education and board. The whole number of pupils in the various schools was very considerable; and it is not unworthy of remark that more than one-half of them were girls.[1]

The printing-press was originally set up at Athens; but it was early removed to the island of Syra, where were printed not only small tracts, but some important religious works in modern Greek, as Archbishop Newcombe's *Harmony of the Gospels*, Horne *On the Inspiration of the Scriptures*, and Robinson's *Scripture Characters*. A female school was also established in Syra, which was numerously attended; but after a few years the mission press was given up, as the printing which was required could be executed at less expense at the presses established by the Greeks themselves, and the station was relinquished.[2]

In March 1837, a station was begun in the island of Crete. A school was established, which was also numerously attended, and copies of the Scriptures and other books were put into circulation. For such labours there appears to have been great need. When this station was begun, it is stated, there was nothing deserving the name of a school in the island; and in the chief town, a complete copy of the Holy Scriptures was not to be found. After a few years, however, the station in Crete was also given up.[3]

In April 1839, the Rev. Dr Robertson removed to Constantinople with a special view to the Greeks; but the object of the mission was afterwards extended to the other eastern churches. The Rev. Horatio Southgate, who had, under the auspices of the American Episcopal Board of Missions, made a tour through Armenia, Kurdistan, Mesopotamia, and Persia, with the view of investigating the state of Mahommedanism and Christianity in these countries, and who was afterwards sent to Constantinople, having been consecrated in America, "Missionary Bishop of the Pro-

[1] Miss. Reg. 1835, p. 75.—Ibid. 1838, p. 99.—For. Miss. Chron. vol. vi. p. 37; vol. vii. p. 40; vol. x. p. 4.

[2] Miss. Reg. 1832, p. 259.—Ibid. 1835, p. 76.—Ibid. 1839, p. 95.—For. Miss. Chron. vol. vii. p. 41; vol. viii. p. 39.

[3] Miss. Reg. 1839, p. 96.—Ibid. 1842, p. 123.—Ibid. 1844, p. 114.

testant Episcopal Church of the United States in the dominions and dependencies of the Sultan of Turkey." The measures which the new-made bishop proposed adopting, for accomplishing the objects which he had in view, were chiefly the following :—The translation and circulation of the Scriptures in the modern languages of the eastern Christians, and the co-operation of their ecclesiastics in the circulation of them; the circulation of the Book of Common Prayer in these languages, into most of which it had recently been translated; the translation of their own ancient liturgies, and of some of their best ancient writers, into their modern languages; the publication of other doctrinal and religious works in these languages; the raising up in their churches of a native agency to carry on, perpetuate, and consummate the work. In this he hoped to obtain the co-operation of their clergy, and with their countenance, and the support of the Church at home, it was his design to commence training young men, carefully selected, and giving good promise of a religious as well as intellectual character, in the expectation of being in time instrumental in preparing candidates for the ministry, who might prove faithful, holy, well-furnished men. He also proposed making the Episcopal Church of the West known to the eastern churches by an Episcopal representation of it at their chief seat in the Mediterranean; and in proposing the circulation of the Book of Common Prayer among them, he had specially in view the making of it known to them in its doctrine, ministry, worship, and usages. Some of these measures were certainly very desirable; others of them were probably about as impracticable as more direct and comprehensive plans for the reformation of the eastern churches.[1]

We have entered more particularly into these details regarding this mission, as being another experiment as to the reformation of the eastern churches, conducted on the principle of diffusing Scriptural truth among them, but avoiding any direct interference with their ecclesiastical orders, worship, rites, and ceremonies, in the expectation of thereby not causing offence, disarming opposition, and leading them to become instruments of their own spiritual reform. As members of an episcopal church, approaching episcopal churches, and seeking in various ways to promote their in-

[1] For. Miss. Chron. vol. viii. p. 39; vol. ix. p. 68.—Miss. Reg. 1844, p. 113.—Ibid. 1846, p. 87.

terests, the missionaries of the Board in Greece might be supposed to have had some prepossessions in their favour, but yet the experiment appears to have in a great measure failed. Though they were at first favourably received by the authorities of the Greek Church, and though they also are said to have carried their principle of accommodation and subserviency to a very unjustifiable length, yet opposition afterwards arose in the several fields which they occupied. The stations in Syra and Crete were given up; and it was even in contemplation to relinquish those in Athens and Constantinople also, and to concentrate their efforts on the Syrian Church. We do not doubt that the schools established by the missionaries were to some extent useful; but the Greek Church, to which their efforts were specially directed, is no nearer the purity and simplicity of Scripture doctrine and worship than it was when, near a quarter of a century ago, they landed in the country. We are not, indeed, without an apprehension that the spirit of the High Episcopal Church party has of late years got into the mission; and if this be the case, the prospect of its usefulness must be less than ever.[1]

Besides the mission in the Mediterranean, the Episcopal Board established stations in North America among different tribes of Indians; in Western Africa at Cape Palmas, and in China at Shanghai.

[1] For. Miss. Chron. vol. xii. p. 4.—Miss. Reg. 1839, p. 96.—Ibid. 1841, p. 92.—Ibid. 1842, p. 127.

We are glad to find that the Board of Missions of the Episcopal Church in the United States have, like the Church Missionary Society in this country, changed their views in regard to the manner of carrying on missions among the eastern churches, after more than twenty years' perseverance in missionary operations on the principle of co-operation with the heads of these churches.—*Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc.* 1853, p. 60.

CHAPTER XXVI.

PROPAGATION OF CHRISTIANITY BY THE BOARD OF FOREIGN MISSIONS OF THE AMERICAN PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH.[1]

SECT. I.—INDIA.

In May 1833, the Rev. John C. Lowrie and William Reed, with their wives, sailed for Calcutta, with a view to missionary operations in Northern India; but the mission, even at its commencement, sustained very heavy bereavements. Mrs Lowrie, who had shewn symptoms of consumption before she embarked, grew worse during the voyage, and died a few weeks after their arrival in Calcutta. Mr Reed, after some time, began also to shew symptoms of consumption; and it being judged advisable that he should return to America, he died at sea about three weeks after he and his wife sailed from Calcutta. Mr Lowrie, who now remained alone, was far from being in good health, yet going on board a native boat, he made his way slowly up the Ganges with no other company than natives; and after a voyage and journey of upwards of three months, he arrived at Lodiana, a place about five miles from the river Sutlege, which then formed the eastern boundary of the Punjab. Here he proposed commencing a missionary station; but he had not been many days in the country when he had a severe attack of liver complaint; and on the arrival of two other

[1] Though we have placed at the head of this chapter the name of "The Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America," yet the first missions did not originate with it. They were begun by the Western Foreign Missionary Society, which was organized by the Synod of Pittsburgh in 1831; and in 1837 they were transferred to "the General Assemby of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America."—*Foreign Missionary Chronicle of the Western Foreign Missionary Society*, vol. i. p. iii.—*Minutes of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church* held at Baltimore, Oct. 31, 1837, p. 6.

missionaries, the Rev. J. Newton and J. Wilson, it was deemed advisable, in consequence of the state of his health, that he should leave India without delay, and return to America.[1]

In 1836, the Rev. J. R. Campbell and J. M'Ewen, and Messrs W. S. Rogers and J. Porter, arrived in India, and they were followed from time to time by other missionaries. The mission was, in the course of a few years, greatly extended, as will appear from the following table of the stations:—

Begun.	Stations.
1836.	Allahabad.
1852.	Futtehpur.
1846.	Agra.
1843.	Mynpuri.
1838.	Futtegurh.
1836.	Saharunpur.
1848.	Amballa.
1834.	Lodiana.
1847.	Jallander.
1849.	Lahore

The missionaries at these various stations employed much the same instrumentality as was usual in other missions, such as the preaching of the gospel, boarding-schools both for boys and girls, week-day schools of various kinds, the printing and circulation of the Scriptures and religious books and tracts. With the view of carrying out some of these objects, they itinerated much through the surrounding country, visiting the principal towns and villages, and attending the *melas* of the Hindus in various places, especially that at Hurdwar, which is attended by vast multitudes of people, many of them from the Punjab, from Afghanistan, from Kashmire, and even from more distant regions. A number of the natives were baptized; some of them were employed as assistants in the mission; and there were two who were ordained to the ministry.[2]

[1] Lowrie's Travels in North India, pp. 9, 19, 58, 61, 114, 115, 117, 178, 204, 211.—Memoir of Mrs Louisa A. Lowrie, pp. 135, 142, 144, 164, 186, 197, 203, 205, 211.—For. Miss. Chron. vol. iii. p. 22.

[2] Lowrie's Travels, pp. 212, 213.—Rep. Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in America, 1853, p. 20.

Among the works printed at the mission press at Allahabad was the Koran, in Hindustani. The translation was made by a learned Mahommedan, and there were added to it an introduction and notes by one of the missionaries. It was hoped that this work would excite considerable interest among the Mahommedans, and would at least discover to the common people the true character of the Koran. It is, however, worthy of notice that the Mahommedans were beginning to employ the press in the defence of their religion. Books having this object in view were printed at Lucknow, at the press of the King of Oude, and were sold to a considerable amount. A native prince at Lucknow expended about 5000 rupees on an edition of the Koran in Arabic, with a Hindustani translation and commentary, which was designed for gratuitous distribution.[1]

In 1852 the number of communicants connected with the various stations was 255.[2]

SECT. II.—CHINA.

In December 1837 the Rev. J. A. Mitchell and R. W. Orr sailed from New York with a view to missionary operations among the Chinese. They were afterwards followed by other missionaries, and stations were in the meanwhile occupied at Singapore, and at Bankok, the capital of Siam, where great numbers of Chinese are settled; but these stations were subsequently relinquished, partly in consequence of the death or the ill health of the missionaries;[3] and when, by the treaty with England, certain ports in China were opened to foreigners, it was resolved to establish the mission in the Celestial Empire itself.[4] The following table exhibits a view of the stations which were occupied:—

[1] For. Miss. Chron. vol. xii. p. 349; vol. xiii. p. 19.

[2] Rep. Board Miss. Presbyterian Church in America, 1853, p. 67.

[3] The mission to Siam was again resumed in 1847.—Rep. Board For. Miss. American Presbyterian Church, 1848, p. 31.

[4] For. Miss. Chron. vol. vi. p. 22; vol. vii. p. 118; vol. viii. p. 127; vol. ix. pp. 90, 218; vol. xi. pp. 44, 54; vol. xiii. p. 22.

Begun.	Stations.
1847.	Canton.
1842.	Amoy.
1844.	Ning-po.
1850.	Shang-hai.

In August 1847, the Rev. Walter M. Lowrie, in returning from Shang-hai to his station at Ning-po, met with death under singular and very distressing circumstances. He had come to Shang-hai near three months before, to attend a meeting of the delegates appointed to revise the Chinese translation of the New Testament, which was expected to occupy them many months; but a messenger had lately come from Ning-po to request him to return thither, with reference to certain occurrences at that station. He accordingly proceeded with two attendants, by the canal to Cha-poo, where they embarked on board one of the regular passage boats for Ning-po. The wind was unfavourable, and they had sailed only about ten or twelve miles in a south-easterly direction, when suddenly a vessel was seen bearing rapidly down upon them. It was a craft like those which belong to Cha-poo, with three masts and eight oars. At the sight of this vessel the boatmen and the Chinese passengers were greatly terrified, and were for turning back; but Mr Lowrie endeavoured to allay their fears. As they drew nearer he took a small American flag which he had with him, and exhibited it at the bow of the boat; but still they came on and fired at it, and on coming alongside, they boarded it. There were about twenty or more of the pirates, and they were armed with jungals, match-locks, spears, and swords. The boatmen and Chinese passengers, through fear, concealed themselves as much as they could; but the pirates thrust at them, beating and maiming them, especially the sailors and others who might be supposed to resist them. They do not appear to have assailed Mr Lowrie, and when they attempted to break open a trunk belonging to him, he took out the key, and gave it to them. They continued their work of plunder, breaking open every thing, and taking out whatever they chose, and even stripping the Chinamen of their clothes. Yet they did not touch anything that was on him; even his watch and the little money

which he had in his pocket they did not take. But before they had finished plundering the boat, they appeared hastily to take a resolution to throw him overboard. Two men seized him, but not being able to effect their purpose, another came, and with his assistance they accomplished their design. He swam about for some time, and was seen to turn several times in the water, as if he would struggle toward the boat; but as one of the pirates stood with a long pole in his hands ready to strike him, should he approach it, he gave up the attempt, and the waves running high, he soon sunk to rise no more. Such was the melancholy end of this excellent young man.

After disabling the boat, cutting its sails, and taking away the helm, &c., the pirates departed, leaving it to the mercy of the winds and waves. As soon as the crew had recovered from their fright, they tried to fit it up and to return to Cha-poo; but not being able to steer it, they ran it in on a low shore. The case was laid before the Chinese authorities, who promised to take measures immediately for apprehending the pirates, but whether they were brought to justice we are not informed.[1]

SECT. III.—WESTERN AFRICA.

In January 1833, the Rev. J. B. Pinney sailed for Liberia, on the coast of Africa, and, after arriving at Monrovia, the chief town of the colony, he visited various parts of the country, with the view of ascertaining suitable places for the settlement of missionaries among the native tribes. He then returned to the United States, and, after a few months, he sailed again to Liberia, accompanied by the Rev. Messrs Laird and Cloud, and Mr J. Temple, a coloured assistant; but four months had scarcely elapsed, when Mr Cloud and Mr and Mrs Laird died within a few days of each other; and soon after their death, Mr Temple withdrew from the mission, and returned to America. Mr Pinney, and Mr Finley, who had come out as a teacher, were, after a few months more, so exhausted by disease, that they also embarked

[1] Memoir of the Rev. Walter M. Lowrie, pp. 434, 438, 456.—Cal. Christ. Observ. vol. xvii. p. 45.

for the United States, and thus the mission was, for the present, in a manner suspended.[1]

In August 1839, the Rev. J. B. Pinney again sailed for the coast of Africa, accompanied by the Rev. O. K. Canfield and Mr J. P. Alward. They were instructed to examine the whole coast from Monrovia to Cape Palmas, to acquire information in regard to the tribes behind the different colonies; and, where it was practicable, to visit their country in person, with the view of discovering, if possible, a station on the high lands in the interior suitable for a mission. The engagement with Mr Pinney contemplated only this exploration, unless it should appear, on trial, that his constitution could now bear the climate of Africa, from which he had formerly suffered so severely. After examining the country, agreeably to their instructions, they all returned to the United States; and Mr Pinney having, on occasion of this visit to Africa, had two attacks of fever, he deemed it to be his duty to give up for the present the idea of further labours in that part of the world; but Messrs Canfield and Alward, after some time, sailed again thither; and they were followed, some months afterwards, by the Rev. R. W. Sawyer; but Mr Alward fell a sacrifice to the insalubrity of the climate, a few weeks after his landing; and Messrs Canfield and Sawyer, each within little more than a twelvemonth of his arrival.

Other missionaries were sent out from time to time, and though they were not without attacks of sickness, yet the mission did not suffer so much from disease and death as in the preceding years. Besides carrying on various labours in Liberia, they formed a station on a small island named Corisco, about forty miles north of the Gaboon, and twenty miles from the mainland.[2]

SECT. IV.—NORTH AMERICA.

The Presbyterian Board also established several stations among the Indians. The following table contains a list of them:—

[1] For. Miss. Chron. vol. i. pp. 49, 95, 120, 277.—Rep. Western For. Miss. Soc. 1835, pp. 11, 13.—Ibid. 1836, p. 9.

[2] Rep. Pres. Board For. Miss. 1840, p. 10.—Ibid. 1841, p. 8.—Ibid. 1842, p. 10. Ibid. 1843, p. 9.—Ibid. 1844, p. 12.—Ibid. 1846, p. 13.—Ibid. 1851, p. 15.—Ibid. 1853, p. 16.

Begun.	Tribes.	Situation.
1833	Weas.	On the Osage River.
1835	Iowas.	On the Missouri River.
1839	Ottawas, Ojibwas.	Grand Traverse Bay, Michigan.
1843	Creeks.	
1846	Choctaws.	
1846	Omahas, Otoes.	West of the Missouri, and north of the Platte Rivers.
1848	Seminoles.	
1850	Chickasaws.	

The mission among the Weas was given up after a few years. The stations among the other tribes were not productive of much fruit. Their progress was much hindered by the want of an adequate number of agents, particularly of lay assistants, to carry on the schools, and the secular departments of the stations, by the frequent illness of the agents, and by the retirement of many of them from the service. The prospects of some of the stations, however, appear to be encouraging. Schools are a chief agency employed in these missions among the Indians.[1]

[1] For. Miss. Chron. vol. i. p. 138; vol. iii. p. 123; vol. vi. p. 345; vol. xi. p. 266; vol. xiii. p. 55.—Rep. Pres. Board For. Miss. 1838, p. 14.—Ibid. 1853, p. 5.

CHAPTER XXVII.

GENERAL STATEMENTS.

HAVING thus given an account of particular missions in various parts of the world, we shall, in this concluding Chapter, make some general statements in reference to India, China, and South Africa, which have been specially distinguished by the number and variety of the missions established in them, and we shall close with some observations of a still more general nature.

SECT. I.—INDIA.

INDIA is commonly considered to be one country; but the fact is, it is no more one country than Europe is one country; nor are the character, institutions, views, and customs of the nations who inhabit it, the same. The Hindus in different parts of India differ widely from each other, just as Christian or Mahommedan nations differ from each other;[1] but, notwithstanding this, missions among them possess many things in common; and, as it is of importance

1. "In reading anything written on India," says the Rev. W. Buyers, "it is always necessary to bear in mind, that India is only a name applied by Europeans to a great many countries, peopled by different nations and races of men, as different from each other in language, habits, and customs, as the various nations inhabiting modern Europe. The natives do not know what we mean by India, unless we inform them. They speak of countries and nations, in which the Hindu religion is professed, only in the same way that we speak of countries and nations professing Christianity. India, as one country, is unknown to them, unless that they have an idea of the lands where their religion prevails, similar to what we have when we speak of Christendom. The Bengali, the Hindustani, the Marathi, and the Tamulian, are as much men of different nations as the English, the French, the Germans, or the Italians.

"Hence much of the confusion of European ideas respecting India. Many who have written about it, have set out on the principle of India being one country, as England is one, whereas it is only one country in the sense that Europe is one. For instance, Mr Ward's book on the Hindus is no more applicable to the great variety of nations inhabiting India, than a description of the people of Yorkshire would apply to all the vari-

to generalize our statements as much as possible, we have, in our account of particular stations, omitted numerous details, which are applicable, if not to all, at least to many, missions in India, with the design of giving a combined view of them in this place.

During near three centuries after the landing of Europeans in India, the Hindus had, for the most part, a very deplorable exhibition of their character and principles. They threw off all restraint, indulged in every kind of vice, and were ready to sacrifice everything to the acquisition of wealth and empire.

ous nations of Europe. Hinduism itself is not one, but many. What is called Hinduism in the Madras country, is very different from that which bears the same name at Benares.

"It is true they are one to a certain extent, that is, as far as abstract speculations are concerned; but the system, as it lives among the people, is composed principally of local usages and traditions, varying in every district. Many of these local customs are set down, in most works on India, as essential principles of Hinduism.

"Some writers who have been in India, will tell you that the Hindus religiously abstain from animal food of every kind, whereas, the truth is, they in general only object to eat beef. It is true some philosophical sects profess to eat nothing which has been possessed of animal life, and with the exception of fish, very little animal food is used by the Bengalis, with whom Europeans are best acquainted; but over the greater part of Upper India, that is, over more than one-half of the country, not only the lower castes, but even the Brahmans, eat freely of mutton, goats' flesh, and game of almost every kind. I have seen large parties of these Hindus, whom many writers describe as never touching flesh of any kind without the utmost abhorrence, dine heartily, and that publicly, on mutton, and even on pork, without any scandal whatever.

"To give a correct description of Hinduism, is, I believe, impossible. It is a huge conglomeration of philosophical speculations, poetical fancies, ancient traditions, morality and immorality, some traces of an original revelation mixed with ten thousand jarring opinions of hundreds of different sects, all jumbled together in confusion, and varied into countless forms by vulgar prejudices and local superstitions. Thus, some of the Hindus believe in the unity of God; others, in an immense number of gods, all existing as separate beings. Many regard their gods as portions of, or emanations from, the Supreme Being, while others think all the gods are merely different forms or names of the all-pervading Deity. Some are pantheists, others are deists, and not a few think gods and men, and, in short, all the universe merely an illusion, while some maintain that the creation only is an illusion, but that God is a real, and the only real existence. The common people, confounding all these speculations, have formed a monstrous jumble of all sorts of absurdities, which neither they nor any other mortal can possibly understand. But perhaps it would be more philosophical to say, that they have scarcely anything that can, strictly speaking, be called a system of opinions at all, but that they blindly follow a number of customs and ceremonies, some local, and some almost universal, originating in speculations and mythological or local traditions, of the origin and purpose of which they are entirely ignorant.

"For the amusement of the mass of the people, a sort of poetical and dramatic system of religion has been invented by priests and poets. This is embodied in poems and popular songs, reciting the exploits of gods and heroes, to whom are attributed all the passions and vices that ever disgraced human nature. Witnessing dramatic exhibitions of these exploits, visiting holy places, and attending to innumerable ceremonies, and giving gifts

Even toward the close of the eighteenth century, there was little of Christianity to be found among the British residents in India. Sceptical principles were generally prevalent; irreligion characterized all classes; everywhere their conduct was calculated to excite powerful prejudices in the minds of the natives against the religion of their country, and to form one main hindrance to its extension among them.[1]

But, in the course of the present century, an important change has taken place among the English in India. The great body of

to Brahmans, form, in short, all the religion of the *canaille*, varied in its features according to the places of their abode, or the tribes and castes to which they belong.

"I have made these remarks to shew the almost insuperable difficulty of forming a correct opinion respecting the people of this country, and the necessity of keeping in mind, that what is written on India should generally be taken as applicable to that part of it where the author resides. Should he, for example, be describing an opinion of the Hindus, he may unconsciously be speaking of some local opinion or superstition, as little believed, in general, in India as in Europe.

"The people of India are so various, they profess systems of religion so different, and are influenced by local customs and prejudices so numerous and opposite, that no man, whose residence has been only in one province, should be taken as an authority respecting them as a whole."—Buyers's *Letters on India, with special reference to the Spread of Christianity*, p. 2.

It may be startling to many to learn, that India was not the cradle of Hinduism. "It is now universally allowed by orientalists," says Dr Wilson of Bombay, "that India, in which the Brahmanical faith is now developed, is not the fatherland of that faith, or rather of that priesthood or lordly tribe by which it has been so long upheld and propagated. The predecessors of the Brahmans, it is admitted by all who have attentively considered their records and traditions, were first associated together in a country exterior to the Indus and the Himalaya range. Sir William Jones, our countryman, who was the first to dig a shaft into the mine of Sanskrit literature, brings them from Iran, or Central Asia, which, not without reason, he holds to be the true centre of population, of knowledge, of languages, and of arts. Adelung brings them from a similar locality; Klaproth, from the Caucasian Mountains; Schlegel, from the borders of the Caspian Sea, and Vans Kennedy, from the plains of the Euphrates. The theories of these distinguished scholars are all plausibly supported, and they all agree in this respect, that they all ascribe a trans-Indian origin to the Brahmans."

Though the Brahmanical faith is now predominant in India, it is not, and never has been, universal in its sway. Budhism, which claims alliance with it in its origin, but which differs greatly from it in its essential principles, was, for several centuries at least, more than its rival. In various parts of India, particularly in the forests and in the mountains, there are still to be found many tribes, the undoubted descendants of the aboriginal inhabitants of the country, prior to the propagation of Brahmanism throughout its borders. Many of these have not yet received the Hindu religion, and many of them, who are ranked among its votaries, have not admitted its doctrines and rites without great concessions being made to their original superstitions and observances.—Wilson's *Evangelization of India*, pp. 261, 274, 283, 290, 297, 301, 304, 308, 316, 320.

[1] The following graphic picture of the state of religion at Madras about the close of the 18th century, was drawn by the Rev. Mr Hough, who was afterwards one of the

them, it is to be feared, are still strangers to true religion; but yet, in all parts of the country, particularly at the Presidencies, there are now to be found men of a Christian character, many of them persons of rank and influence in the community. Even in the army, among the officers as well as among the common soldiers, examples of devoted piety are not unfrequent. Many of these excellent persons manifest a deep interest in the propagation of Christianity in the country, not only contributing with great liberality to missionary and other benevolent objects, but, in some instances, establishing and superintending schools, distributing the Holy Scriptures and religious tracts, and in other ways promoting the cause of religion among the natives. This improved state of religious feeling among the English is, no doubt, to be traced, in a considerable degree, to the labours of the missionaries of various denominations, as well as of the chaplains of

chaplains of the East India Company in that city:—"The state of European society at that presidency," says he, "had for some time been waning to the lowest ebb of morals and religion. The Lord's Day was so disregarded, that few persons ever thought of attending church. It was a rare occurrence about this time, and for a few years after, for more than one lady or two to be seen there, or any gentleman whose official situation did not require his presence. The only exceptions were Christmas or Easter days, when it was customary for most persons to go to church, and on these occasions the natives used to crowd into the fort to see the unusual sight. They looked on these festivals as the gentlemen's pujas, somewhat like their own annual feasts, and this thronging to church created quite a sensation throughout the settlement. Every other Sabbath in the year was set apart as the great day of general amusement and dissipation. The most favourite diversion was billiards, at which many persons were accustomed to spend the whole day. Tennis also was a common game; and a pack of hounds was at one time kept at the Mount, with which parties frequently went out on this hallowed day to hunt jackals. In a word, the European society of India generally, high and low, was like the nation of Israel when without a king,—'Every man did that which was right in his own eyes.'

"These immoralities at length became so notorious, that the Court of Directors remonstrated, especially against the shameful profanation of the Lord's Day; for they evidently began to be apprehensive for the honour of Great Britain and the security of their eastern empire."—Hough's *History of Christianity in India*, vol. iv. p. 136.

The state of things in Calcutta, Bombay, and other parts of India, does not appear to have been much better.—*Calcutta Review*, March 1847, p. 170.—Hough's *Hist.* vol. iv. pp. 71, 222, 337, 488, 490, 497.

There were not even wanting instances of Englishmen embracing the Hindu religion, so far as it was possible for one of another nation to become a Hindu. Colonel Stewart, who received the sobriquet of Hindu Stewart, resided at Berhampur, where he worshipped idols and the Ganges; he built a temple at Sagur, and on his return to Europe, took idols with him to perform puja.

Warren Hastings, the well-known governor of India, it is stated, shewed so little regard to Christianity, that he sent an embassy to the Grand Lama to congratulate him on his incarnation.—Long's *Hand-Book of Bengal Missions*, p. 14.

the East India Company, some of whom have been truly pious and devoted men. While, therefore, it has been, to some extent, the fruit of missionary labour, it has had, and may be expected still to have, a very important bearing on the propagation of Christianity in India, not only as furnishing the means and increasing the agency for spreading it among the natives, but as exhibiting before them living examples of the power and excellence of true religion.[1]

While a material and salutary change has taken place among the English residents in India, a still greater and more radical change is going on among the Hindus themselves. There are many causes at work which are silently yet powerfully undermining the system of Hinduism, and changing the views and feelings of its votaries. This the friends of religion are apt to attribute much too exclusively to the labours of missionaries. These are, no doubt, one important agency of the changes which are going on in India; but there are also other causes which are in constant operation, and which are increasing in power from year to year. War, conquest, politics, commerce, European science and literature; the printing-press, with its books and newspapers; many of the acts of the Government, changing laws and institutions, manners and customs, which had come down to them from time immemorial, as the abolition of Suti and the prohibition of infanticide; even the presence of Europeans in all parts of the country, to whom they are accustomed to look up as their masters, with opinions, manners, and usages so different from their own, are all contributing, in a greater or less degree, to weaken the power and influence of Hinduism, to rouse them from their mental torpidity, and to introduce among them new ideas and new modes of thinking on all manner of subjects. This is particularly the case at the Presidencies, and especially in Calcutta. The dogma of the immutability of Hindu opinions, habits, and practices, is now proved to be a fiction, but it would be an error equally great to run into the opposite extreme. The truth, as is often the case, is to be found in the golden mean. Hindu opinions, habits, and practices, are certainly not immutable, but it

[1] Campbell's British India, pp. 168, 170.—Buyers's Letters, p. 201.

is no less certain that they have a wondrous tenacity and durability about them.[1]

It has often been stated of late years, by the friends of missions, that Hinduism is shaking to its foundations, and that its downfal may be expected at no distant period. In such statements we have no faith. The Hindu religion has its foundations deeply laid in the ignorance, superstition, prejudices, and depravity of the people; and it is not possible, perhaps, to point to any religious system which is so wrought into the entire framework of society. It has overpowering numbers on its side, and hosts of subtleties; the overawing *prestige* of immemorial antiquity, and of a divine ancestry; the sanction of mighty kings and revered sages; the class interests of a hereditary, numerous, and powerful priesthood; while the whole fabric is strongly guarded by the institution of caste, which raises barriers next to insuperable by any one thinking to abandon it. It is not from the progress of infidelity among the educated classes; it is not from the occasional manifestations of indifference by the common people; it is not from the conversion to Christianity of some hundreds, or even some thousands, in different parts of the country, that we are entitled to draw conclusions as to the speedy downfal of Hinduism. We suspect that in most countries, Christian, Mahommedan, and Heathen, infidelity and indifference, in regard to the established or prevailing religion, exists to a greater or less extent; that this is probably no new thing in the earth, but that they have always been more or less prevalent among mankind; yet many of these religions have maintained their existence for ages, and some of them are not only still in existence, but are apparently as little near their end as ever. How would we smile if a Hindu traveller should, on returning to India, after a visit to England, tell his countrymen that he witnessed so much infidelity, and so much indifference to Christianity, such utter disregard of its distinguishing institutions, and such open and general violation of its most holy laws, that it was plain its foundations were undermined, and its downfal was at hand! Yet we doubt not it would be easy to muster more signs of the speedy downfal of Christianity (or shall

[1] Clarkson's India and the Gospel, p. 277.—Lowrie's Travels in North India, p. 229. —Calcutta Review, vol. iii. p. 257.

we say Protestantism?) in England, than of Hinduism in India. There is a vitality in religion, whether true or false, which is not usually soon destroyed; and even when it has received what was thought to be "a deadly wound," it often revives again, and recovers even more than its former strength.[1]

Among the means employed for evangelizing the heathen world, the preaching of the gospel has justly been held as holding the primary place; but here we are met by an important preliminary question, In what does the preaching or proclamation of the gospel consist? We are too apt to form our ideas on this subject from the practice or method which prevails in modern times in our own and other countries; but no one can compare the sermons and other discourses of our preachers with those of Christ and his apostles, without perceiving a wide and essential difference between them. The kind of preaching which is common in Christian countries, Mr Weitbrecht, one of the Church missionaries, says, would scarcely be understood, and would not be relished by a Hindu, whose habits of thinking and reasoning are so very different from ours. When discussing religious subjects, he employs comparisons and metaphors, and draws from the material objects around him illustrations and arguments in support of the positions which he seeks to maintain. The arguments and objections of Hindus often, in fact, consist of mere figures of speech, a simile, for example, or an analogy, which they mistake for reasoning, or at least employ as a substitute for it. Now, the missionary must learn from the Brahmans the style of speaking and reasoning which will be most intelligible and most convincing to his hearers. We do not mean that he should run away with mere figures of speech, giving forth sound instead of sense, but that he should study to clothe his ideas in figurative language, as being that which is best calculated for reaching the understanding, and for impressing the heart of his hearers. Materials for imagery, to illustrate religious subjects, need never be wanting, in a

[1] Rep. Board For. Miss. 1845, p. 131.—Miss. Rec. Free Church, vol. ii. p. 336.

In further proof of the fallacy of the statements which are often put forth as to the speedy fall of Hinduism, we may refer to the remarks of the "Friend of India," quoted in (Amer.) Miss. Her. vol. xxiii. p. 216; of Dr Scudder, of Madras, ibid. vol. xxxiv. p. 202; of Mr Allen of Bombay, ibid. vol. xlvi. p. 22, both American missionaries; and of Mr Anderson, Church of Scotland missionary, Calcutta.—*Miss. Rec. Ch. of Scot.* vol. vi. p. 228.

country where nature exhibits, on such a magnificent scale, so many wonders; where the mountains are seen raising their lofty heads among the clouds; where the rivers roll down their majestic streams to the ocean; where the animal kingdom displays so much variety and beauty; and the vegetable shews at one time the drought and aridity of the desert, and at another the freshness and luxuriance of Eden; where everything, in short, unites in exciting the imagination and gratifying the taste. It is worthy of remark, that the Parables of our Lord are the most perfect pattern of preaching to the inhabitants of eastern countries. Those of the Sower, of the Prodigal Son, and of the Ten Virgins, will be understood by every Hindu.[1] It must, however, be recollected, that our Lord did not always speak in parables. Much of his instruction was conveyed without a figure, in plain and simple language.

Missionaries will not, indeed, always find it practicable, nor even advisable, to restrict themselves to the simple exhibition of the truth. When error has taken possession of men's minds, it is necessary to attack it, to expose it, to shew the fallacy of the grounds on which it rests, and to point out the evil and danger of it. Some missionaries deprecate this, under the idea, that if they make known to their hearers the truths of the gospel, these will, by a natural process, discover to them the errors of their own religious system, and lead them to renounce them. "Let the sun arise," they say, "and the darkness will flee apace: let the light of Christianity shine forth, and the evils of Hinduism will, without further effort, vanish away."[2] But it should be recollected, that what takes place in the physical world does not always hold in the moral world. This, in fact, is just an example of the fallacious arguments from analogy, which the Hindus are so much in the habit of employing. Truth and error are reciprocally repulsive of each other. Truth, if it gets into the mind, may repel error; but error, being already in possession of the mind, has a great advantage in repelling truth, and preventing it from even obtaining an entrance into it, a circumstance which shews the necessity of destroying error considered simply as an antagonist of truth. Many of the errors of heathens are

[1] Weitbrecht's Protestant Missions in Bengal, pp. 180, 181.
[2] Calcutta Christ. Obs. vol. iii. p. 334.

"refuges of lies," to which they betake themselves, as a solace to their guilty consciences; and while they have these to go to, they will never think of having recourse to Christ as their Saviour. Besides, important truths may be received, and yet not root all error out of the mind. In the understanding and the heart of man, much error may dwell with important truth, and may exercise a very injurious influence on his character and conduct; and if not early corrected, may be handed down to generations yet unborn. A Hindu may be converted to Christianity, and yet retain, and mix up with it, many of the views and feelings of Hinduism; and nothing short of a plain and full exposure of their falsehood, and evil, and danger, is likely to be effectual in rooting them out. It is worthy of notice that Christ and his apostles did not confine themselves in their preaching to the simple exhibition of truth; they also exposed, in the plainest and most explicit manner, the errors of their hearers; and they were no less faithful in reproving them for their sins.[1]

To a stranger, the attention of the Hindus, in hearing the Word of God, often appears very pleasing. This, however, does not in general arise from any impression of the importance of the subject, but merely from a kind of indolence and mental vacancy, which disposes them to listen to anything that will pass away an idle hour; and the approbation which they frequently express of the doctrines of the gospel, does not proceed from any serious conviction of the falsehood and folly of Hinduism, or of the truth and excellence of Christianity, but merely from that spirit of obsequiousness and flattery which they so commonly display in their intercourse with Europeans. Some, probably, are convinced in their own minds of the absurdity of idolatry; but from the natural imbecility of the Hindu character, they make only feeble and transient efforts to break the fetters with which they are bound. The natives, in most parts of the country, are ready to listen to the preaching of the gospel, especially in places where missionaries have not been long established, or which are only occasionally visited by them, particularly in their tours. But in places where they have been long settled, or are well known, many manifest perfect apathy and indifference to the glad tidings of

[1] See Matth. v. 21-48; vi. 5-16; xi. 16-24; xii. 1-8, 22-28; xxii. 23-32; xxiii. 1-33.—Acts xiv. 11-18; xix. 26-28; xxviii. 23-28.

Divine mercy. The novelty is gone, and all the interest which that for a time produced, has passed away too.[1]

"In preaching, missionaries often meet with interruptions from their hearers. Questions are asked by them; objections are started; discussions and disputes perhaps ensue. Nothing is more astonishing than the singular readiness with which the meanest Hindu will express his ideas, when questioning the truth of a missionary's statements. Men in the lowest walks of life will express their thoughts, not only readily, but often vehemently and energetically, without being at a loss for a word, though great crowds are listening, to speak before whom many an Englishman would feel perplexed and confounded, so different are their mental constitution and habits from those of the Saxon race.

In labouring among the Hindus, meekness and patience are qualities of great importance, and missionaries would do well to cultivate these graces, especially as it is alleged that in India persons are exceedingly apt, perhaps from the exciting nature of the climate, to become irritable in their tempers. Of this the subtle Hindu disputant is ever ready to take advantage. He is eager to provoke the preacher, and does his utmost to ruffle his temper. Should he succeed, he triumphs in the deed, salams the sahib, and advises him to overcome his own passions, before he presumes to lecture other people about their sins.[2]

Nor must we suppose that missionaries have always the best of the argument. From the accounts which we have of the discussions in which they are engaged with the Brahmans and others of their hearers, one would imagine that this was the case; but we greatly doubt whether it is so. If we had accounts of the same discussions by their opponents, it is likely they also would be found to claim the victory; and many stories are probably current among the Hindus how on this and the other occasion they confounded the missionaries. Nor are we to conclude that such representations are always without foundation. It is not enough that in controversy a man has truth on his side; he must also possess the knowledge, and wisdom, and skill, and, in extempore discussion, the readiness of conception and the command of language, which are necessary for vindicating it in

[1] (Bapt.) Miss. Her. 1819, p. 3. [2] Miss. Reg. p. 333.

argument, and for repelling objections to it. Many of the Brahmans are distinguished by their shrewdness and acuteness, and by their skill in dialectics. The arguments and objections which they bring forward must often be perfectly new to a missionary, and it need excite no wonder if he should be puzzled to answer them on the spur of the moment, and should often escape from them without making any satisfactory reply. In fact, many missionaries are probably not qualified by their talents, their knowledge, or their logical skill, to meet the Brahmans in argument, and hence the cause of truth may not unfrequently suffer in their hands.[1]

Missionaries found extreme difficulty in appreciating the character and professions of the Hindus. It required years of residence among them before one could become aware of the artifices and impositions they were capable of practising. Even those who professed to be inquirers were often idle wanderers, or persons who had quarrelled with their friends, or who had met with some worldly misfortune, and who, after staying perhaps a day or two, went away without informing the missionaries. Others were deceivers, who would carry on a system of duplicity and hypocrisy for months together, and all merely to gain some paltry end. "The native character," says Mr Deer, one of the Church missionaries in Burdwan, "is so difficult to be ascertained, that we are afraid to mention even most promising appearances. I have had people about me who would often lay their faces in the dust while praying with me, and would shew regard to all works of piety, and yet, after all, it was mere imposture. However sagacious a missionary may be, he can seldom ever get to the bottom of the native character. It is experience alone which will enable any one to give a just view of the circumstances of this country." Mahommedans are not so strongly characterized by dissimulation as the Hindus, yet they are by no means free from the charge of deceitfulness.[2]

Hence the necessity of missionaries being men who will exercise discrimination and caution in judging of the professions

[1] A statement confirmatory of some of the preceding views, by Mr Scudder of Arcot, may be found in *Miss. Her.* vol. xliv. p. 257.

[2] Miss. Reg. 1828, pp. 456, 502, 504.—Ibid. 1829, p. 191.—Ibid. 1830, p. 456.—Ibid. 1832, p. 486.—Miss. Chron. Amer. Presbyterian Ch. vol. x. p. 383.

of the natives, and especially in receiving them into the Church; and yet, notwithstanding all their care, they will not unfrequently be deceived. "Many," says Mr Menge, of the Church mission at Gorruckpur, "have been the disappointments we have had to experience in our work. Some of those who have been looked on by many as sincere followers of the Lord, have turned out to be reckless characters; and their bad examples, and the injurious influence which they have exercised upon those around them will, I fear, be felt for some time to come. Indeed, I think too much care cannot be taken in regard to individuals who present themselves as candidates for baptism, as the introduction of unworthy characters into the visible Church of Christ is one of the greatest hindrances to the spread of the gospel."[1]

The circulation of the Holy Scriptures and of religious tracts was carried on by the missionaries to a large extent; and it often appeared interesting to witness the eagerness with which the natives sought after them. With a special view to an extensive distribution of them, they often travelled to the Hindu melas, or fairs, which are usually attended by great multitudes of people, many of them from distant parts of the country, and on these occasions they were often unable to satisfy their demands for them; sometimes the crowds would be almost fighting for them. But the eagerness of the natives to obtain books was more encouraging in appearance than in reality. Let books, or anything else, be given away gratuitously, and there will always be multitudes eager to obtain them. Comparatively few of the natives are able to read, and many must have got them who could not understand a word of them. Some, it is probable, were eager to obtain them, without knowing what they were, or merely because others sought them. Others sought them as pieces of property, either to retain or to dispose of as ornaments or articles of curiosity, or as a means of acquiring religious merit, either by reading their wonder-working words, or worshipping their substance as divine. Some were used or sold as pasteboard or waste paper; others were destroyed; sometimes they were torn in pieces even before the eyes of the distributors. In places where missionaries were well known, some would return

[1] Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. 1845, p. 65.

the books which they had received, saying, "These books are of no use to us." One would say, I want the Ramayuna, or the Gita; another would ask for the Bostan or the Girlutan, and a third for Vishnu's Thousand Names, while the Mahommedans would say, All the former Scriptures were abrogated by the Koran, which is now the only rule of our conduct. But some also, it may be hoped, sought for books with the view of obtaining information about Christianity, as to which their curiosity or interest may, in some way or other, have been excited. It appears now to be acknowledged that there was often a much too profuse and indiscriminate distribution of the Scriptures and tracts. Much expense was incurred in this way, very unnecessarily and fruitlessly. It was therefore proposed in some quarters to put a small price upon them, though, of course, there would still be cases in which gratuitous distribution would be necessary.[1]

The education of the young was also an object to which missionaries directed much of their attention. One or more schools were usually connected with the early missions, even from their commencement; and, after some years, the education of the young became quite a favourite scheme in India. Hundreds of schools were established in connexion with the various missionary stations, and thousands of children were educated in them. The branches taught in them were chiefly reading, writing, and other elementary subjects, together with some knowledge of Christianity. These schools were very popular with the natives; but it was merely for the sake of the temporal advantages which they hoped to derive from them. The friends of missions, on the other hand, were sanguine in their expectations that many of the children, in consequence of the early instruction which they received, would, as they grew up, abandon idolatry and embrace Christianity. Many even imagined that schools were the only hopeful and practicable system of operation. They seemed to look for everything from the education of the young, and to expect nothing but disappointment from preaching to the adult population.

[1] Orient. Christ. Spect. 1840, pp. 139, 212.—Sum. Orient. Christ. Spect. vol. i. p. 269.—Calcutta Christ. Obser. vol. xvii. pp. 73, 201, 344, 383.—Miss. Reg. 1830, p. 271.—Rep. Board For. Miss. 1848, p. 171.

After these schools had been in operation for a number of years, they were not found to realize the expectations which had been formed of them. It was commonly necessary to employ heathen teachers, as no others could be had; but the missionaries exercised a general superintendence of them, and for this purpose made frequent visits to the schools. Many difficulties, however, were experienced in the conduct of them, through the apathy and unprincipledness of the teachers, and their inveterate attachment to old customs. For the progress of the scholars they cared nothing; their only concern was about their own pay. This was commonly regulated, not merely by the number of children in attendance, but also by the degree of proficiency which they were found to have made, and in order to increase it, the teachers were continually having recourse to one artifice or another for the purpose of imposing on the missionaries. The children, too, were very irregular in their attendance; the frequent festivals and holidays among the Hindus were a great interruption to their education. Besides, they were often taken away while their education was as yet but very imperfect; and the likelihood is that they would soon forget, in a great degree, even what they had learned. It is also worthy of notice, that Hindu boys, when young, are exceedingly quick and forward; in this respect they seem to excel European children of their own age; but after twelve or fourteen years of age, their talents bear no proportion to the docility which they manifested in early life; their sprightliness seems often to turn into stupidity, thus affording a striking illustration of the evil of precocity of intellect. As a means of conversion the schools turned out nearly an entire failure. When school hours were over, the boys, mingling with a heathen population, daily witnessed all manner of superstition and vice; and if they heard Christianity spoken of at all, it was only in the way of derision and contempt, and accordingly they grew up, with scarcely any exceptions, as firm idolaters as their forefathers. In consequence of these and other circumstances, the common schools were greatly reduced in number, and there are now comparatively few of them. Some missionaries gave them up altogether, not thinking them worth the time and money expended upon them, so long as Christian teachers, or, at least,

honest, conscientious men could not be obtained to take charge of them.[1]

In consequence of what were deemed the defects and failure of the week-day schools, the missionaries in many places established boarding-schools, in which the children were entirely separated from the evil influences to which they were exposed in purely native society, and were trained up under their own eye. It was hoped that in this way they would enjoy all the advantages ordinarily connected with being brought up in a Christian family. The boys in these schools were partly orphans, and partly the children of native Christians. The case of the orphans it was found very difficult to deal with in a satisfactory manner. They were generally taught some kind of trade by which to provide an honest livelihood for themselves in after life. Carpet-weaving, tent-making, printing, the manufacture of arrowroot, and other employments were all resorted to; but in many cases they only entailed expense on their projectors, loaded them with anxiety, and failed in the end. The great difficulties, however, with these lads were of a moral kind. Though separated from many external evil influences, the soil of the heart proved most fertile in mischief, and that apparently without a cause. Though some, it was hoped, were converted, many broke through all the restraints and exhortations of their instructors; numbers ran away and became "vagabonds and fugitives on the earth." The number of these boarding-schools was not considerable, as may naturally be supposed, from the expense which they necessarily involved.

There was another class of schools of a much higher order than either of those already mentioned, the English day schools. The special object of these institutions was to give the pupils a thorough scientific and religious education through the medium of the English language, in the hope of thereby destroying the influence of Hinduism over their minds; of imbuing them with a knowledge of the evidences, doctrines, and duties of Christianity, and of bringing them to the faith and love of the Saviour. The Church of Scotland's institution in Calcutta, established by Dr Duff, was the first school of this description, and was the great model on which

[1] Buyers's Letters, p. 122.—(Bapt.) Miss. Her. 1843, p. 57.—Miss. Reg. 1830, pp. 457, 498.—Rep. Miss. Soc. 1838, p. 44.—Evan. Mag. 1834, p. 473.—Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. 1826, p. 77.

others were established in Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, and other parts of India.[1]

The schools established by the missionaries consisted for many years entirely, or almost entirely, of boys. The whole of the Hindu female population were, with very few exceptions, totally uneducated. The Hindu Shastras do not indeed, as is often supposed, forbid the education of females, and there are many examples on record of women distinguished in ancient times for their literary attainments. But there now prevailed among the Hindus, and also among the Mahommedans, a general and utter apathy on the subject, and on the minds of many, strong and obstinate prejudices. They could not see what good education would do their daughters; and there prevailed a superstitious feeling among them, that a girl taught to read and write would soon after marriage become a widow, an event which is regarded by them as nearly the greatest misfortune which can befal a woman. In some of their objections, there was a mixture, or at least an appearance of reason, arising out of the existing state of Hindu society. The only literature of purely native growth consisted of works which it would be exceedingly corrupting for females to read, and one cannot wonder that they should be unwilling to open up to them such sources of corruption by teaching them to read. Besides they thought that a knowledge of letters would facilitate intrigue on the part of females; that it would enable them to carry on secret correspondence with lovers to the ruin of their own virtue, and of the peace and comfort of families. The fact, too, that it was chiefly the Nautch or dancing-girls who were thus accomplished, naturally created in their minds a strong repugnance to the education of their daughters. It might be expedient for these degraded creatures, who were generally a set of prostitutes; but it was not desirable nor even decorous for any female who had the least regard to respectability of character.[2]

In 1820, as we have already mentioned, the first school for Hindu girls, which is known to have existed in Calcutta, and, with only two exceptions, in India, was established in connexion with

[1] Calcutta Christ. Obser. vol. xvii. pp. 335, 414, 417.—Evan. Mag. 1851, p. 433.—Miss. Not. 1852, p. 177.

[2] Second Report on Education in Bengal, by Adam, pp. 64, 66.—Third Report on do. pp. 111, 147.—Orient. Christ. Spect. vol. ix. pp. 130, 136, 139, 151.

the Baptist mission in that city. The example, once set, was quickly followed by other missions in different parts of India. Female education became extremely popular, not only among Europeans in that country, but also in Britain and America. Societies were established, consisting generally of ladies, with a special view to this object. Females were sent to India to superintend the schools, which were considerably multiplied in connexion with the chief missionary stations; and for some years they were considered as promising important and interesting results. But after longer experience much disappointment was felt in regard to them. The number of girls who attended them was for the most part small. The higher and middle class of females never appear in public, and it was chiefly from the lowest ranks that the scholars were drawn. In the class from which they came, there is but little desire of knowledge, and the chief inducement to them to attend were the pice allowed to each scholar. Even those who did come were so irregular in their attendance, that they made little progress; and on returning home after the school hours, they were exposed to all the evil influences which are so powerfully at work among a low and degraded heathen population. Besides, they are married so early that they leave the school before their education is completed, and even before they are so much as able to read; or if any should acquire a knowledge of reading, it is neglected and soon forgotten, as no father or mother-in-law, in whose house a girl may live, would like to see a book in her hands. In consequence of the difficulties and disappointments attending the week-day schools, the number of them was much reduced, and they were deemed by many a very unprofitable sphere of labour. In some missions, however, they are still kept up, and are carried on with considerable energy.

The failure of the week-day schools led, as in the case of those for boys, to the adoption of the more contracted but more useful system of female boarding-schools. Even they, however, were attended with many difficulties and disappointments. On the whole, the attempts to educate the females of India have not been attended with that success which was at one time fondly expected.[1]

[1] Calcutta Christ. Obser. vol. xvii. pp. 374, 379, 417.—Orient. Christ. Spect. 1840, p. 55.—Ibid. 1841, p. 287.—Buyers's Letters, p. 156.—Rep. Bapt. Soc. 1851, p. 7.—Amer. Miss. Her. vol. xlvi. p. 370.

It is gratifying, however, to find that some of the more wealthy natives, both in Calcutta and Bombay, have begun to educate their daughters in private; that the degradation of females, and the propriety of their education, are becoming subjects of discussion, particularly among the educated young men; and that there is a disposition among the natives themselves to establish female schools. These circumstances are not of so much importance, as shewing what the Hindus themselves may be expected to do, as from the indication which they afford of a new state of feeling among them.

The education of the natives has also begun of late years to engage the attention of government. In 1813 the British legislature, in renewing the Company's charter, provided that £10,000 a-year should be set apart "for the revival and promotion of literature, and the encouragement of the learned natives of India, and for the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of the sciences among the inhabitants of the British territories." The subject, however, was regarded at that time in India with so much indifference that no measures were taken to fulfil the intentions of parliament until 1823, when a General Committee of Public Instruction of the Presidency of Fort William was appointed, "for the purpose of ascertaining the state of public education, and of considering, and from time to time submitting to government such measures as it may appear expedient to adopt, with a view to the better instruction of the people, to the introduction among them of useful knowledge, including the arts and sciences of Europe, and to the improvement of their moral character." This committee, which now became the great organ of the government in everything connected with education, directed its chief efforts to the support of colleges and schools, both Hindu and Mahommedan, in Calcutta and some of the other chief cities and towns, with a view to the cultivation of Oriental literature, mixed up as it was with false science, false religion, and false morals. It also took under its patronage the Hindu college in Calcutta, founded a few years before by some of the wealthier natives themselves, for the instruction of their youth in European literature and science. To some of these colleges and schools English classes were attached; but though the English language and European literature were thus not entirely neglected, they were treated as only a secondary

object. The grand efforts of the committee were directed to the promotion of the study of the learned languages, Sanskrit, Arabic, and Persian, and to the cultivation of Oriental literature.[1]

In March 1835, Lord William Bentinck, the governor-general, in council put forth a resolution entirely changing this system, and directing that the funds appropriated to education should henceforth be employed chiefly in imparting to the native population a knowledge of European literature and science through the medium of the English language. In all the new institutions the important principle was established of admitting boys of every caste, without distinction. A different practice prevailed in the older institutions. The Sanskrit colleges were appropriated to Brahmans; the Arabic colleges, with a few exceptions, to Mahommedans; and even at the Hindu college in Calcutta, none but Hindus of good caste were admitted. All this was, no doubt, meant to conciliate the prejudices of the natives, but it could not also fail to cherish them. The opposite practice in the new institutions was attended with no inconvenience. Hindu, Mahommedan, and Christian boys, of every variety of descent, and every shade of colour, might be seen standing side by side in the same class, engaged in the common pursuit of English literature, contending for the same honours, and forced to acknowledge the superior merit of fellow-students of the lowest as well as of the highest castes, circumstances which could scarcely fail to have a salutary influence in breaking down those artificial distinctions which have for ages been the curse of India. In the government colleges and schools a system of neutrality was adopted on the subject of religion;[2] no religious instruction, whether Hindu, Mahommedan, or Christian, was to be given; but geographical, astronomical, and other scientific knowledge communicated in them, was indirectly calculated to undermine the whole fabric of Hindu

[1] Trevelyan on the Education of the People of India, pp. 2, 92.—Application of the Roman Alphabet to the Oriental Languages, pp. 19, 21, 31.—Report of the General Committee of Public Instruction in Bengal for 1835, p. 2.—Free Ch. Rec. vol. ii. p. 2.

[2] The principle of *neutrality* on the subject of religion was not, however, strictly carried out. Christianity was rigidly excluded from the government colleges and schools, but not Hinduism and Mahommedanism. Even school-books, translated from the English into the vernacular languages, were garbled, altered, and corrupted, so as to bring them into correspondence with, and to give countenance to, the Hindu faith. —*Calcutta Christ. Obser.* vol. xi. p. 368.—*Orient. Christ. Spect.* vol. i. pp. 91, 123; vol. ii. pp. 36, 37.

superstition, without, however, providing anything better in its stead. The consequence was, that many of the pupils came out from them, convinced of the folly and falsehood of Hinduism, and sceptical as to religion of any kind. Some were deists, some atheists. The restraints which Hinduism imposed on them as to meats and drinks they broke through with wild exultation. To eat beaf-steaks, and to drink champagne like Englishmen, was their glory. In many cases they indulged in sensuality as mischievous and contemptible as any of the abominations of the popular faith. The hostility to Christianity which large numbers of them manifested was much greater than that of their less instructed countrymen. Among them there was absolutely a detestation of Christianity. Of the educated natives there were, however, not a few of high moral character and fine promise, who appeared to be aiming at a higher good than imitating, or affecting to imitate, the follies and vices of Europeans. Some appeared to be honest inquirers after truth, and some did actually embrace the gospel.[1]

There was one feature in the government colleges and schools which deserves special notice: they were not gratuitous. Under the former system, education was not only gratuitous, but stipends were granted to many of the students for their support; now, the plan was to require fees from the pupils for their educa-

[1] Trevelyan on Education, pp. 13, 19.—Sum. Orient. Christ. Spect. vol. ii. pp. 255, 256, 322.—Ibid. 1852, p. 84.—Free Ch. Miss. Rec. 1851, p. 87.

The following is a list of the text-books read in the Hindu college, Calcutta, and other government colleges :—

Literature.—Richardson's Selections. Shakspeare. Bacon's Advancement of Learning. Bacon's Essays. Bacon's Novum Organum. Milton's Poetical Works. Addison's Essays. Johnson's Rambler and Rasselas. Goldsmith's Essays. Hallam's Literary History of the 15th, 16th, and 17th Centuries. Campbell's Rhetoric. Schlegel's History of Literature.

Mental and Moral Philosophy.—Smith's Moral Sentiments. Abercrombie's Moral and Intellectual Powers. Stewart's Elements of the Philosophy of the Human Mind. Reid's Inquiry. Reid's Intellectual Powers.

History.—Hume's England. Macintosh's England. Gibbon's Rome. Arnold's Rome. Thirlwall's Greece. Robertson's Historical Works. Mill's India. Elphinstone's India. Miller's Philosophy of History. Villiers's Essay on the Literary and other Effects of the Reformation. Tytler's Universal History.

Mathematics.—Peacock's Algebra (part first only). Rymer's Equations. Hall's Differential and Integral Calculations. Wand's Algebraical Geometry. Snowball's Trigonometry. Woodhouse's Trigonometry (modernized). Conics (Whewell's Limits).

Natural Philosophy.—Mrs Somerville's Connexion of the Physical Sciences. Herschell's Preliminary Discourse. Herschell's Astronomy. Brinkley's Astronomy.

tion, instead of paying them for accepting of it. More regular attendance was thus secured; nominal students, who injure the discipline and retard the progress of their fellows, became rare; the institutions were raised in the general estimation, and additional funds were acquired for extending and improving them. It also induced respectable natives to send their children to them, who would not have done so had they been gratuitous, as in that case they would have been considered as charity schools, of which they could not, consistently with their rank in life, avail themselves for the education of their families.[1]

These colleges and English schools were not designed for the education of the masses of the population. Nothing can be more plain than this, that nations cannot be educated through the medium of a foreign language; it is only in their own language that any people can be taught. The object to which these institutions was directed, was the improved education of the higher and middle classes of the population, with the view of communicating to the pupils connected with them a knowledge of, and a taste for, European literature and science, in the expectation that many of them would become qualified for various departments in the public service, and among others, in carrying on an improved system of edu-

Webster's Hydrostatics. Phelps's Optics. Griffin's Pneumatics. Treatise on Mathematical and Physical Geography.

Political Economy.—Smith's Wealth of Nations, with M'Culloch's Notes.

Logic and Grammar.—Mill's Logic. Whateley's Logic. Latham on the English Language.

Vernacular. — Bengali. — Gyanapradip and Annadamangal, and Dewani Hafiz. *Urdu.*—Ikhwanussafa and Intikhabi Souda. *Persian.*—Akhlagi Jalali. *Hindui.*—Prem Sagur and Sabha-bilas. Vernacular Composition and Essay Writing.—Long's *Missions in Bengal*, p. 472.

Most of these valuable works, and the education founded on them, are well calculated to enlarge and invigorate the minds of the pupils. The list may not improbably convey a higher idea of the education given in the government colleges than the reality, as all such lists are apt to do; but yet it is gratifying to find that so many excellent books are put into the hands of a portion of the youth of India.

[1] Trevelyan on Education, pp. 14, 19.—Rep. Com. Pub. Inst. 1835, p. 10.—Ibid. 1838-39, p. 5.

Of late years, the Hindu college in Calcutta contained 500 pupils, who paid about £3000 annually in school fees. — Long's *Hand-Book of Bengal Missions*, p. 472. It would be well if the system of paying school fees and school-books could be introduced into missionary schools. It is a principle which involves great and important advantages. It might not be universally practicable, but yet the attempt might be successful to a considerable extent, particularly in the institutions in which a superior education is given.

cation for the masses of the population, and in providing for their use a vernacular literature, of which the languages of India are almost entirely destitute; and it was hoped in this way the reform would descend from them to the other classes of society. The design of the system was to fill the minds of the liberally-educated portion of the people with the knowledge of Europe, in order that they may interpret it in their own language to their countrymen. With this view, while the pupils were encouraged on the one hand to acquire the various kinds of knowledge which English literature contains, and to form their taste after the best English models, every endeavour was used, on the other, to give them the habit of writing with facility and elegance in their own language, and thus to prepare them for becoming schoolmasters, translators, and authors, none of which functions imperfectly educated persons could be expected to perform in a satisfactory manner. The poor were not less the object of the committee's solicitude than the rich; but it was necessary, in the first instance, to make a selection, and they accordingly selected the upper and middle classes as the earliest objects of their attention, as by educating them first, they would soonest be able to extend similar benefits to the rest of the people. The learning which has thus been introduced into India, though as yet but a little plant, is vigorous and thriving; and we trust it will yet become a large and wide-spreading tree, under whose shade the youth of that country will find shelter, and from which they will gather refreshing fruits, when the barren and withered stump of Sanskrit learning can afford them neither the one nor the other.[1]

[1] Orient. Christ. Spect. 1840, p. 484.—Sum. Orient. Spect. vol ii. p. 256.—Rep. Com. Pub. Instruc. 1835, p. 8.—Ibid. 1838-39, p. 7.—Trevelyan, p. 47.

With the view of ascertaining the state of education in Bengal, the government appointed Mr William Adam to institute an investigation into the number and efficiency of the various descriptions of schools and colleges throughout the country. This he did with great care and minuteness, and from the valuable reports which he drew up on the subject, it appeared that education was in a deplorably low condition in Bengal. In his third report, dated April 1838, he states, that in the city and district of Murshedabad, and certain portions of Birbum, Burdwan, South Behar, and Tirhut, out of an adult population (*i. e.*, of males and females above fourteen years of age) of 354,099, only 21,916 had received any kind or degree of instruction, thus leaving 332,183 wholly uneducated; in other words, the proportion of the total adult population to the numbers educated, was as 100 to 5.51, which leaves 94.49 without any kind of education; while of the school-going population (*i. e.*, of children of both sexes between five and fourteen years of age), amounting to 81,029, only 6,786 were receiving any kind or degree of edu-

Much has also been done of late years, particularly in Calcutta, by the Hindus themselves, to promote native education. They have become particularly desirous to obtain for their children an English education, understanding by that not merely a knowledge of the English language, but of the science and literature of Europe. English schools for native youth now abounded in Calcutta, and were usually conducted by Englishmen. Numbers of them originated with the Hindus themselves, and derived their resources exclusively from them. Some were supported by the fees of the scholars, and others by public subscription or private benevolence.[1]

In 1844, Lord Hardinge, the Governor-General, with the view

cation, thus leaving 74,843 wholly uneducated; in other words, the proportion of children capable of receiving education to the numbers actually receiving it, was as 100 to 7.8, which leaves 92.2 growing up without any kind of instruction. In the latter class were included nearly the whole of the juvenile female population, who, with exceptions so few that they could hardly be estimated, were left without education of any kind.

The proportion of the natives who were educated, was not only very small, but the kind of education which was received in the common indigenous schools was very limited and imperfect. The teachers, for the most part, were very incompetent; the discipline and management of the schools were in general the worst that can well be conceived, or, to speak more correctly, there was an entire want of all regular discipline and management; the knowledge communicated was of comparatively little value, and the children were often removed at an early age, before they had mastered even what was taught.—*First Report of the State of Education in Bengal*, by W. Adam, p. 7. —*Second Report*, pp. 12, 16.—*Third Report*, pp. 2, 22, 40, 110, 117, 163.

How far the state of education in other parts of India may be similar to this, we have no certain information, but it is probable, that if it were investigated with equal care, the result would not be found materially better. We have no faith in the accounts which are often given of the extensive prevalence of education in some countries of the East. When the state of education in any of them comes to be better known, it is commonly found to be far less prevalent than was supposed.

[1] First Rep. on State of Education in Bengal, p. 34.—Trevelyan on Education, p. 81.

"It is a lamentable fact," says the *Friend of India*, writing in 1844, "that, with some few exceptions, our Mussulman subjects have evinced the greatest indifference, if not aversion, to the study of the English language, and to the acquisition of the knowledge embodied in it. While hundreds of Hindus have obtained so complete a mastery of our tongue as to be able to use it with almost as much facility as an Englishman, rarely do we meet a Mahommedan who has acquired even a smattering of it. The Mahommedans have been accustomed for so many centuries to impose their own language on the conquered people of India, that the idea of applying to the language of the new dynasty which has displaced them, carries with it an appearance of degradation; and they have so overweening a conceit for the science taught in their own books, that they treat the most magnificent scientific discoveries of unbelievers with a degree of sovereign contempt.

"We scarcely know by what kind of effort their unjust estimation of this foreign language and the literature it contains, can be counteracted. It is difficult to discover

of affording every encouragement to the natives to avail themselves of the opportunities of education which were held out to them by the government, and by societies, and private individuals, and of enabling the State to profit, as largely as possible, from the measures employed for this end, resolved that, in every practicable case, a preference should be given in the selection of candidates for public employment, to those who had been educated in the institutions thus established, and especially to those who had distinguished themselves by a more than ordinary degree of merit and attainment. He accordingly directed measures to be taken for obtaining returns annually from all educational establishments, whether supported by government or from

what motives can be appealed to, to correct this philological bigotry. We fear that the Mahommedans are destined to stand still in the national career of improvement which has commenced under our dynasty, and to find that the Hindus, hitherto the object of their contempt, have shot ahead of them in all those mental pursuits which give true dignity to man, and which, under our government, will become, in an increasing ratio, a passport to office. It is possible that the dread of being proselyted to the faith of Christians, may contribute to deter the Mahommedans from applying to our language or literature, but the main obstacle is doubtless that sectarian conceit of superiority, and that deep-rooted contempt of everything which is not associated with Mahommedanism, of which the cure is all but hopeless.

"The supple Hindu, on the other hand, seldom allows his prejudices to interfere with his interests. He accommodates himself to the mutation of circumstances. Under the Mahommedan dynasty he applied to Persian, because it was the road to wealth and distinction. Under the British dynasty he has transferred his ardour to the English language, and pursues the study of it with a degree of intensity which could scarcely have been anticipated. There is not a native of the smallest respectability who does not consider an English education as indispensable for his son as the reception of the sacred text from a Guru. Calcutta may, in fact, be considered as one vast English academy. It is impossible to pass through the most plebeian lanes and alleys of the city of Calcutta without meeting with the most unequivocal proofs of the extent to which English has been domesticated within it. In one court-yard, we meet at early dawn with a group of urchins spelling monosyllables; in another, with a lad repeating a demonstration of Euclid; in a third, with a student reading Bacon, Shakspeare, or Milton. One common spirit of ardour and emulation seems to animate the whole mass of native youth in the metropolis. If we go into native society, we find our tongue enjoying the same astonishing predominance. There are hundreds of natives who never speak or write to each other but in English; it is the language alike of the counting-house and the office, and even of the social evening circle. In many families, Bengali is never used but in speaking to wives or servants. We have been assured by many of our native friends that they have acquired the habit of thinking in English, and one Babu maintains that he never dreams but in our tongue. All this is the work of less than twenty years. This marvellous change, however, is confined almost exclusively to the Hindu community in Calcutta, and their enthusiastic devotion to the tongue of their present rulers forms a singular contrast to the haughty disdain with which it is regarded by the great body of the Mahommedans."

other sources, of students who may be fitted for such of the public offices as, with reference to their age, abilities, and other circumstances, they may be deemed qualified to fill. With the view of promoting and encouraging the extension of education among the humbler classes of the people, he also directed that, even in the selection of persons to fill the lowest offices under the government, respect should be had to the relative acquirements of the candidates, and that, in every instance, a man who could read and write should be preferred to one who could not. Among the features of this order, its catholicity was not the least remarkable. Government institutions, and all other institutions, public and private, missionary and anti-missionary, were placed on an equal footing. There were no partialities or preferences in favour of young men trained in government colleges and schools. This was at once enlightened, just, and liberal. The government of Bombay adopted the resolution of Lord Hardinge, so that it was extended to that Presidency also.[1] No measure could probably have been better devised for promoting both English and vernacular education in India.[2]

In April 1850, the Earl of Dalhousie, the Governor-General in council, informed the Committee of Public Instruction, that in future it is to consider its functions as comprising the superintendence of native female education, and that, wherever any disposition is shewn by the natives to establish female schools, it will be its duty to give them all possible encouragement. Schools for the education of girls, in connexion with the various missionary bodies, had been in operation for the last thirty years; but the more immediate cause of this order appears to have been the establishment, by the Hon. Mr Bethune, a member of the Supreme

[1] Free Church Miss. Rec. vol. ii. p. 2.—Sum. Orient. Spect. vol. i. p. 271.

[2] We regret, however, to find that the minute of Lord Hardinge, though liberal in principle, was not fairly carried out by the Council of Education, and that, in fact, the good resulting from it was, for several years at least, very inconsiderable. The examinations were on the subjects and books taught in the government institutions, and thus the pupils of missionary and other educational institutions, whatever might be their talents and acquirements, had no chance of success, and they accordingly did not compete at the examinations. But even of the pupils in the government institutions, the number who, in the first five years, were appointed to public offices under government was so small that the excellent minute of his lordship, which promised to be so beneficial, had, as yet, practically produced but little fruit.—*Calcutta Review*, vol. xiii. pp. 312, 315, 319. Whether these evils have since been remedied, we do not know.

Council, of a school in Calcutta for native females of the higher classes, which, notwithstanding considerable opposition, met with what was deemed encouraging success; and the example of that gentleman was followed by the educated natives in other parts of Bengal.[1]

Woman, in India, is reduced peculiarly low. In many countries she may, on the whole, be in a more degraded condition, but there is one point in regard to which her degradation is without a parallel in any other land. We refer to the monstrous and unnatural practice of widows burning themselves along with the dead bodies of their husbands, or of being buried alive with them in their graves. This practice of Suti, as it was called, was not, indeed, universal in India. It was confined to a comparatively small portion of the population. The practice was sanctioned by long usage, and supported by an interested priesthood; and though not commanded, it was commended in the sacred books of the Hindus, and heaven was held out to females as the reward of so meritorious an act. It was an evil of enormous magnitude, involving the cruel and cold-blooded murder of innocent helpless women, and reducing children, who had been left fatherless, to the state of orphans, depriving them, in one day, of their mother also. Yet, horrible as was the custom, it was long tolerated by the government; and it was not until after many years' struggle, in which John Poynder, Esq. took the lead in the debates at the India House, that it was abolished. At length, in December 1829, Lord William Bentinck, the Governor-General in council, passed a regulation, declaring the burning or burying of widows throughout the territories subject to the Presidency of Fort-William, illegal, and punishable by the criminal courts; and shortly after, similar orders were promulgated by the governments both of Madras and Bombay. Thus an end was put to the horrible rite throughout the whole of British India.[2]

[1] Sum. Orient. Spect. vol. ii. p. 212.

Mr Bethune died two years after the opening of his school, but he bequeathed the school buildings to the East India Company, in the hope that they would adopt it. He also bequeathed 30,000 rupis for the completion of the buildings.

[2] John's Collection of Facts and Opinions relative to the Burning of Widows, pp. 3, 41, 65.—Evan. Mag. 1829, p. 591.—Rep. Bapt. Miss. Soc. 1830, p. 29.—Orient. Christ. Spect. vol. i. p. 152, 184.

It is stated that "Lord William Bentinck abolished this sanguinary and inhuman rite

On the passing of the regulation by the Governor-General in council relative to Sutis, it was much approved of by some of the Hindus themselves, but was virulently opposed by others. A congratulatory address was presented to his lordship by a number of native gentlemen, in which they expressed their humble but warmest acknowledgments for the protection thus afforded to the female portion of the community. On the other hand, a petition against the abolition of Suti, numerously signed, was also presented to him; and this proving of no avail, an appeal was made to the king in council, praying that the regulation might be rescinded. There was even found an Englishman, of the name of Bathie, an attorney in Calcutta, who undertook the charge of their appeal, and embarked with it for England.[1] It might, however, have been supposed, that it would be impossible to find in England a lawyer of any character or standing to undertake the support of an appeal for re-establishing a system of murder of the most atrocious and revolting nature. With deep regret, therefore, we have to state, that a man so distinguished as Dr Lushington did undertake the case; but after being argued at successive meetings of the Privy Council, the petition was dismissed, and the abolition confirmed. It is gratifying to be able to add, that the abolition of Suti was not confined to the British territories. The authorities in India, much to their honour, used their best endeavours to induce the native princes to follow the example which had thus been set them, and their efforts were attended with remarkable success. Many of the native princes abolished, not only Suti, but also infanticide and slavery. Others still maintained it in their territories. It must, however, be

upon his own responsibility, without any orders from England to that effect."—*Orient. Christ. Spect.* 1841, p. 464. If this was the case, it reflects great honour on his lordship.

[1] The ship in which Mr Bathie embarked met with an accident in the river, a few days after it sailed, which made it necessary to run her ashore, in order to preserve the lives of the passengers and crew. In relating this to his employers, he impiously remarked, "Such misfortunes are commonly attended with the loss of life; but from my being the bearer of the Suti petition, God has saved all that were with me." The editor of the *Cowmoodi*, a native newspaper, took a less irreligious, and more benevolent, view of the matter:—"The petition sent to England," says he, "to procure the restoration of the burning of women, so humanely abolished by the Governor-General, has been brought back, by force of the virtuous merit of the whole female sex of our country, for the ship which bore it was very nearly carried to the bottom."—(*Bapt.*) *Miss. Her.* 1831, p. 25.

acknowledged, that in some instances the abolition was not effected willingly, but was chiefly through fear of the superior power of the English.[1]

It is well known that the government was long closely connected with idolatry in India, and gave it its countenance and support. It appears to have been toward the end of the 18th century that the practice began. It was the Madras government which commenced it, and it was in that Presidency that the practice was carried to the greatest length; but the evil once begun, was afterwards introduced into the other Presidencies. It was not confined to the larger and more celebrated temples, such as Jaganath and Conjeveram, but extended to numerous small temples throughout the country; and also, though in a less degree, to the worship of Mahommedans. The government, on the one hand, appropriated to itself the revenues of the temples arising from villages and lands, and also the gifts and offerings of the worshippers, consisting of money, jewels, ear-rings, and other ornaments, levied taxes from the pilgrims, and imposed and received fines; and, on the other hand, it provided, in whole or in part, for the maintenance of the idols, and the idol worship, interfering, in a direct manner, with the management and application of the revenues, even to very minute particulars. In some instances, it made grants from the treasury for this special purpose, and even presented gifts and offerings to the idols in the name of the Company. Nor was this all. The European servants of the Company were required to attend heathen and Mahommedan festivals, with the view of shewing them respect. The impure and degrading services of the temples were carried on under their supervision and control; and the management and regulation of the revenues and endowments, both of the pagodas and mosques, were so invested in them, that no important ceremony could be performed, no attendant of the idols, not even the prostitutes of the temple, be entertained or discharged, nor the least expense incurred, without the official concurrence and orders of the Christian functionary. The military, under the command of English officers, were required to attend on the great Hindu

[1] (Bapt.) Miss. Her. 1830, pp. 33, 94.—Ibid. 1831, pp. 25, 74.—Miss. Reg. 1832, p. 319.—Orient. Christ. Spect. vol. i. p. 305.—Ibid. 1840, pp. 214, 577.—Ibid. 1841, p. 1. —Sum. Orient. Christ. Spect. vol. i. pp. 419, 483; vol. ii. pp. 3, 285.

festivals, partly to preserve order, but partly also to add to their pomp and interest. Even on occasion of the mere ordinary Hindu and Mahommedan festivals, royal salutes were fired, and that sometimes on the Christian Sabbath. The course pursued by the government was offensive to the native soldiery themselves. In the Madras army the Mahommedans were more numerous than the Hindus; and it was felt by them to be a great grievance that they were required to attend on the Hindu festivals, and to do honour to idols. The Hindu soldiers, on the other hand, were dissatisfied, because they were required to attend on the Mahommedan festivals. Several servants of the Company, whose Christian principles would not allow them to take part in these monstrous practices, resigned valuable appointments rather than be guilty of such a dereliction of moral and religious duty.[1]

When the connexion of the government with idolatry in India came to be understood by the friends of religion, strenuous efforts were made by them, with the view of putting an end to so egregious an evil. The subject was taken up in a special manner by John Poynder, Esq., who brought it under the consideration of the proprietors of the East India Company. It was not the wish of those who were opposed to the measures of the government, that the revenues, which legally and rightfully belonged to the temples, should be taken from them; they simply sought that the management of them should be left wholly in the hands of those to whom it naturally appertained; that the government should have nothing to do with it, nor interfere, in any manner of way, with their religious worship or ceremonies; that it should maintain a perfect neutrality on the subject of their religion, and should give no countenance or encouragement, either to Hinduism or Mahommedanism, but should leave their adherents to perform

[1] Hough's Hist. vol. iii. p. 628.—Calcutta Christ. Obs. vol. xviii. p. 471.—Orient. Christ. Spect. vol. ix. p. 250; vol. x. p. 502.—Ibid. 1840, pp. 384, 393.—Disabilities of Christian Natives in India, p. 28.—Rep. Miss. Soc. 1839, p. 33.

Sir Peregrine Maitland, Commander-in-Chief of the Madras Army, and Member of Council, resigned his high appointments, rather than be the instrument of enforcing on Christian soldiers attendance on heathen festivals, which, before he left England, he was given to understand had been done away with by the orders of the government. R. Nelson, Esq., of the Madras Civil Service, likewise resigned office, seeing he could only retain it on the condition of performing services inconsistent with the Christian profession.—*Rep. Miss. Soc.* 1839, p. 33.—*Orient. Christ. Spect.* vol. x. p. 500.

their acts of worship, at once unaided and unmolested by the civil or military authorities.[1]

In February 1833, the Court of Directors sent out a despatch to the Governor-General, relative to the abolition of the connexion of the government with idolatry in India. The following were some of the principles and provisions contained in this despatch :—

"1. That the interference of British functionaries in the interior management of native temples, in the customs, habits, and religious proceedings of their priests and attendants, in the arrangement of their ceremonies, rites, and festivals, and, generally, in the condition of their interior economy, shall cease.

" 2. That the pilgrim-tax shall be everywhere abolished.

" 3. That fines and offerings shall no longer be considered as sources of revenue by the British government; and they shall consequently no longer be collected or received by the servants of the East India Company.

" 4. That no servant of the East India Company shall be engaged in the collection, management, or custody of moneys, of the nature of fines or offerings, in whatever manner obtained, or whether furnished in cash or in kind.

" 5. That no servant of the East India Company shall hereafter derive any emolument resulting from the above-mentioned, or any similar sources.

" 6. That in all measures relating to their temples, their worship, their festivals, their religious practices, their ceremonial observances, our native subjects shall be left entirely to themselves.

" 7. That in every case in which it has been found necessary to form and keep up a police force, specially with a view to the peace and security of the pilgrims and worshippers, such police shall hereafter be maintained, and made available, out of the general revenues of the country."

Such were the principles laid down in the despatch of the directors; but they did not require them to be carried into effect immediately. " In stating to you," they say, " our distinct opinion respecting the abolition, not only of the pilgrim-tax, but of the practices connected with it, or bearing a similar construction, we are rather holding up a standard to which you are ultimately to conform your policy, than prescribing a rule to which

[1] Orient. Christ. Spect. vol. x. p. 501.—Ibid. 1840, p. 394.

you are instantly, and without respect of circumstances, to carry into accomplishment. As to the details of any measure regarding it—the time, the degree, the manner, the gradations, the precautions—these must, in an especial sense, rest with the local government." They also recommended a gradual in preference to a general abolition, and the extension of the reform only in the event of the complete success of the first experiment.[1]

The friends of religion rejoiced in the prospect of the termination of the unhallowed connexion which the government had so long maintained with the idolatry of India; they thought the point was now gained. But, pointed as were these recommendations, the directors were not in earnest, perhaps scarcely honest in making them; and the authorities in India were little disposed to carry them into effect. The consequence was, the despatch proved, in a great degree, a dead letter.[2]

The question, however, was not allowed to sleep. Mr Poynder brought it, time after time, before the Court of Proprietors, and the directors found themselves obliged to send out fresh instructions on the subject. In 1840, peremptory orders were sent out to put an end at once, and for ever, to any connexion, on the part of the Company's officers, troops, and servants, with the processions or other religious ceremonies of the natives. The friends of

[1] Miss. Reg. 1834, p. 181.

[2] Orient. Christ. Spect. vol. v. p. 317.—Ibid. 1840, p. 383.

The history of this despatch is not unworthy of being given, as shewing how things were sometimes managed in regard to India. After repeated attempts had been made in vain to induce the directors of the East India Company to break off their connexion with idolatry in that country, the House of Commons appointed a committee to institute an inquiry into the subject; but the committee, after examining several witnesses, having received an express assurance from the Court of Directors that an effectual remedy should at length be supplied by themselves, declined making any report to the House.

The directors accordingly prepared a despatch for transmission to India; but this being found altogether inefficient by Lord Glenelg,* the President of the Board of Control, he returned, in place of it, for the approval of the directors, such a despatch as he considered necessary for the accomplishment of the end in view.

This despatch the directors, in the first instance, refused to adopt; but they at length consented to do so, upon the introduction of the clause constituting the government in India the judge of the time, and manner of carrying its recommendations into effect. Under the shelter of this neutralizing clause of their own insertion, they, instead of forwarding, obstructed, both in India and in England, the requisitions of the despatch.—*Orient. Christ. Spect.* 1841, pp. 463, 465.

* Lord Glenelg was a son of the excellent Charles Grant, Esq., the early, and through life the steadfast and never-failing friend of missions in India.

religion once more flattered themselves with the idea that the connexion of the government with idolatry was at an end. But in this they were much mistaken. Though it was relinquished, or materially reduced, in many places, it was far from being completely broken up. The Madras government, which originally commenced the practice, manifested peculiar pertinacity in adhering to it. Even Jaganath still received support from the Supreme government. Though it had restored certain lands to the owners of the temple, and abolished the pilgrim-tax, and no longer received the presents and other emoluments connected with the idol, nor administered or managed its concerns, yet Lord Auckland, the Governor-General, granted to the temple, in perpetuity, an annual donation of 35,178 rupis, and a further sum of 1000 rupis, to provide cloth for the idols. But the directors did not approve of this, and proposed to commute it, by restoring other lands to the temple. In 1844, they sent out a despatch, stating, in express terms, that the discontinuance of the interference of government in its concerns should be made complete. The grant to Jaganath was reduced to 23,321 rupis; but though efforts continued to be made to break up the connexion entirely, it has not yet been accomplished. The directors appeared to be now in earnest to get rid of the whole of this troublesome question regarding the connexion of the government with the idolatry of India; but in many cases it appeared to involve points of great difficulty and intricacy; yet we trust that, by perseverance in efforts for this end, the work will at length be completed.[1]

The government not only gave its countenance and support to idolatry in India, but it was long adverse to the propagation of Christianity in that country. Of this we have already given some examples in regard to missionaries; but here we refer particularly to the case of native converts. With the view of not offending the prejudices of the natives, whether Hindus or Mahommedans, it was a leading principle of its policy, to adhere as closely as possible to their usages and institutions. Now, by the Hindu and Mahommedan laws of inheritance, converts to another religion

[1] Miss. Reg. 1842, pp. 178, 226.—Orient. Christ. Spect. 1841, p. 310.—Sum. Orient. Christ. Spect. vol. i. p. 312.—Ibid. 1852, p. 40.—Pegg's Hist. General Bapt. Miss. in Orissa, p. 178.—Evan. Mag. 1848, p. 263.—Calcutta Review, vol. x. p. 237-272.

were liable to the loss of ancestral and other property. By the Hindu law, as administered by the English government, a Hindu on becoming a Christian or Mahommedan was considered as having lost caste; and on this ground, he and his heirs being Christians or Mahommedans, were declared to have forfeited all right to the property which he had derived from his ancestors, or to which he had a claim at the time he changed his religion. This was not one of those obsolete enactments which lay concealed among the rubbish of ancient laws; but was generally known among the Hindus, as it was continually suspended over them *in terrorem*, not in reference to Christianity particularly, but to everything which would subject them to the loss of caste. There were numbers, however, who, on embracing Christianity, submitted to the total loss of their property, some to a very considerable amount, and being aware that there was no hope of redress in the courts of law, they did not so much as judge it advisable to incur the expense of attempting to recover it. The Mahommedan law on this subject was equally express, and quite as oppressive as the Hindu. According to the Koran, on which the civil code of the Mahommedans is founded, a Mussulman changing his religion, or, as they express it, becoming an infidel, is liable to be deprived, not only of whatever property may descend to him by inheritance, but even of the property which he has himself acquired.[1]

But the government, not content with maintaining these iniquitous laws, which were of Hindu and Mahommedan origin, did itself issue orders which had a very unjust and offensive bearing on natives who embraced Christianity. By the judicial regulations, Moonsifs, a class of native judges of great power and responsibility, and also the Vakeels, or bar of the courts, were required to be of the Hindu or Mahommedan religion, thus practically excluding Christian natives from some of the most important and lucrative professions which were open to native talent and industry. In the army, though there was no positive law affecting Christian converts, yet the prevailing rule was that Pariars should not be enlisted even for the ranks; and under the name of Pariar the Christian native was classed, from whatever

[1] Observations on the Hindu and Mahommedan Laws of Inheritance as affecting converts to Christianity in India, p. 1.—Calcutta Missionary Herald, July 1827.

class he may have sprung. It was a further rule that the Pariar was not eligible for promotion; and hence, though Christian natives were enlisted as drummers, fifers, and farriers, yet they were excluded from all promotion on the ground of their being Christians, thus affixing a mark of ignominy on Christianity in common with all other causes which excluded the natives from the pale of their own religion.[1]

The disabilities under which converts to Christianity laboured could not fail to engage the attention of the friends of missions; but it was long before a remedy was provided for them.

In 1832, Lord William Bentinck passed a regulation, that "in any civil suit where the parties were of different religious persuasions, the laws of the Hindus, Mahommedans, or other religions, should not be permitted to operate to deprive such party or parties of any property to which, but for the operation of such laws, they would have been entitled." This regulation, however, did not extend beyond the presidency of Fort-William. Even Calcutta, which was under the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, as well as the Madras and Bombay Presidencies, still remained subject to the old Hindu and Mahommedan laws.[2] Shortly before this, a regulation also passed the Council, opening to native Christians all offices of government hitherto held exclusively by Hindus and Mahommedans; and it is worthy of notice that the Chundrika newspaper, the high Hindu organ, applauded this act making no distinction in the distribution of the offices of government, but leaving them open to Christians equally as to others, an instance of liberality which could have been little expected.[3]

In April 1850, the Earl of Dalhousie, the Governor-General in Council, passed an act extending the principle of Lord William Bentinck's regulation throughout the territories subject to the government of the East India Company. It was now enacted, that "so much of any law or usage in force within the British territories as inflicts on any person forfeiture of rights or property, or may be held in any way to impair or affect any right

[1] Disabilities of the Christian Natives in the British Possessions in India. London, 1830, p. 19.

[2] Sum. Orient. Christ. Spect. vol. ii. p. 204.

[3] Period. Accounts of Serampore Miss. vol. i. pp, 513, 606.

of inheritance by reason of his or her renouncing or having been excluded from the communion of any religion, or being deprived of caste, shall cease to be enforced as law in the courts of the East India Company, and in the courts established by Royal Charter within the said territories."

By this simple, brief, and emphatic sentence, the charter of religious liberty was established in India, and universal toleration became, for the first time from immemorial ages, the law for upwards of a hundred millions of people, from Cape Comorin in the south, to the defiles of Afghanistan in the north, and from the interminable forests of the Brahmaputra in the east, to the sterile solitudes beyond the Indus in the west.

Though the government sought to establish nothing more than the simplest principles of religious liberty, yet the measures which it adopted with this view called forth great opposition from a portion of the Hindu community, both in Calcutta and Madras. Memorials were addressed by them to the Governor-General in Council, and when these failed a petition was sent from Calcutta to the Court of Directors, and a Mr Leith, formerly a barrister in the Supreme Courts in that city, was employed to advocate their cause, not only before them, but also, if necessary, before the British Parliament. On their part all this was not unnatural; but that an Englishman could be found to undertake a cause at once so bad and so hopeless, might well excite surprise, had we not previous examples of the sacrifice of truth, justice, honour, religion, and humanity to the lust of gold.[1]

[1] Sum. Orient. Christ. Spect. vol. ii. pp. 174, 204, 276.

In a circular addressed by the committee of Hindu gentlemen in Calcutta to their countrymen, with a view of raising a subscription for bearing the expenses of this appeal to England, we find the following statements:—"If this pernicious law continue in force, it would be impossible to describe the misfortunes which would befall our country and the Hindu population. Those persons who, far from embracing Christianity, cannot now even speak favourably of it for fear of losing their patrimony, will then easily, fearlessly, and with smiling faces, go to church to be baptized, *i. e.*, to be initiated in Christian doctrine. In this age, religious awe or shame has been well-nigh eradicated from the popular mind. No motive of a spiritual nature, such as religious awe or fear of the future world, can restrain the renouncement of our religion. Add to this the delusive snares which the tender-hearted missionaries have spread like so many hunters in ambush. Under these circumstances, if there were no consideration of temporal profit or loss in the way as a restraint, then the fire of Christianity would by this time be kindled in every house, and, without doubt, reduce to ashes the Hindu religion and the temporal welfare of the Hindus. We now hear of two or four boys

This law was found to be of more extensive application than was perhaps at first anticipated. In its letter, it might appear to refer simply to the rights of property, strictly so called, but according to its spirit, it was extended to the relations of social life. It was not long before a case was brought before a magistrate, in which the relations sought to separate a native convert from his wife, she being at the same time anxious to part from him. By the Hindu laws, such a separation was provided for and sanctioned, but the magistrate decided, that by the recent enactment such a separation was illegal, and that a convert possessed as much right to his wife as before his conversion. Thus it was affirmed, that according to the new law of India, conversion to another religion did not interrupt or destroy any civil right or obligation.[1]

It is impossible not to be struck with the great improvement which has taken place within the last quarter of a century in the government of India. The dread of giving offence to the natives was long the ruling principle of its policy, with both the directors in England and the authorities in that country. The opinions of the Hindus however absurd, their prejudices however per-

being annually converted to Christianity. Persons will henceforward begin to be converted every month and every week, and eventually every day. The religious rites, ceremonies, customs, manners, &c. of the Hindus will be at once abolished, and the Christian religion be speedily prevalent. There will be no happiness in one's family. Nothing will be heard anywhere but lamentations and cries. The father will sigh for the son, the brother for the brother, the friend for the friend, the wife for the husband, and wander about like one who cries in the wilderness. The four cardinal points will be filled with bewailings." "In whatever aspect you view the destructive law which has been lately promulgated, you will see that the preservation of the Hindu religion is impossible. To reflect on our calamity, thus brought about, would drive us mad." *Cal. Christ. Obser.* vol. xix, p. 502.

These lamentations are no doubt characterized by the exaggeration so usual in the Oriental style of writing. The more bigoted Hindus put forth similar wailings on occasion of the abolition of Suti. There might not be much earnestness in them (the Hindu mind seems scarcely capable of earnestness), but there was probably sincerity. Many will probably attach much more importance to the sentiments here expressed than they deserve; they will regard them as a proof that the act referred to will prove the death-blow of Hinduism; but though it is a most important measure, and will remove out of the way a powerful obstacle to the profession of Christianity, Hinduism is too strongly entrenched in the country and in the minds of the people to be overthrown by the mere removal of disabilities following the renunciation of it. It is not an uninstructive fact, that the idea of toleration was long as alarming to great and good men in our own country, as it now is to the Hindus of India.

[1] Bapt. Miss. Her. 1851, p. 138.

nicious, their practices however cruel or immoral, were on no account to be interfered with. Wide-spread disaffection, insurrection, the overthrow of the British power and the loss of our Indian empire, were the predicted results of such interference. But a bolder and more enlightened policy has been adopted of late years, and even the directors in England, after maintaining a long struggle in support of crying evils, were forced to yield to the public voice on behalf of justice and humanity, and now appear disposed, perhaps from stern necessity, to promote measures of improvement. We doubt not there are still many and great evils which call for reform, and we trust that reform will go on until many of these evils shall be remedied, and an extensive amelioration effected in the political, social, and moral condition of the people.

With regard to the success of missions in India, it is now generally admitted that it is not great; that it bears but small proportion to the amount of instrumentality which has been employed, and falls far short of the expectations which were prospectively, and have been commonly, entertained of it.

In 1852, the number of communicants or church members connected with the various missions throughout India and Ceylon, amounted to about 21,299.[1]

Of the general character of the converts, we wish we could

[1] The friends of missions are deeply indebted to the Rev. Mr Mullens, of Calcutta, for the labour and care with which he has collected the "Statistics of Missions in India and Ceylon." In stating the above number of church members, we have partly followed his valuable "Revised Statistics," and partly the Reports of our principal missionary societies for 1853, which bring them down to a somewhat later date. The following, according to these authorities, were the numbers connected with different societies:—

Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts,	5,025	Revised Statistics, p. 28.
Baptist Missionary Society,	1,656	Rep. Bapt. Miss. Soc. 1853, pp. 56, 58.
London Missionary Society,	1,398	Rep. Miss. Soc. 1851-1853, Stat. p. 20.
Church Missionary Society,	6,182	Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. 1853, pp. 78, 110, 132, 142.
Methodist Missionary Society,	2,137	Rep. Meth. Miss. Soc. 1853, p. 115.
General Baptist Missionary Society,	295	Rep. Gen. Bapt. Miss. Soc. 1853, pp. 5, 20, 33, 37.
Welsh Foreign Missionary Society,	28	Stat. p. 11.
General Assembly of the Church of Scotland,	17	Stat. pp. 8, 15, 16.
Carry forward,	16,738	

speak favourably, but it must be acknowledged, that even in those missions in which considerable care is exercised in the admission of persons to baptism, it was for the most part very imperfect. Of the sincerity of many who professed Christianity, there was room to doubt; but even those who, it was hoped, were truly converted, laboured under many and great defects. We are apt to imagine, that persons who have been brought out of the darkness of paganism into the marvellous light of the gospel, will be distinguished for their piety and zeal; that, with strong convic-

Brought forward,	16,738	
General Assembly of the Free Church,	158	Stat. pp. 8, 13.—Sum. Or. Spect. 1854, pp. 17, 23.—Free Ch. Rec. vol. iv. (N. S.) p. 234.
General Assembly of the Irish Presbyterian Church,	8	Stat. p. 15.
German Missionary Society, Basle,	780	Sum. Orient. Ch. Spect. 1853, p. 81.
Lutheran Missionary Society, Leipsic,	2,152	Amer. Miss. Her. vol. i. p. 26.
Gossner's Missionary Society, Berlin,	61	Stat. pp. 10, 12.
American Board for Foreign Missions,	929	Stat. p. 14.—Rep. Board, 1853, pp. 101, 104, 106, 113.
American Presbyterian Board for Foreign Missions,	255	Rep. Pres. Board For. Miss. 1853, p. 67.
American Baptist Missionary Union,	46	Stat. pp. 7, 24.
American Free Will Baptists,	38	Rep. Gen. Bapt. Miss. Soc. 1852, p. 87.—Ibid. 1853, p. 56.
American Lutheran Evangelical Missionary Society,	70	Sum. Orient. Christ. Spect. 1853, p. 32.
Sundries,	64	Stat. pp. 7, 17, 24.
	21,299	

Mr Mullens gives 18,410 as the number of church members at the beginning of 1852, but it must not be supposed that there had been an increase of near 3000 between that date and the time to which they are brought down by our other authorities. There would, we have no doubt, be some increase, but the difference probably arises chiefly from some diversity in the returns themselves. Of this we have a marked example in the Lutheran Missionary Society, Leipsic, the number of communicants, including Europeans, connected with which we have taken from the *American Missionary Herald* for January 1854, p. 26, where they are stated as being "according to the last Report."

Mr Mullens has a column in his tables for "Native Christians," as he calls them, and the total number whom he classes under this designation amounts to 112,191. Of the sense in which he uses it, he gives the following explanation:—"The term *Native Christians*, includes the whole body of natives who, by breaking their caste, have separated themselves from their fellow-idolaters, and are now placed under regular Christian instruction and influence. So far as they have any religion, it is the religion of the Bible. Some of this numerous class are the unbaptized children of Christian parents; others are unbaptized adults who have broken caste; others have been baptized, but have not entered the body of communicants. All, however, are under regular Christian instruction." Under this appellation, we presume, are also included all baptized children, who of themselves will form a pretty numerous body. Notwithstanding Mr Mul-

tions of their sinfulness as men and as heathens, they will possess more love to the Saviour, more devotedness to His service, more compassion for the souls of their countrymen, more humility, more tenderness of conscience, perhaps more spirituality and heavenly-mindedness, than converts in Christian countries; but a little reflection on their previous character and condition, and on their present circumstances, trained up in familiarity with and habits of sin from their infancy, living in the midst of the heathen, breathing a polluted moral atmosphere, surrounded by numerous and

lens' explanation, we cannot but regret his employing such an appellation, as being calculated, though unintentionally on his part, to mislead. The general Summary of his statistics has been extensively published both in England and America, but without his explanations as to the details; and multitudes, looking simply at the statement of 112,191 native Christians, cannot fail to have been led to form a very exaggerated idea of the success of missions in India.

Mr Mullens has a table in which he classifies the general results of the returns made to him according to the presidencies. The following are the results as to the two classes of which we have been speaking:—

Presidencies.	Number of Members.	Native Christians.
Bengal,	3,500	14,778
Agra,	678	2,032
Bombay,	289	744
Madras,	10,662	76,591
Ceylon,	3,281	18,046
Total,	18,410	112,191

It will be seen from this table, that the numbers of both classes are by far the largest in the Madras presidency.

In the south of India, Hinduism appears to have much less hold of the people than in other parts of the country; at least, they are greatly more ready to renounce it, and to submit to Christian instruction. This is seen, not only in the missions of the Propagation Society, and of the Church Missionary Society in Tinnevelly, but in those of the American Board in Madura, of the London Society in Travancore, and of the Wesleyan Missionary Society. It was here, too, that the Roman Catholics in former times had their chief triumphs, if triumphs they may be called.

Of those whom he designates Native Christians, no fewer than 94,047 were connected with these four Societies, the greater part of whom were in the south of India, namely,—

Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts,	38,737
Church Missionary Society, ...	25,498
London Missionary Society, ...	20,414
Wesleyan Missionary Society, ...	9,398
	94,047

leaving for all other Societies throughout the whole of India, 18,144.

powerful temptations, often, as yet, with a very imperfect knowledge of Divine truth, and very imperfect religious advantages, and with few or no standards of spiritual excellence before them, might satisfy us of the fallacy of such expectations.

The native Christians, as a body, are in fact far inferior, not only in knowledge, but in the general exhibition of Christian character, to the members of well-ordered churches in this country, and will probably remain so for a long period, whatever may be the zeal and labour bestowed upon them. With some exceptions, they were sadly defective in their conviction of and sorrow for sin, and in their sense of the extent and spirituality of the law of God; they shewed no great desire to increase in knowledge and holiness, manifested much deadness and indifference to Divine things, a lamentable want of love and zeal in the cause of Christ, and little concern for the salvation of their countrymen. They were very defective in energy, steadfastness, and consistency of character. There were among the baptized many and grievous departures from the path of rectitude. Some turned out deceivers, others fell away; but yet many adhered to their Christian profession through life, manifested the transforming power of the gospel on their hearts, and desired to "walk in all the commandments and ordinances of the Lord blameless."[1]

It further appears from Mr Mullens' *Statistics*, that at the commencement of 1852, there were labouring throughout India and Ceylon,

	443	missionaries,
of whom	48	were ordained natives,
together with	698	native catechists.
These agents resided at	313	missionary stations,
maintained	1,347	vernacular day-schools,
containing	47,504	boys,
together with	93	boarding-schools,
containing	2,414	Christian boys.
They also superintended	126	superior English day-schools,
in which were educated	14,562	boys and young men.
Female education embraced	347	day-schools for girls,
containing	11,519	scholars;
but more hopes were entertained of its	102	boarding-schools,
containing	2,779	Christian girls.—*Statistics*, p. 6.

These statistics are interesting, but to enable us properly to estimate their value, we would require to have much further information in regard to the various details.

[1] Mrs Wilson's Memoir, p. 224.—Calcutta Christ. Obser. vol. vii. pp. 304, 308; vol. xvi. p. 870; vol. xvii. p. 328.—Life of Rev. John Macdonald, p. 324.—Sum. Orient. Christ. Spect. vol. i. p. 426.—Buyers's Letters, p. 236.—Amer. Miss. Her. vol. xl. p. 89.

The singular power of habit has been often noticed. Its constant tendency is to a repetition of the same or similar acts; and when this tendency is fully established, it is very difficult to neutralize or overcome it. This is a principle which is well understood. But the tendency of old habits to revive, long after they appeared to be wholly abandoned, and that even in persons who may after all be true Christians, has been less observed. Under the influence of their first convictions of their sinfulness and danger, or of their early feelings of love and gratitude to the Saviour, the old sinful habits of converts may not only be forsaken, but appear to be rooted up. But after the strength and freshness of their first impressions have passed away, and the mind has returned to its ordinary state of calm, it is astonishing how often the tendency to some of the predominant habits of the old man begins to revive. In India we have frequent mournful examples among the native Christians of what has now been stated. After some time they are exceedingly apt to relapse into various old sinful habits, such as lying, deceit, dishonesty, covetousness, intemperance in the use of noxious drugs, and especially the sin of uncleanness, which perhaps more than any other commits sad havoc among Hindu converts.[1]

[1] Miss. Rec. Free Church, vol. ii. p. 503.

These facts will surprise and disappoint us less if we call to mind many of the statements which occur in the Epistles of Paul, and other parts of the New Testament. "Our Christians in India," says Mr Lenpolt, one of the Church missionaries, "resemble, in some measure, the first Christians, though perhaps the majority of them would scarcely suffer a man to have his father's wife, as the Corinthian Church did, without excommunicating him. Still we have to use the same language in addressing them which the apostles used in addressing their congregations, 'Put away lying; speak every man truth with his neighbour.' 'Let him that stole, steal no more.' 'Let no corrupt communication proceed out of your mouth,'" &c. &c.—Lenpolt's *Recollections of an Indian Missionary*, p. 144. But though we find statements in the apostolic writings which shew evils in the first churches similar to those which we find in churches gathered from among the heathen in modern times, the general tenor of the apostolical epistles indicates a degree of piety in them which is rarely to be met with in our day. Where are the churches to be found, whether in Christian or in heathen lands, to which an inspired writer could address such epistles as those to the Romans, the Ephesians, or the Philippians?

With regard to the comparative character of converts in Christian and in heathen lands, we cannot forbear here quoting some observations by Mr Buyers, of the London Missionary Society, in his excellent *Letters on India*. "The character of British Christians is not the product of one age. It has been the growth of many ages, and of many and long continued external influences, as well as of the converting powers of the Divine Word and Spirit. When the gospel comes with power to a man's heart in

Native catechists or assistants were employed to a considerable extent in the missions in India. Some were licensed as preachers, and some were ordained to the ministry. Among them there were men of excellent Christian character, who manifested much zeal and activity in labouring among their countrymen, and studied to "approve themselves unto God as workmen who needed not to be ashamed;" yet these were not numerous. It is matter of deep regret that the character of the great body of them, like that of Christian natives in general, was marked by striking defects and blemishes. To say that they were dependent on their European teachers, and could not manage alone, is stating but part of the truth. They wanted energy, manifested little hearty devotion to the work, and seldom worked well except under the most vigilant superintendence. It is a mournful fact, too, that some of the most grievous falls into sin were among the native assistants. Until, however, the character of the native churches is improved, we can scarcely expect an improved race of native agents. The one are the nursery of the other. But though the native preachers can seldom be left alone, yet when diligently instructed and vigilantly superintended they form valuable agents in propagating the gospel in India. The importance of raising up an able and faithful native agency is strongly felt by the

our native land, it no doubt often finds him deeply depraved and degraded. Still, however, he has many thoughts and feelings of a Christian nature, and a conscience formed and enlightened to a great extent by those countless forms of Christian moral influence, by which, through a long period of time, the national character has been moulded to its present form. Hence, even men who have not at first had a religious education, assume, almost immediately on conversion, all the modes and consistencies of Christian character; while those, on the other hand, who have been religiously educated, frequently exhibit scarcely any external change of conduct; that having been previously so much formed on the precepts of Christianity, no great external change was required, though they may themselves be conscious of a great alteration for the better in the general tone and tendency of their feelings and affections.

"But with the heathen convert the case is vastly different. His conversion, even when sincere, is in a more remarkable manner 'a passing from death to life.' I have known many instances of conversion among the most careless and abandoned of the English soldiery in India, men neglected from their childhood, and sadly depraved; and yet it is astonishing how soon, compared with a convert from heathenism, such a man throws off his irreligious habits of thought and expression, and falls with much consistency into those of pious society. So much have the truths of Christianity modified or formed the national character and habits, that even the most wicked men among us seem more naturally and easily to adopt the full and consistent profession of the gospel than even the most regular and respectably behaved among the Hindus or Mussulmans. With these, Christianity has to operate in a more thorough way, new-modelling every

missionaries generally; and in connexion with many of the missions, institutions were established with a special view to this object.[1]

There are few things connected with the conduct of missions which involve more important temporal consequences, and are embarrassed with greater difficulties, than the right treatment of questions affecting the marriage-tie. Here has often to be considered, not only the simple question of marriage, but other related subjects, as polygamy, separation, divorce. When cases of this kind occur, there is often found a want of any well understood and generally received principles; and the consequence is, that they are often settled in a rash and injurious manner, disturbing the gravest and most sacred relations which obtain among mankind. We cannot, therefore, but view with satisfaction any attempt to lay down well-considered principles on the subject, so far as these can be ascertained from Scripture and sound reason.

In 1834, the Conference of Missionaries of various denominations in Calcutta, including those of the Baptist, the London, and the Church Missionary Societies, of the Church of Scotland, and of the American Presbyterian Board, after having had the whole subject frequently under discussion, and after much and serious deliberation, *unanimously* agreed on the following pro-

mode of thought, speech, and action, destroying almost every idea on a vast variety of subjects that previously existed, and imparting new ones in their place, so as to make the man, intellectually as well as morally, 'a new creature.' Now, that a man's whole mental structure, formed out of a vast conglomeration of all the accumulations of years, drawn from the traditions of his fathers, and all the converse of his contemporaries, should be swept away, and a new and complete edifice at once erected in its place;" that one "to whom every strict moral principle or restraint is entirely a new thing, should become at once a model of every virtue, as soon as his eyes have been a little opened, by hearing the Word of God, and believing its first principles, is not according to the ordinary course of divine operation on the minds of men." "The cases of converts are not cases of cure, but merely of convalescence; and in such a state of society as is to be found in India, there is a virulence of moral disease which it does not seem possible to eradicate for the present, by anything like ordinary means."—Buyers's *Letters*, pp. 237, 240.

These observations in regard to the Christian natives of India need not be confined to Hindu converts. They are applicable, we fear, in a greater or less degree to converts from among the heathen in all parts of the world. "It would be easy, were it necessary, to shew, both from sacred and ecclesiastical history, that no great change was ever suddenly brought about in the moral and religious habits of any nation."

[1] Sum. Orient. Christ. Spect. vol. i. p. 436; vol. ii. p. 60.—Cal. Christ. Obser. vol. vii. p. 311.—Pearce's Memoir, appended to Yates's Life, p. 423.

positions, though there had previously been much diversity of sentiment among them on various points.[1]

"I. It is in accordance with the spirit of the Bible, and the practice of the Protestant Church, to consider the State as the proper fountain of legislation in all civil questions affecting marriage and divorce.

II. The Bible being the true standard of morals, ought to be consulted in everything which it contains on the subjects of marriage and divorce, and nothing determined evidently contrary to its general principles.

III. Married persons being *both Christians* should not be divorced for any other cause than adultery. But if one of the parties be an *unbeliever*, and, though not an adulterer, wilfully depart from and desert the other, a divorce may be properly sued for.

They were of opinion, however, that such liberty is allowable only in extreme cases, and where all known means of reconciliation, after a trial of not less than one year, have failed.

IV. Heathen or Mahommedan marriages and divorces, recognized by the laws of the country, are to be held valid.

But it is strongly recommended, that if either party before conversion, have put away the other on slight grounds, the divorced party should, in all practicable and desirable cases, be taken back again.

V. If a convert, before becoming a Christian, has married more wives than one, in accordance with the practice of the Jewish and primitive Christian Churches, he shall be permitted to keep them all; but such a person is not eligible to any office in the Church. In no other case is polygamy to be tolerated among Christians."[2]

It is not unworthy of mention that the Moravians, at least in the Danish West India Islands, and the Baptist missionaries at Serampur, took precisely the same view of some of these questions as the Calcutta missionaries.[3]

[1] It appears that one, or rather two, dissented, but it was on points of minor importance. There were twenty or more who adopted the propositions without any exception. —*Cal. Christ. Obser.* vol. iv. pp. 22, 368.

[2] Cal. Christ. Obser. vol. iv. p. 22.

[3] See vol. i. p. 248; vol. ii. p. 26.

The Calcutta missionaries, a few years afterwards, reviewed these propositions, and published them in a form more specifically applicable to India, entering at the same

We have frequently had occasion to refer to the employment of the press by missionaries for printing the Holy Scriptures and other works in the languages of India; but this powerful engine was now also in extensive use among the natives. It was about 1814 that the first experiment was made by a native of publishing a work in Bengal for sale among his countrymen. It was published in Calcutta by Gunga Kishore (his name deserves to be preserved), formerly a compositor at Serampur, so that native printing can be traced directly to the missionary press. There are now native presses not only in Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, but in others of the chief cities of India, as Benares, Lucknow, Agra, Delhi, and Lahore, at which books and newspapers are printed. Some of the books were worse than trash; but some also were works of great utility. The newspaper and periodical press contained letters and discussions on all manner of subjects, particularly in defence of Hinduism, Mahommedanism, and Parseeism, according to the party interest on behalf of which they were established. Most of them were exceedingly hostile to Christianity and to missionaries, abusing them at no allowance; yet some of them were open to free discussion on religious subjects, and admitted papers on both sides of the question. Some of them advocated liberal and enlightened opinions on many subjects, as the education of females, the marriage of widows, the eating of animal food, the punishment of Brahmans for crimes committed by them, liberty to Hindus to change their religion; and at the same time reproved corruption and vice. Some attacked Hinduism itself, and exposed its absurdities and wickedness in no measured terms. Others, however, were the strenuous advocates of Hinduism, maintained it in all its grossness, and set themselves in violent opposition to the various improvements which the government

time into considerably minute details in regard to some points, particularly as to desertion or divorce.—*Cal. Christ. Obser.* vol. x. p. 224; vol. xi. pp. 400, 520. On the subject of polygamy, the deliverance which they then gave was even more decided than in the original propositions: "The meeting were *unanimously* of opinion that although polygamy is one of the greatest evils, and is never to be tolerated in a Christian community when it can be regulated by the law of the gospel, yet in the case of polygamy antecedently to conversion the husband is *bound* to retain and provide for all his wives as such, unless they choose to take advantage of their own law." This last clause refers to the renunciation of Hinduism or Mahommedanism by either of the married parties, being regarded by both Hindus and Mahommedans as involving divorce.—*Ibid.* vol. xi. p. 401. See APPENDIX, No. V.—OF POLYGAMY.

has of late years introduced into the country. It is gratifying to be able to add that many of them were conducted with very considerable ability, and in a very good spirit and temper.[1]

The works of some of the deistical writers of Europe were greatly read by many of the educated classes in India, particularly those of Hume and Paine. These were the armoury from which Hindu writers furnished themselves with weapons for attacking Christianity. Several hundred copies of Paine's *Age of Reason* were imported into Calcutta from America, and the Indian market was also inundated with obscene French prints.[2]

In no part of India did the hostility to Christianity take so determined and systematic a form as in Madras. There, an anti-missionary society was organized among the natives. It employed a press in printing tracts and a newspaper, which were widely distributed; it established several opposition free schools; it had, for a long time, regular lectures, twice-a-week, at its head-quarters, in one of the principal streets of the town, in defence of Hinduism, and in ridicule of Christianity. The principal speaker

[1] Long's Handbook of Bengal Missions, p. 353.—Period. Accounts of Serampore Missions, vol. i. pp. 358, 606; vol. ii. p. 228.—Cal. Christ. Obser. vol. i. p. 210; vol. xix. p. 339.—Orient. Christ. Spect. vol. iv. p. 127.—Sum. Orient. Christ. Spect. vol. i. pp. 186, 217, 293, 322, 414, 507; vol. ii. p. 132.—Report of General Committee of Public Instruction, 1838-39, p. 37.—(Amer.) Miss. Her. vol. xxii. p. 83; vol. xli. p. 30; vol. xlvi. p. 21.—Rep. Board For. Miss. 1847, p. 129.—Miss. Rec. Free Church, vol. iii. p. 416.

[2] (Bapt.) Miss. Her. 1833, p. 38.—Long's Handbook, p. 32.

In 1845, a work issued from the Calcutta press, entitled "General Reflections on Christianity, containing a Brief and Philosophical Exposition of the folly of believing in the Divine Origin of Christianity, and relying on it for human salvation. By Collycoomer Doss, President of the Calcutta Phrenological Society." The author professes to account for the miracles of Christ by the laws of phrenology.—Long's *Handbook of Bengal Missions*, p. 32.

A series of infidel tracts, containing vehement attacks on Christianity, was also commenced in Calcutta, and a monthly periodical filled with extracts from the infidel writers of Europe. As the acquaintance of the Hindus with the subject of Christianity was chiefly "through the medium of its advocates," it was thought "exceedingly desirable that they should be made aware of what is said against it, by eminent men born and educated in countries where the religion of Jesus is found to form the national faith."—(*Bapt.*) *Miss. Her.* 1852, p. 183.

These attacks on Christianity were not confined to the Hindus. The following is the title of a late Mahommedan work: "Proofs of Corruptions in the Christian Bible in Persian: to which is appended the Theology of the Christians in Urdu. By a Mahommedan. Hyderabad, 1267 A. H., 1851 A. D." This work professed to be a reply to Mr Pfander's *Balance of Truth*, and Dr Wilson's *Refutation of Mahommedanism*.—*Sum. Orient. Christ. Spect.* vol. ii. p. 312.

was formerly employed by Mr Winslow, one of the American missionaries, as a schoolmaster, and was well acquainted with the Scriptures. He had no belief in Hinduism, and joined the party merely for the sake of pay and distinction. It also sent out agents into the country with a view to the promotion of the objects which it had in view, and excited opposition to the gospel in various places. There was a public meeting in Madras, at which, in the building where it was convened, and in the streets adjacent, there were probably 8000 people assembled. Several resolutions were passed, asserting that the government had violated its neutrality in respect of religion, by encouraging the efforts of missionaries, and in favouring Christians, especially in the Court of Appeal, in the case of the Tinnevelly riots,[1] and in removing one of the judges of that court, because he would not concur in the sentence of the district court against the Hindus concerned in that outbreak. They addressed a memorial to the Court of Directors in reference to these matters, and obtained, it is said, two thousand signatures on the spot."[2]

To converts, the Hindus, in an especial manner, manifested their hostility. "The feeling of abhorrence towards all who embrace Christianity," says the *Friend of India*, "is almost incredibly intense in the Hindu community, and it burns with equal vehemence in the breast of the orthodox and the liberal; of the man who lives according to the ritual of the Hindu Shastras, and of him who eats beef-steaks and drinks champagne at Wilson's; of those who believe the fable of the earth resting on a tortoise, and of those who have gone through the whole circle of European science."[3] "There is no family, orthodox or liberal, however rich, respectable, or exalted, which would not consider it an infinitely greater calamity for any of its members to embrace Christianity, than for him to be transported for the most detestable and degrading felonies."[4] In many cases, the Hindus exercised great cruelty to converts. Sometimes they even attempted their lives. Though apparently mild and gentle, they

[1] See vol. ii. p. 342.

[2] (Amer.) Miss. Her. vol. xlii. p. 131; vol. xliii. pp. 60, 280, 380; vol. xliv. p. 61. —Rep. Board For. Miss. 1847, p. 148.

[3] Friend of India, in Sum. Orient. Christ. Spect. vol. ii. p. 175.

[4] Ibid. in Evan. Mag. 1850, p. 554.

are a bigoted and merciless race; yet in fierceness and malice the Mahommedans far exceed them.[1]

SECT. II.—CHINA.

To the London Missionary Society belongs the honour of sending the first Protestant mission to China. The American Board for Foreign Missions was the next to look to that great field, though not until more than twenty years afterwards. Both of these institutions, indeed, only hovered, as it were, over the entrance to it, by way of Canton; their operations, in fact, were carried on chiefly at a distance, through the medium of the Chinese at Malacca, Penang, and Singapore, in Siam, Java, and Borneo. But, on the opening of certain ports in China to the trade of foreigners, the missionaries in these parts removed, for the most part, thither; and a number of others were sent out by both these Societies to reinforce them, and to establish new stations. Now, also, some of the other principal Missionary Societies in England, on the Continent of Europe, and in America, and some likewise of less note, turned their eyes to this vast empire, and sent thither a number of missionaries. They were not, however, at liberty to occupy any part of the country they chose, but were obliged to settle, for the most part, in Hong-Kong, and at the five free ports, Canton, Amoy, Fuh-Chau-fu, Ning-po, and Shang-hai, a circumstance of considerable disadvantage, in consequence of the variety of denominations who were thus brought together in the same places.[2]

[1] Miss. Reg. 1834, p. 314.

[2] The following are the Societies which established missions in China, and the date of their commencement:—

English.

1807. London Missionary Society.
1844. Church Missionary Society.
1845. General Baptist Missionary Society.
184–. Presbyterian Church in England, holding the principles of the Free Church of Scotland.
1852. Methodist Missionary Society.
185–. Chinese Evangelization Society.

Continental.

1846. Rhenish Missionary Society.
1847. German Missionary Society.

Hong-Kong, though it possessed important advantages as a British colony, was yet very unpromising and uninviting as a field of missions. It was not only unhealthy, and a very contracted sphere of labour, but the population consisted, generally speaking, of the lowest dregs of native society, who flocked to the British settlement in the hope of gain or plunder. Respectable Chinese did not choose to incur the odium which attached to any connexion with an island which had been wrested from them by force.

1849. Swedish Missionary Society.
1850. Berlin Missionary Union for China.

American.

1829. American Board for Foreign Missions.
1836. American Baptist Missionary Union.
1842. American Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions.
1845. American Episcopal Board of Missions.
1847. Methodist Missionary Society, North.
Methodist Missionary Society, South.
1847. Board of Foreign Missions of the Southern Baptist Convention.
Seventh-Day Baptist Missionary Society.

In enumerating the instrumentality at work in China, we should not, perhaps, overlook the Rev. Charles Gutzlaff, whose name has so often figured before the world, in connexion with Missions in that country. He was originally sent out by the Netherlands Missionary Society in 1826, and proceeded at first to Rioun, a small island in the Eastern Archipelago; but he did not remain long there.—*The Netherlands Missionary Society in* 1841, M.S. *pênes me*, p. 9. In 1828, he proceeded to Siam, accompanied by Mr Tomlin, a missionary of the London Society (*Quart. Chron.* vol. iv. p. 69); and in 1831, he came to China, but not in connexion with any particular Society. Being of an erratic disposition, he, within the next two years, made three voyages along the coast of China, then comparatively unknown, the romance of which lost nothing by his descriptions. He was a man of most laborious habits, with a sanguine temperament and enthusiastic spirit; but his attainments were more various than exact, and obtained for him a higher reputation in Europe than in China, where, with the facts before them, people were not so apt to be carried away by the lively imagination which sometimes mastered its owner himself. His career as a missionary was marked by an indefatigable activity, but almost, in the same degree, by an injurious want of a well-regulated plan of action. He was very eccentric, and his proceedings were often almost inexplicable to ordinary men. In short, to use a homely phrase, his mind wanted ballast.

On the death of Dr Morrison, in 1834, Mr Gutzlaff was employed by the British Superintendent as an interpreter, and he was engaged in the same capacity during the war. He afterwards received the appointment of Chinese Secretary to the British Plenipotentiary and Superintendent of Trade, in which office he died.

For some years before his death, Mr Gutzlaff had ceased to call himself a missionary (*Sum. Orient. Christ. Spect.* vol. ii. p. 340); but he still made excursions among the Chinese villages in Hong-Kong, for the purpose of making known the gospel.—*Smith's Exploratory Visit*, p. 172.

In 1844, Mr Gutzlaff formed what he called "The Chinese Christian Union." The object of it was the diffusion of the gospel in China by a native agency; but he did not possess the qualifications necessary for being the head and director of such an institution.

of arms, and which was a continual eye-sore to their national pride.[1]

At Canton, all foreigners were viewed with extreme aversion and jealousy, particularly the English, with whom there had been such frequent quarrels, and from whom they had suffered so much in the late war. The populace were perfectly enraged against them, and did not hesitate to manifest their hostility, even in opposition to the will of the government. In common with other foreigners, missionaries were restricted within very narrow limits, and their facilities for labour were few. After some years, however, the hostility of the inhabitants of Canton to foreigners was somewhat moderated, and missionaries enjoyed greater liberty in carrying on their labours.[2]

At Fuh-Chau-fu, there was also much hostility shewn to foreigners, but this was checked by the authorities. In the villages, the missionaries were well received.[3]

At the other three ports, Amoy, Ning-po, and Shang-hai, the Chinese were most friendly. The missionaries held free and unrestrained intercourse with all classes of the population; and they were treated with kindness and respect by the rulers and the ruled, by rich and poor, in the heart of the crowded city and in the villages in the country. In some instances, they were honoured with visits from the authorities, and with other tokens of civility; and on visiting them in return, they were treated with the utmost respect.[4]

Among the obstacles of missions in China, the difficulty and the poverty of the language were peculiarly formidable. There is probably no language in the world so different from all others as the Chinese, none that is acquired by foreigners with so much difficulty, and, when attained, employed with so little facility. The

In 1849, the members (*i. e.*, we presume, the baptized) were about 3000, and the native preachers 130. It was alleged, that it had at this time preachers in nearly all the provinces of China. The larger number were spread over Kwang-tung and Kwang-si, and the converts were principally gathered from thence. Many of the preachers, however, were lamentably wanting in the first elements of Christian character, and probably practised much deception in the accounts which they gave of their labours and success. —*Chinese Missionary Gleaner*, p. 34.

[1] Smith's Exploratory visit to the Consular Cities of China, p. 507.

[2] Smith's Exploratory Visit, pp. 4, 85, 99, 495.—(Amer.) Miss. Her. vol. xliii. p. 22.

[3] (Amer.) Miss. Her. vol. xlvii. p. 128.

[4] Smith's Exploratory Visit, pp. 286, 418, 420, 472, 490, 495, 523.

written and the spoken languages have both to be acquired; each has its peculiar difficulties; and the acquisition of the one affords only imperfect aids in acquiring the other. The spoken languages of China are attended with very special difficulties, and are found to be very poor, when acquired. Even the best scholars fail to master them so as to speak them fluently and intelligibly, and, after years of study, find themselves still learners. The Chinese themselves do not understand each other with the ease and precision with which the French or English do. Chinese words, and especially the tones which in effect constitute different words, are so similar, that none but nice and well-trained ears can distinguish them. In French or English, it matters nothing whether the key or tone be high or low, sharp or grave, waving or even. But in Chinese you must be right, not only in the word, but in the precise tone; right in the nasals, which are very numerous; right in the aspirates, which are so delicate, that persons sometimes discover, after many months' study, words of everyday use to be aspirated, which they had supposed to be unaspirated, and right in the construction and the idiom; and if you happen to be wrong in any one of these points, you may not be understood. The range of sound, too, which the Chinese allow themselves is so limited, that in speaking their language one is cramped on all hands. Besides, the dialects and sub-dialects of China are exceedingly numerous. In England, difference of dialect is not generally any serious obstacle in the way of being understood; but in China, the slightest differences of pronunciation often affect essentially the sense. Many missionaries appear to acquire the Chinese language imperfectly; and, in truth, when we think of the difficulties attending the acquisition of it, particularly of the spoken language, we can scarcely wonder that this should be the case; and yet, it is plain, that unless missionaries do acquire it so as to speak it intelligibly and fluently, they cannot be expected to make much impression, or do much good by preaching, or other oral instruction.[1]

[1] Miss. Her. vol. xxxvi. p. 206; vol. xlv. pp. 53, 63.

Mr Pohlman, of the American Board, insists, very strongly, on the necessity of attention to the aspirates and tones, while some other missionaries consider them as of little or no importance. He illustrates his views by some striking examples. On one occasion, when visiting a Chinese family, he found the females in mourning, and learned, upon inquiry, that their grandmother was dead. Desirous of obtaining information in

In August 1843, meetings were held at Hong-Kong of the Missionaries of the London Society, the American Board for Foreign Missions, the American Baptist Missionary Union, and the American Presbyterian Board, at which various resolutions were adopted, with a view to a thorough revision of the Chinese New Testament, and to the preparation of a version of the Old Testament. The translations of the Bible by Dr Morrison, and by Dr Marshman of Serampur, were now generally admitted to be exceedingly imperfect and unsatisfactory. Two other versions of the New Testament had since been executed, one by Mr Gutzlaff, the other by Mr Medhurst; and though the last was reckoned superior to any of its predecessors, yet the missionaries connected with the various bodies were fully satisfied of the necessity of a thorough revision of the translation of the whole Chinese Scriptures; and at the meeting held at Hong-Kong, they made arrangements for this end, laying down the principles on which it should be conducted, and dividing the New Testament among the missionaries at the several stations. A revision of the New Testament appears to have been all that was originally intended; but the work turned out to be a new translation. After some time, the American Baptist missionaries ceased to take part in it; but their place was supplied by others connected with the American Episcopal Board of Missions. There arose, however, a controversy among the delegates, who were chiefly employed in the translation, as to the terms which should be employed in rendering the words God and Spirit; and several pamphlets were pub-

regard to the custom of preserving the dead, so common in China, he attempted to ask them whether the corpse had been buried; but he received no answer, except a stare of astonishment. On repeating the question, looks of displeasure succeeded those of surprise and wonder. And it was only by mutual signs and explanations that he discovered the unfortunate mistake he had made. Instead of using *Tâi*, which means *to bury*, he had employed *T'âi*, which signifies to *kill*. He had therefore repeatedly asked these mourners, if they had *killed* their grandmother. The mistake arose from his not *aspirating* the word properly.

The following mistake arose from not giving the proper *tone* to a word. "After studying the language at Amoy several months," says he, "I attempted to preach. In a solemn exhortation to the audience, at the close of my discourse, I intended to hold up the example of Christ, and urge all to be followers of him. After the service, one of the hearers pointed out a ridiculous mistake. By a slight variation in the tone of a certain word, a person is made to say *goat* instead of *example*; and in my closing remarks, I had solemnly urged the audience to come and follow a *goat*, when my design was to invite them to follow the *example* of Christ."—*Miss. Her.* vol. xlv. pp. 58, 63.

lished on the subject, in which much bitterness of feeling was manifested. Some of the translators advocated the adoption of the terms *Shang-te* for God, and *Shin* for Spirit, while others proposed to employ *Shin* for God, and *Ling* for Spirit. As they were equally divided on the subject, they passed a resolution, expressing their inability to come to any decision on the points at issue, and offering the version they had prepared to the Bible Societies in Europe and America, and also to the Protestant Missionaries in China, to be used by them, and to be printed with such renderings of the words *God* and *Spirit* as any of them might think it right to adopt. A revision of the Old Testament has also been made by the missionaries of the London Society; but, according to the accounts previously published, it was not a revision, but a new translation of it, which was required. Such were now the facilities for printing in China, that the Scriptures could be printed at a singularly small cost, a circumstance of vast importance, where so many millions of people have to be supplied.[1]

Of the numbers in China who are able to read, much too favourable accounts have often been given. Indeed, we have no faith in the statements which are commonly given of the general prevalence of education among some of the nations of the East. The Chinese have been called a nation of readers; but the fact is, the proportion of intelligent readers is very small. This is especially the case with those who are most accessible to missionary effort, the lower classes of society. Of the common people, there are very few men who can read intelligently the easiest book. Of the women, it is so rare to find one who is able to read, that it may be said the path of learning is entirely closed to them. Among the country people, whole masses of the youth are growing up entirely ignorant of the use of letters. In many places there is not a single school.

Previous to the opening of the five ports, missionaries were not at liberty to hold public meetings, or to preach to the people; but now they had their places of worship, in which divine service

[1] Rep. Bib. Soc. 1844, p. 109.—Ibid. 1851, p. 90.—Ibid. 1853, p. 111.—Medhurst's China, p. 558.—Report American and Foreign Bible Society, 1844, p. 42.—(Amer.) Miss. Her. vol. xlv. pp. 53, 66.—Rep. Board For. Miss. 1849, p. 163.—Smith's Exploratory Visit, p. 471.—Evan. Mag. 1851, pp. 20, 93.

was regularly performed. At some of the ports churches were erected; and they even preached in the streets, and in front of the temples. Their congregations often amounted to a hundred persons; sometimes to a hundred and fifty, or two hundred; and they commonly listened with much attention, and behaved in a quiet and orderly manner. The missionaries also visited the cities and towns and villages in their neighbourhood; and in some instances they made journeys into the interior to a considerable distance, for the purpose of making known the gospel; but this was an infringement of the treaties with the Chinese government; yet they were, with few exceptions, well received by the people. A number of the Chinese were baptized by the missionaries of different denominations, some of whom were employed in making known the gospel to their countrymen.[1]

Though the employment of the medical art as an auxiliary to missions among the heathen is no new thing, yet it is a feature by which missions in China have been specially distinguished. In consequence of the difficulty which there long was of obtaining access to the Chinese, it was thought that the practice of the healing art might prove a recommendation of missionaries to them, and might open up to them opportunities of making known the gospel to them. With this view, several of the missionary bodies which established missions in China, particularly the London Missionary Society, the American Board for Foreign Missions, the American Baptist Missionary Union, and the American Presbyterian Board of Missions, sent out, besides ordinary missionaries, some who had enjoyed the advantages of a medical education. At all, or most of the stations, dispensaries or hospitals were opened, and medical advice and medicines were given gratuitously. Notwithstanding the prejudices of the Chinese against foreigners, they everywhere manifested great eagerness to avail themselves of their medical skill. They resorted to them in great numbers, many from considerable distances. Diseases of the eye were particularly prevalent among the Chinese. Numbers were operated on for cataract, and the result being in many

[1] (Amer.) Miss. Her. vol. xxxiv. p. 416; vol. xliv. p. 79; vol. xlvii. pp. 154, 381, 384.—Rep. Board For. Miss. 1849, p. 169.—Evan. Mag. 1847, pp. 42, 504, 506.—Ibid. 1848, p. 490.—Ibid. 1849, p. 156.—Ibid. 1853, p. 108.—Rep. London Miss. Soc. 1846, pp. 46, 49.—Ibid. 1852, p. 78.

cases the restoration of sight; this and other successful operations spread the fame of the foreign doctors, and inspired the people with confidence in them. Several Chinese youths placed themselves under the care of one or other of the medical missionaries for instruction in the healing art, and acted as their assistants. Every one at all acquainted with the state of medical practice in China, must be sensible of the great importance of communicating to the Chinese themselves the knowledge of a rational system of medicine.[1]

China is without question one of the most important fields for Christian missions which the world presents. It was long in a manner shut against missionary efforts; but now it is partially opened; and should that extraordinary movement which is at present going on in it, lead to the removal of those obstructions which still restrict and embarrass them, we trust that, while other fields are not neglected, this vast empire will receive from the Christian world a measure of attention somewhat proportioned to its great importance and wide extent.[2]

[1] Report of the Medical Missionary Society in China, pp. 3, 14, 16, 18, 20, 33.—Evan. Mag. 1845, p. 51.—(Amer.) Miss. Her. vol. xxxii. p. 203; vol. xxxiv. p. 338; vol. xl. p. 217.—Fourth Report of the Edinburgh Medical Missionary Society, pp. 11, 18, 26, 31.

In 1838, an institution, under the name of the Medical Missionary Society in China, was formed at Canton by some of the English and American residents. The object of it was to encourage gentlemen of the medical profession to come and practise gratuitously among the Chinese, by affording the necessary aid of hospitals, medicines, and attendants. It did not propose to support medical missionaries of its own, but it received such as were sent out by the missionary societies in England and America into connexion with it as its officers.

In 1841, the Edinburgh Medical Missionary Society was instituted. It was established chiefly by medical gentlemen in that city; and though not restricted, it had a special reference to China. Much credit is due to this society for the zeal with which it has entered into the object for which it was formed.

[2] Of the extraordinary movement in China to which we have referred, we cannot forbear giving some particulars, as it bears so singular an aspect as regards religion, and may affect so materially the future condition of Christianity in that country.

In 1850, an insurrection broke out in the south-western part of the empire, and though insignificant in its beginning, it has since become so formidable as to threaten the overthrow of the Tartar dynasty. One of the insurgents, who called himself Hung-seu-tseun, was acknowledged as emperor, and passed under the designation of Thaeping. It was an insurrection of the Chinese against the Tartars, whom the insurgents appeared resolved to exterminate, slaughtering, without mercy, men, women, and children. They were also greatly opposed to idolatry, and destroyed the idols of the Budhists, and even slew their priests—(*The Chinese Revolution*. London, 1853, pp. 19, 57, 69, 120)—circumstances, one would think, little calculated to increase their

SECT. III.—SOUTH AFRICA.

To no part of the world, with the exception of India, have missionary societies directed so much attention as to South

popularity. Much of their religion was drawn from the Old and New Testaments. The sketches of Scripture history given in their books and proclamations were wonderfully correct, and even the statements of Christian doctrine were truly remarkable, though in some instances they were sadly defaced, and mixed up with additions and errors of their own. The injunctions contained in them relative to the war, partook much of a Mahommedan character.

The following extracts are from *The Book of Religious Precepts of the Thae-ping Dynasty*, as it is called:—

"Who has ever lived in the world without offending against the commands of Heaven? But until this time no one has known how to obtain deliverance from sin. Now, however, the Great God has made a gracious communication to man, and from henceforth whoever repents of his sins in the presence of the Great God, and avoids worshipping depraved spirits (gods), practising perverse things, or transgressing the divine commands, may ascend to heaven and enjoy happiness for thousands and myriads of years, in pleasure and delight, with dignity and honour, world without end. But whoever does not repent of his sins in the presence of the Great God, but continues to worship depraved spirits, practising perverse things as before, and going on to transgress the divine commands, will most certainly be punished, by being sent down to hell, and suffering misery for thousands and myriads of years, in sorrow and pain, with trouble and anguish, world without end.

"*The form to be observed in seeking the forgiveness of sins:*—

"Let the suppliant kneel down in the sight of heaven, and pray to the Great God to forgive his sins. He may either employ such words as occur, or he may use a written form. When the prayer is over, let him take a basin of water, and wash himself clean, or if he perform his ablutions in the river, it is still better. When he has obtained freedom from sin, let him, morning and evening, continue to worship the Great God, praying that God would regard him with favour, and grant him his Holy Spirit to change his heart. At every meal, also, he should give thanks to God, and every seventh day worship and praise God for his mercies. Let him also obey constantly the ten commandments, and not on any account worship the corrupt spirits (gods) that are in the world, neither let him do any corrupt thing. In this way people may become the sons and daughters of the Great God. In the present life they shall be the objects of the divine favour, and after death their souls will ascend to heaven, where they shall enjoy endless bliss. All people throughout the world, no matter whether male or female, Chinese or foreigners, must pursue this method, or they cannot go to heaven."

"*A prayer for a penitent Sinner.*

"I, thine unworthy son, or daughter, kneeling down upon the ground, with a true heart, repent of my sins, and pray thee, the Great God, our Heavenly Father, of thine infinite goodness and mercy, to forgive my former ignorance and frequent transgressions of the divine commands; earnestly beseech thee, of thy great favour, to pardon all my former sins, and enable me to repent, and lead a new life, so that my soul may ascend to heaven. May I from henceforth sincerely repent and forsake my evil ways, not

Africa. Hither the United Brethren, the London Missionary Society, the Methodist Missionary Society, the Glasgow Missionary Society, the Church Missionary Society, the Paris Missionary Society, the Rhenish Missionary Society, the Berlin Missionary Society, the Norwegian Missionary Society, and the

worshipping corrupt spirits (gods), nor practising perverse things, but obey the divine commands. I earnestly pray thee, the Great God, our Heavenly Father, constantly to bestow on me the Holy Spirit, and change my wicked heart. Never more allow me to be deceived by malignant demons, but perpetually regarding me with favour, for ever deliver me from the evil one; and every day bestowing upon me food and clothing, exempt me from calamity and woe, granting me tranquillity in the present world, and the enjoyment of endless happiness in heaven, through the merits of our Saviour and Heavenly Brother, the Lord Jesus, who redeemed us from sin. I also pray the Great God, our Father who is in heaven, that his will may be done on earth as it is done in heaven. That thou wouldst look down and grant this, my request, is my heart's sincere desire."

On occasions of birth-days, thanksgivings of women after child-birth, bringing home a wife, or marrying out a daughter, with all such fortunate occurrences, presentations of animals, wine, tea, and rice should be offered up to God, accompanied by the following prayer.*

"Every seventh day is to be observed as a day of worship, and for thanking the Great God for his goodness.

"*The form to be used in praising God is as follows:—*

"We praise God, our Holy and Heavenly Father.
We praise Jesus, the Holy Lord and Saviour of the world.
We praise the Holy Spirit, the Sacred Intelligence.
We praise the Three Persons, who, united, constitute one true Spirit" (God).

Then follows a hymn:—

"How different are the true doctrines from the doctrines of the world;
They save the souls of men, and lead to the enjoyment of endless bliss;
The wise receive them with exultation, as the source of their happiness;
The foolish, when awakened, understand thereby the way to heaven.
Our Heavenly Father, of his great mercy, and unbounded goodness,
Spared not his first-born Son, but sent him down into the world
To give his life for the redemption of all our transgressions;
The knowledge of which, coupled with repentance, saves the souls of men."

Then follow "the ten celestial commandments, which are to be constantly observed," accompanied by some comments and a hymn after each. They are in substance the same as the law given to Moses on Mount Sinai; but some of them are abbreviated, and the expression is not always literal, probably partly in consequence of their having

* With the view of not lengthening out this note, we do not give the prayer. It reverently expresses the presentation of the offering, and concludes in the same terms as the preceding prayer. On occasion of constructing a hearth, building a house, or opening up ground, and also on funeral occasions, presentations of animals, wine, tea, and rice are to be offered, and forms of prayer are given for such occasions.

American Board for Foreign Missions, have all sent missionaries; and the stations established by some of them were numerous. It would be natural to conclude from this, that South Africa formed one of the fairest fields for missions which the world

undergone a double process of translation, first into Chinese, and then into English."—*North China Mail*, May 14, 1853.

In another publication, entitled the *Trimetrical Classic*, we have an account of the creation of the world, and an outline of the history of the Children of Israel, of their going down into Egypt, of their bondage and hard treatment there by Pharaoh the king, of the plagues inflicted on him and his people, of the passage of the Israelites through the Red Sea, and of the drowning of their enemies, of their journeyings in the wilderness, and of the giving of the law at Mount Sinai;—all this related with great minuteness and singular accuracy. Then comes the following passage:—

"In after ages
It (*the law*) was sometimes disobeyed,
Through the Devil's temptations,
When men fell into misery;
But the Great God,
Out of pity to mankind,
Sent his first-born Son
To come down into the world.
His name is Jesus,
The Lord and Saviour of men,
Who redeems them from sin,
By the endurance of extreme misery.
Upon the cross
They nailed his body;
Where he shed his precious blood
To save all mankind.
Three days after his death
He rose from the dead;
And during forty days
He discoursed on heavenly things.
When he was about to ascend,
He commanded his disciples
To communicate his gospel,
And proclaim his revealed will.
Those who believe will be saved,
And ascend up to heaven;
But those who do not believe
Will be the first to be condemned.
Throughout the whole world
There is only one God,
The great Lord and Ruler,
Without a second."

The poem goes on to describe the declension of the Chinese from the ways of God; and then comes the following passage:—

"God is therefore displeased
And has sent his son,*
With orders to come down into the world,
Having first studied the classics.
In the Ting-yeu year (1837),
He was received up into heaven,
Where the affairs of heaven
Were clearly pointed out to him.
The Great God
Personally instructed him,
Gave him odes and documents,
And communicated to him the true doctrine.
God also gave him a seal,
And conferred on him a sword,
Connected with authority
And majesty irresistible.
He bade him, together with the elder brother,
Namely, Jesus,
To drive away impish fiends,
With the co-operation of angels.
There was one who looked on with envy,
Namely, the King of Hades,
Who displayed much malignity,
And acted like a devilish serpent;
But the Great God,
With a high hand,
Instructed his son*
To subdue this fiend,
And, having conquered him,

* Hung-seu-tseun, the leader of the insurrection.

presents; and yet we scarcely know a single recommendation which it possesses. The population is at once small, scattered, uncivilized, unsettled, often wandering, poor, destitute, degraded. In a single town or inconsiderable district of many countries,

To shew him no favour.
And, in spite of his envious eye,
He damped all his courage.
Having overcome the fiend,
He returned to heaven,
Where the Great God
Gave him great authority.
The celestial mother was kind,*
And exceedingly gracious,
Beautiful and noble in the extreme,
Far beyond all compare.
The celestial elder brother's wife†
Was virtuous and very considerate,
Constantly exhorting the elder brother
To do things deliberately.
The Great God,
Out of love to mankind
Again commissioned his son‡
To come down into the world;
And when he sent him down
He charged him not to be afraid.
I am with you, said he,
To superintend everything,
In the Mow-shin year (1848)
The son‡ was troubled and distressed,
When the Great God
Appeared on his behalf,
Bringing Jesus with him.
They both came down into the world,
Where he instructed his son‡
How to sustain the weight of government.
God has set up his Son
To endure for ever,
To defeat corrupt machinations,
And to display majesty and authority:—
Also to judge the world,
To divide the righteous from the wicked;
And consign them to the misery of hell,
Or bestow on them the joys of heaven.
Heaven manages everything—
Heaven sustains the whole.
Let all beneath the sky
Come and acknowledge the new monarch."
—*North China Mail, May* 21, 1853.

In another publication—*The Book of Celestial Decrees and Declaration of the Imperial Will,* published in the second year of the T'hae-ping Dynasty, denominated Jintze, or 1852, we have a series of orders and proclamations, some by "our heavenly Father the Great God and Supreme Lord, and our celestial elder brother the Saviour Jesus," who both came down to the world, and others by the head of the rebellion, but his orders are given forth as being the ordinances of heaven. In these proclamations, the people are enjoined obedience to the commands of their leader, are reproved for their want of union and their faint-heartedness, are exhorted to be true-hearted and courageous in doing the work of heaven, to fight resolutely, and never to retreat in battle, to display a public spirit, and not to shew selfishness, by secreting, for their own private use, the gold and silver, and other precious things taken from their enemies, but to bring the whole into "the holy treasury of our celestial court;" and they are encouraged to all this, by their being "under the superintendence of our Heavenly Father, and our celestial elder brother sustaining them," and high rewards in heaven are promised to such as distinguish themselves by their bravery, or who die in battle. The following is the conclusion of one of the proclamations:—

"Let the male and female officers all grasp the sword;
As for your apparel, one change will be sufficient.
Unitedly rouse your courage and slay the fiends;

* By the celestial mother, seems intended the mother of Jesus.
† By the elder brother's wife, judging from the context, is meant the wife of Jesus.
‡ Hung-seu-tseun, the leader of the insurrection.

a larger population may be found than in the whole region of South Africa which has been occupied by so many missionaries. Mr Edwards, of the London Society's mission at Lattaku, made the following statement a few years ago:—"Lately, when a number of missionaries were together, an estimate was formed of what might be the number of inhabitants, including the Griquas, on the Orange River, to the Bamanginato in the north, occupying a space of 500 by 100 miles, and it was believed there

> Let gold and silver, with bag and baggage, be disregarded:
> Divest yourselves of worldly motives and look to heaven,
> Where there are golden tiles and golden houses, all glorious to behold.
> In heaven above, you may enjoy happiness and dignity in the extreme.
> The very meanest and smallest will be clothed in silks and satins;
> The males will be adorned with dragon-embroidered robes,
> And the females with flowers.
> Let each one, therefore, be faithful, and exert their utmost energies."
>
> —*North China Mail, May* 28, 1853.

The views given of the character of God in these documents are worthy of notice:—"The Great God, our Heavenly Father and Supreme Lord, is omniscient, omnipotent, and omnipresent, the Supreme Lord over all." There is also in them a high standard of morals. These are frequently and earnestly inculcated, and severe punishments are attached to the breach of them. It is also remarkable how much they rise above the opinions and prejudices which commonly prevail among the Chinese. The worship of false gods is strongly condemned, and the insurgents are not only taught to consider each other as "brethren and sisters," but to look on foreigners, for whom the Chinese have such a supreme contempt, as their "brethren."

Much obscurity and uncertainty hang over the origin of the views of the insurgents, or rather, we should perhaps say, of their leaders. It is plain they must have been derived to a large extent from the Holy Scriptures. Some of the leaders are reported to have enjoyed instruction from individual missionaries, and various names are mentioned, though apparently with no great certainty.—*The Chinese Revolution*, pp. 121, 123, 125, 136. Possibly different individuals may have had communications with different missionaries.

The results of the movement we will not presume to predict. These are beyond the foresight of human wisdom. It is easy to conceive of results of a very different and even opposite nature; but in the meanwhile we may be allowed to quote the following remarks by Mr Muirhead, one of the missionaries:—"It is pleasing to contemplate it as a break on the ordinary monotony of the scene around us, while it excites our highest hopes in reference to the future. However encouraging it be to possess so many facilities as are now at our command for preaching the gospel, the natural influence of these is greatly modified by the listless and stereotyped condition of the people. They are so entrenched in their ancient customs and superstitions, and so averse to everything new in their modes of thought and action, that it has long been my deep impression that, humanly speaking, there must be some peculiar convulsion in this country anterior to any great mental and moral awakening on the part of the inhabitants. Whether the present suits the demands of the case or not, it is perhaps premature to say; only there are many characteristics about it that bid fair to produce a wide-spread and welcome change."—*Evan. Mag.* 1853, p. 623.

might be from 25,000 to 30,000,"[1] or not much more than one inhabitant to every two square miles. Yet this is not the least populous part of South Africa. There are large tracts of country without any inhabitants at all, in some cases from the barrenness of the country, in others from the ravages of war. The population beyond the colony, small as it is, is probably wasting away in consequence of the perpetual warfare which the various tribes carry on with each other, the stronger destroying the weaker, carrying off their cattle, laying waste their towns, and scattering or slaughtering, perhaps devouring, the inhabitants.[2] Of late years, a new enemy to the South African tribes has arisen in the person of the Dutch boers, who have been emigrating in great numbers from the colony, and who, in some directions, have been waging war upon them with the determination of taking possession of the best parts of the country. There is reason to fear that the encroachments of these unprincipled men, who are the dregs of the colonial population, unless restrained by the British government, may eventually lead to the extinction of all the native tribes exposed to their influence; and in the meanwhile they threaten to sweep away all the fruits of the labours of missionaries, particularly among the Bechuana tribes.[3] Between the Kafirs and the British, destructive wars have also broken out three several times within the short space of sixteen years. The missionaries were obliged to flee; their congregations were scattered, and the stations were for the most part destroyed or greatly injured. These wars not only lay waste the fruits of the labours of past years, but they involve the societies in great expense in restoring the stations when peace returns. To occupy such a country in the way in which it has been done, appears to us a great waste of missionary strength, which might have been employed with a prospect of much greater ultimate good than could reasonably be expected among Hottentots and Bushmen, among Namaquas, Griquas, Bechuanas, and Fingoes, or even among Kafirs and Zulus.

It not unfrequently happened that the chiefs and other natives

[1] Rep. Bib. Soc. 1844, p. 122.

[2] Freeman's Tour in South Africa, p. 273.—Arbousset's Exploratory Tour, pp. 52, 55, 77, 128, 226, 267, 284.

[3] Evan. Mag. 1853, pp. 112, 222, 225.—Rep. Miss. Soc. 1853, pp. 14, 66.

of South Africa, and also of other parts of the world, shewed a great desire to have missionaries among them. In some instances they were met by the way coming to seek after them. Many have thought there was something extraordinary in circumstances of this kind, as if they indicated a desire on the part of the heathen after the gospel, and as if, under somewhat of Divine influence, they were "feeling after God." They have looked on them as quite providential, and as a clear call to go with them. Now, a little sober reflection might have satisfied them of the fallacy of all such views. In no instance, we believe, has it ever been found that such desire originated in spiritual views, or was directed to a spiritual end. It was often in the expectation of obtaining protection that the South African tribes desired to have missionaries: in the South Sea Islands it was sometimes the honour of the thing, or the hope of increased traffic with their countrymen, or other imagined temporal advantages.[1]

From the very commencement of missions in South Africa, the colonists generally manifested great hostility to them. They had long grievously oppressed and maltreated the Hottentots, Bushmen, and other aborigines, and they were strongly opposed to their instruction, thinking this would be detrimental to their own interests. They were particularly adverse to the collecting of them together in missionary settlements; their hostility was directed in a special manner against those of the London Missionary Society. Though the colonial government, after the Cape of Good Hope fell into the hands of the British, was not generally unfriendly to the missions, yet at times it did pursue a policy which was very injurious to them.[2] Numbers of people having emigrated to the Cape, many of them have been long friendly to missions; but multitudes are still very hostile to them, particularly to the missionary institutions within the colony. These

[1] Alder's Wesleyan Missions, pp. 37, 40.—Miss. Trans. vol. ii. p. 1.—Miss. Not. vol. i. p. 114.—Ibid. vol. i. (N. S.), p. 143.—Rep. Meth. Miss. 1838, p. 60.—Ibid. 1839, p. 59.—Quarterly Paper Glasgow Miss. Soc. No. x. p. 10.—Amer. Miss. Her. vol. xxix. p. 414.—Moffat's Miss. Labours in South Africa, pp. 389, 608.—Williams's Miss. Enter. p. 670.—Rep. Miss. Soc. 1832, p. 26.

[2] Dr Philip represents Lord Charles Somerset in particular, who was for some years Governor of the Cape, and also, in many instances, the local authorities, as pursuing a very oppressive policy in regard to the missionaries, and the people under their care.—*Philip's Researches in South Africa*, passim.

they were eager to break up, and they spared no means to accomplish their end. The Hottentots and the other Coloured races had enjoyed, particularly of late years, more protection from government than they had in former times. The farmers had great difficulty in obtaining the number of servants which they wanted, and when they did get them, they had not much command or control over them. Hence they raised a mighty outcry against the Hottentots and others of the Coloured races, whom they employed as servants, and were anxious to have more stringent and coercive laws enacted in regard to them. Many complained in an especial manner of the missionary institutions, as withdrawing the people from the service of the colonists, and as being nurseries of indolence and idleness, of thieving and drinking, and other evils. That they might be open to objections may be true enough; but the colonists were violently prejudiced against them, and grievously misrepresented them, setting at nought the good and exaggerating the evil which were to be found in them. These institutions were originally necessary as places of refuge to the Hottentots from the oppressions of the colonists; and from the spirit which still prevailed in the colony, it was evident they were still required for the same end. Notwithstanding the loud complaints which were made, great numbers of the people belonging to the missionary institutions did work with the neighbouring farmers, or employed themselves in various kinds of labour, which, while it paid themselves, was useful to the colony. The Hottentots and other Coloured people were not unwilling to work when they were fairly and punctually paid for their labour. The missionary institutions were a help to them in obtaining fair wages for their work, and good usage from their employers. This was partly at the bottom of the opposition which many of the colonists made to them, and of their unceasing efforts to calumniate and to break them up.[1]

[1] Miss. Trans. vol. i. pp. 481, 483; vol. ii. pp. 84, 158, 161.—Philip's Researches in South Africa, *passim*.—Master and Servant: Documents on the Order in Council of 21st July 1846, pp. vii., 5, 64, 74, 79, 81, 82, 91, 115, 124, 126, 129, 142, 144, 145, 148, 154, 171, 188, 190, 210, 215.—Addenda to the Documents on the Working of the Order in Council of 21st July 1846, pp. 1, 8, 18, 51, 80, 86, 94, 98, 190, 191.—Fawcett's Account of Eighteen Months' Residence at the Cape of Good Hope, p. 65.—Freeman's Tour, pp. 132, 137.

In the last Kafir war (1850–1853) numbers of the Hottentots in the colony went over

It is an interesting fact, that the printing press has been introduced among several of the tribes of South Africa. There was one among the Bechuanas at Lattaku, a station of the London Missionary Society; a second in the Basuto country, at one of the Paris Missionary Society's stations; another in Kaffraria, connected with the Methodist Missionary Society; and a fourth in the Zulu country, belonging to the American Board.

Of the Sichuana language, we have two grammars; one by M. Cassalis, of the Paris Missionary Society, the other by Mr Archbell, of the Methodist Missionary Society. We have likewise two grammars of the Kafir language; one by Mr Boyce, the other by Mr Applegarth, both of them Methodist missionaries; and by another of them, Mr Ayliff, we have a vocabulary of the Kafir language.

The New Testament, and some books of the Old Testament, were translated and printed in both the Sichuana and Kafir languages, besides spelling-books, catechisms, and other small works.[1]

SECT. IV.—CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS.

Of the general results of missions in modern times, it is difficult to speak. Great numbers of the heathen have been baptized in various parts of the world, but mere numbers afford a very inadequate and uncertain test of success. In a question of this

to the Kafirs, many from discontent and irritation at the treatment they had received from the government and the colonists, some from compulsion, and others from a not unnatural sympathy with a great struggle for native independence, and some who did not go over to them, yet sympathized with them. Among these were numbers connected with some of the missionary institutions, particularly with the Kat River settlement and Theopolis, stations of the London Missionary Society; Shiloh, a station of the United Brethren; and Chumie, a station of the United Presbyterian Board. This, of course, raised a great outcry in the colony against missionaries and missionary institutions. Of the perfect innocence of the missionaries there cannot be the shadow of a doubt; and it would be unfair to pronounce any opinion in regard to a defection of a portion of the Hottentots, until there shall be a full, searching, impartial inquiry into the causes and circumstances of their conduct.—See *The Kat River Settlement in* 1851, by James Read, *passim.*—*Freeman's Tour*, pp. 141, 158, 167, 174, 186, 194.—*Evan. Mag.* 1851, pp. 622, 627.

[1] Freeman's Tour, p. 101.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1841, p. 87.—Ibid. 1851, App. p. 48.—Ibid. 1852, p. 129.—Rep. Meth. Miss. Soc. 1846, p. 182.

In 1841, Mr Niven, of the Glasgow African Missionary Society, issued proposals for publishing a grammar and dictionary of the Kafir language,—*Caffrarian Messenger*, p. 134,—but we are not aware that they were ever printed.

kind, we must not look simply to the quantity, but also to the quality of the converts; and if we do this, we shall find it necessary to make large deductions from any estimate founded on mere numbers. The quality will in fact often be found in the inverse ratio of the quantity. Many churches, those on the Continent for example, and some also in our own country, appear to have a very low standard of qualifications for the admission of persons to baptism. Some missionaries belonging to churches which are ordinarily supposed to take high ground on this subject, have also been very lax in this respect, more especially the native agents employed by them. Others there are who have sought to carry out Scriptural and rational principles on the subject, but the converts of these are commonly comparatively few in number; and even among them, there are found not unfrequently persons who ultimately shew, that "the root of the matter" was never in them. We are well aware of the difficulty of forming a correct judgment as to the professions of persons seeking to be admitted into the Church of Christ, but the very difficulty of it makes us the more anxious, that due care and discrimination should be exercised in a matter of such vital importance.[1]

Even where conversion has really taken place, the piety of the

[1] Though we attach no great value to the statistics of missions as an index of their success, yet we like to obtain them; and, exercising our own judgment on them, take them for so much as we think they are worth. On this principle, we shall here subjoin a statement of the number of members or communicants connected with the principal missionary bodies, though in a few cases they are not quite complete:—

United Brethren,	20,254	Period. Accounts, vol. xxi. p. xxvii.
Baptist Missionary Society,	4,472	Rep. Bapt. Miss. Soc. 1853, pp. 56, 57, 58, 60.
Baptist Western Union, Jamaica,	18,403	Ibid. p. 61.
London Missionary Society,	15,026	Rep. Miss. Soc. 1851-1853, *passim*.—Stat. p. 20.
Church Missionary Society,	16,772	Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. 1853, p. 183.
Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (India),	5,025	Stat. p. 28.
Methodist Missionary Society,	76,532	Rep. Meth. Miss. Soc. 1852, p. 124.—Ibid. 1853, p. 114.
General Baptist Missionary Society,	295	Rep. Gen. Bapt. Miss. Soc. 1853, pp. 5, 20, 33, 37.
Welsh Foreign Missionary Society,	28	Stat. p. 11.
General Assembly of the Church of Scotland,	58	Stat. pp. 8, 15, 16, 19.
General Assembly of the Free Church,	268	Stat. pp. 8, 13.—Sum. Or. Spect. 1854, pp. 17, 23.—Free Ch. Rec. (N. S.) vol. iv. pp. 120, 175, 234.
United Presbyterian Board of Missions,	4,294	

converts possesses, in general, no great vigour; it exercises little influence on others around them, and gives no particular promise of going down to posterity. We question if in any part of the heathen world, where missions have been established, the gospel has taken such root, as that the missionaries might be withdrawn with safety, and the people left to themselves, to carry on the work through their own efforts, and at their own expense; yet, until this is accomplished, the work must be considered as still in but an infant state.

We are well aware that in the primitive churches there was to be found much evil, and some unworthy characters, and that an argument may be drawn from circumstances of this kind in vindication of the laxity to which we have adverted. But, on the other hand, it appears from the apostolical Epistles to be a broad plain fact, that they consisted, generally speaking, of individuals who were considered as true Christians, not of persons who were merely willing or desirous to receive religious instruction, or who even professed a desire to "flee from the wrath to come." To persons of this description we do not meet with exhortations suited to their state and character, as we no doubt would fre-

General Assembly of the Irish Presbyterian Church,	8	Stat. p. 15.
German Missionary Society, Basle,	828	Sum. Or. Spect. 1853, p. 81.—Miss. Reg. 1852, p. 123.—Ibid. 1854, p. 13.
Lutheran Missionary Society, Leipsic, (India),	2,152	Amer. Miss. Her. vol. 1. p. 26.
Rhenish Missionary Society,	1,741	Ibid. vol. xlviii. p. 212.
American Board for Foreign Missions,	25,714	Rep. Board For. Miss. 1853, p. 174.
American Baptist Missionary Union,	9,534(?)	Amer. Miss. Her. vol. xlix. p. 246.—Stat. pp. 7, 24.
American Southern Baptist Board for Foreign Missions,	644	Ibid. vol. xlix. p. 246.
American Free-Will Baptist Missionary Society,	38	Rep. Gen. Bapt. Miss. Soc. 1852, p. 87.—Ibid. 1853, p. 56.
American Seventh-Day Baptist Missionary Society	7	Amer. Miss. Her. vol. xlviii. p. 57.
American Presbyterian Board for Foreign Missions,	492	Rep. Pres. Bd. For. Miss. 1853, p. 67.
American Methodist Missionary Society, North,	3,319	Amer. Miss. Her. vol. xlviii. p. 57.
American Methodist Missionary Society, South,	3,494	Ibid. vol. xlviii. p. 57.
American Lutheran Evangelical Missionary Society,	70	Sum. Or. Spect. 1853, p. 32.
American Indian Missionary Association,	1,320	Amer. Miss. Her. vol. xlviii. p. 57.

In 1843, there were also, as we have already mentioned, 128,410 Black and Coloured people, members of the Methodist Church in the United States.

quently have done, had the practice then been to baptize such persons, or to admit them to the Lord's Supper. The addresses of the Epistles, the salutations and good wishes, the exhibitions of doctrine, the exhortations to duty, the reasonings, the expostulations, the prayers contained in them, proceed all on the idea of those to whom they were sent being believers in Christ. So much is this the case, that we fear there are few churches, even in Christian countries, in our day, to which an inspired writer could address such letters. Although, therefore, there were unworthy members in the primitive churches, and even apostates, still, we apprehend that what we have stated is a great and undeniable fact, and that missionaries among the heathen in modern times should studiously seek to form their churches on the apostolic model.

The conversion of a soul to God, in even what are called Christian countries, is a great and wonderful work; but in heathen countries it is much greater, and more wonderful still. It involves a mightier change, and is opposed by stronger obstacles. These may differ in different countries, and in different states of society; but in no country, and in no state of society, are they light and easily overcome. We know that with God all things are not only possible, but easy. We here speak of the work so far as man is concerned; for it is of importance to view it in the one light as well as in the other, he being at once both the agent and the subject of it.

Missionaries among the heathen would require to be particularly jealous of the professions of first inquirers and first converts. To be the first to abandon the religion of his country, and to embrace a foreign faith, obviously requires a stronger effort of mind, and greater principle, than the same act, when numbers of others have performed it beforehand. The honesty of such a man, instead of being taken for granted, on account of the difficulty of the act, should be scrutinized with special care, lest he should be only more designing and more cunning than the generality of his countrymen. Yet missionaries are probably less apt to be guarded in the reception of first than of subsequent converts. They have not yet perhaps been tried by disappointments; and it is natural for them to be pleased with the thought that success is beginning to crown their labours, and so to be more easily deceived by false professions.

Missionaries, and perhaps still more, the friends of missions, often form very fallacious views in regard to them. They make much of little; they put constructions on simple and trivial circumstances which they will not bear; generalize solitary facts; form high anticipations from mere passing events, or present outward appearances, without waiting until time shall develop their results and test their value. Of nothing is man so inadequate a judge as of futurity; and his predictions regarding it are comparatively seldom realized, especially if they relate to moral results. Of this we have many illustrations in the history of missions. If any one will read the accounts of the state and prospects of missions which have been given to the world during the last forty or fifty years, and compare with them the actual results, he will not fail to be struck with the painful fact how greatly these have fallen short of the anticipations formed of them, and how differently things have often turned out from the representations and calculations of short-sighted man.

Few persons have probably any idea of the mutual repugnance which missionaries, and the people among whom they labour, are apt, especially in certain circumstances, to feel to each other. It may seem strange that a missionary should have any other feelings but those of love and compassion for the beings whose salvation he has gone to seek, and yet he is in no small danger of being filled with disgust and contempt for them. The very physiognomy of some tribes (for example, the aborigines of South Africa and New Holland), their nakedness, their filthiness, their licentiousness, their selfishness, their ingratitude, their low cunning and barefaced deception, their ignorance and stupidity, their deep degradation and hopeless wretchedness, may steel his heart against them, and so alienate his mind from them as to indispose and unfit him for useful efforts among them.

On the other hand, the difference in personal appearance, dress, modes of life, and views and feelings generally, which, in almost all cases, exists between the missionary and those among whom he labours, interposes a strong barrier in the way of his obtaining ready access to, and familiar acquaintance with them. It is not merely that his object is one with which they have no sympathy, or even that it is one against which their prejudices and the whole current of their affections are set; but the bare fact,

that he is in so many respects so unlike themselves, prevents their listening to him, and confiding in him, as having friendly intentions toward them.[1] If we combine together the results of their mutual feelings toward each other, it will not be wonderful though they should be found to form a powerful barrier in the way of the spread of the gospel.

It is a remarkable fact how generally missionaries in various parts of the world, and among diverse tribes and nations, bear testimony to the equality of the acquiring faculties of the children in the schools with that of European children. "So far as my observation extends," says Dr Philip, the superintendent of the London Society's missions in South Africa, "it appears to me that the natural capacity of the African is nothing inferior to that of the European. At our schools, the children of Hottentots, of Bushmen, of Kafirs, and of Bechuanas, are in no respect behind the children of European parents." We could adduce similar testimonies regarding the Greenlanders, the North American Indians, the negroes in the West Indies, the South Sea Islanders, and even the savages of New Holland. Nor do we recollect of ever meeting with a single testimony of a contrary nature. It may, therefore, we think, be considered as an established fact, that whatever differences there may be in the original intellectual capacity of individuals, there is no material difference in the original intellectual capacity of tribes and nations, so far as the *learning* faculties are concerned, at least in regard to the more common branches of education, with the exception, perhaps, of arithmetic.[2] Whether their original powers of reasoning, of imagination, of invention, are equal, is another question. On that point we have not evidence sufficient to enable us to form an opinion.

But though uncivilized nations may be equal to civilized nations in their *learning* faculties, they appear to be often, perhaps commonly, deficient in the disposition or ability to *think*, or, at least, in the habit of *thinking*. We have already mentioned a curious fact of this kind in our account of the mission of the

[1] (Amer.) Miss. Her. vol. xxxiv. pp. 114, 461.—Memoir of Mrs Sarah L. Smith. Boston: 1839, p. 183.

[2] (Amer.) Miss. Her. vol. xxviii. p. 119; vol. xxix. pp. 276, 414.

Church Society in the Hudson's Bay Company's territory.[1] The Bechuanas of South Africa are another example of this. We are told they set a high value on the Holy Scriptures, and were greatly given to the reading of them. Indeed, from their having much leisure time and few other books, the New Testament was their principal reading. "If constant reading," says Mr Edwards, one of the missionaries, "would convey knowledge to their minds, many of them would be thoroughly versed in that portion of Holy Writ. It must be confessed, however, that their reading is too generally merely mechanical. After reading large portions at a time, they appear no way concerned as to the meaning of what they have read. Few put any questions to us as to the import of passages they meet with; and if we were not aware of their want of mental energy, we might suppose, from their silence, that every portion of Holy Writ was quite clear to their minds."[2] This want of mental energy, and absence of thought, which is so characteristic of barbarous tribes, shews that it is not enough to prepare books for them, and to teach them to read; unless they are also trained to *thinking*, books will do them comparatively little good.

Here we cannot help remarking, that the question of civilization has not received that consideration in connexion with the subject of missions which its importance demands. Among the objections which were early raised to missions, one of the most common was that civilization was necessary in order to Christianization, that barbarous tribes must be civilized before they can be evangelized. Now, we apprehend the friends of missions did not always do justice to the objections which were made to them. As objections they might possess no weight, and it might not be difficult to answer them, and yet, as *considerations* possessing a certain measure of truth, they might be well deserving of attention. In the present instance, it was easy to shew that the gospel was adapted and was addressed to all mankind, whatever might be their character and condition, to men in savage as well as in civilized life, "to the barbarian and the Scythian, the bond and the free." But yet the objection involved important truth—truth deserving much more consideration than it has received even to this day—the connexion between civilization and

[1] Vol. ii. p. 398. [2] Rep. Bib. Soc. 1844, p. 123.

evangelization, and their mutual influence or bearing on each other. Barbarism and Christianity are certainly not incompatible with each other, yet they are antagonist principles. They may exist together, but they cannot flourish together.

In the selection of fields for missions, the state of the people, in respect of barbarism, appears scarcely ever to have been considered as any objection, or rather seems to have been left out of the account altogether. Many would almost appear to have had a special predilection for establishing missions among the lowest and most degraded portions of the human family. This may partly account for so undue a proportion of missions being established among people in a low stage of civilization. It was perhaps thought that the greater their degradation and wretchedness, they stood the more in need of the gospel, and deserved our pity the more. But this, though true, was a fallacious principle on which to act. We apprehend that, in selecting fields for missions, it is an obvious principle that *the best should be chosen first—those where the difficulties are least, and the facilities greatest.* On this principle, continents are, *cæteris paribus*, to be preferred to islands, populous to thinly-peopled countries, healthy to unhealthy climates, an educated and civilized people to barbarians and savages; in short, that those fields should be selected where, so far as human foresight can judge, there is the probability of the greatest amount of good being done, looking not merely to immediate but to ultimate results. Now, barbarous and savage tribes are generally inconsiderable as regards population, and are often widely scattered, and commonly migratory. Their language, from its imperfection and poverty, is ordinarily little fitted for expressing the truths of religion, or, indeed, any ideas beyond their daily and immediate wants. It is also commonly unwritten, and they are without books and without mental culture of any kind. The untrained and unthinking minds of savages are for the most part less able than educated minds, even supposing them to be inclined, to give continued attention to instruction, and are less capable of understanding, remembering, and applying, the instruction given them. If any of them are brought under the influence of religion, their piety partakes of their degraded character and low condition, and there is little prospect of raising up from among them a well-qualified native

agency to carry on the good work among their countrymen or among neighbouring tribes and nations. The advantages to which we have alluded are to be found only among nations somewhat advanced in civilization, and in its ordinary accompaniments, education and literature. It is a remarkable and not uninstructive fact, that Judea, the point from which Christianity originally emanated, was the very centre of the then civilized world; and that the countries in which it was at first chiefly propagated, so far as appears from the New Testament and other authentic records, were the countries in which civilization, education, and literature principally prevailed.

It is also of importance to remark that civilization is essential to the permanence of Christianity in any country. Dr Philip, from his long experience in South Africa, may well be regarded as a high authority on a question of this kind, and the following is his testimony on the subject:—

"The civilization of the people among whom we labour in Africa is not our highest object; but that object never can be secured and rendered permanent among them without their civilization. Civilization is to the Christian religion what the body is to the soul, and the body must be cared for, if the spirit is to be retained upon earth. The blessings of civilization are a few of the fruits which Christianity scatters in her progress, but they are to be cherished, not only for their own sake, but also for her sake, as they are necessary to perpetuate her reign, and extend her conquests." "The gospel," he again remarks, "never can have a permanent footing in a barbarous country, unless education and civilization go hand-in-hand with our religious instructions. On any other principle we may labour for centuries without getting a step nearer our object—the conversion of the world to God—than what may have been attained in the first ten or twelve years of our missions."[1]

These considerations shew that among barbarous and savage tribes, missions have a mighty work to effect. Civilization is necessary as well as evangelization; and the one is attended with scarcely fewer or less formidable difficulties than the other, as any one will find to his cost, who will fairly make the experiment. The work is in a manner doubled, perhaps by the combination

[1] Amer. Miss. Her. vol. xxix. pp. 418, 420.

more than doubled, as any failure in the one will not fail to counteract the progress of the other.

It is a common idea that Christianity has only to be planted in a country, and civilization will follow as a natural and necessary fruit; but this is only very partially true. We know of no country, either in ancient or in modern times, to which it is possible to point, as to which it can be shewn that the civilization which has existed, or which now exists, was the fruit of Christianity alone. It is sometimes inconsiderately alleged by the friends of religion, that Christianity is the only effectual instrument for civilizing barbarous nations. Now, though there can be no doubt that the religion of Christ is a powerful instrument of civilization, yet it is no less true that there are many other causes often powerfully at work in producing civilization among barbarous nations, and that many countries have been civilized, some of them in a high degree, independent altogether of Christianity, or of true religion. Egypt, Assyria, and Persia, Greece, and Rome, were examples of this in ancient times, and much of the present civilization of the nations of Europe may be traced to the revival of letters, to the progress of literature and philosophy, and of the arts and sciences, to trade and commerce, and to a variety of other causes. We do not mean to exclude Christianity from among the causes of modern civilization; but its influence has probably been much less than is commonly imagined, for among most of the nations of Europe, the religion of the New Testament is nearly unknown, while systems prevail which are diametrically opposed to it. The friends of religion act very unwisely in claiming for Christianity fruits which it has not produced. It has honours enough of its own, and needs no false claim to be made in its behalf.

Civilization does not even necessarily follow in the wake of Christianity. It is generally of slow growth among barbarous and savage nations, more slow often than Christianity itself. After advancing to a certain stage, and giving rise, perhaps, to great hopes concerning them, it often becomes stationary, or even goes backward. Instability and want of perseverance commonly characterize savage and barbarous tribes. Indeed, we who live in civilized society have little idea of the hindrances which impede the progress of uncivilized tribes. "It may be said," write the

missionaries of the American Board among the Sioux or Dakota Indians, "that their civilization would be the natural result of their conversion. And doubtless, if a majority of them were truly regenerated, they would soon make rapid advances in civilization; but so long as the converts form a small minority, it is next to impossible for them, in existing circumstances, to rise much above the general level of the society in which they live. In the present state of things, no Dakota can have in his possession a cow, or even a pig or chicken; and whatever the wishes of individuals may be, they are compelled by the force of circumstances to live with and like savages.

"Those who are disposed to listen to our advice we have persuaded to build houses, fence and plant fields, and try to live like White men; and when they have attempted to do so, we have aided them as far as was in our power; but both they and we have lost our labour. If they build comfortable houses, others occupy them; if they have a sufficiency of food, others eat it; and if they accumulate a little property, it is begged or stolen from them, until they become discouraged, and return to their skin tents, and to that poverty which is their only security from the attacks of thieves and beggars."[1]

Even as it is, it is not easy to estimate the progress of civilization among a barbarous and savage people. We are apt to form too high or too low a judgment of it. To enable one to estimate aright what missions have done for a heathen people, it is necessary that he should know what was their previous character and condition, to fathom the depth of their intellectual, moral, and social degradation; but this it is impossible to understand from mere description. He would require to live for years among them, in order to become thoroughly acquainted with their state and circumstances. If they are not found at so high a degree in the ascending scale as was expected, it is perhaps because their upward movement commenced at a point many degrees lower down than enters the conception of one born and brought up in a Christian land. To make such a man understand heathen character is a hopeless task. It falls not within the range of his mental vision.

To suppose any barbarous or savage tribe brought to a state

[1] Amer. Miss. Her. vol. xlv. p. 431.

of improvement in character and condition, even approaching to that of the inhabitants of Christian and civilized lands, through the influence of modern missions, is a most extravagant idea. If, in twenty, thirty, or forty years, you heave up a nation from the unfathomable depths of heathen demoralization and degradation, and raise it to an elevation resembling that of England or America, we might conclude that the immutable laws of Nature were broken, and nothing henceforth might be thought too strange for belief;—that no night vision was so baseless but it might be realized. It would be nothing short of a physical and moral miracle. Such ideas are perfect delusions. Barbarous tribes are are not so easily raised in the scale of nations, nor in so short a time.[1]

It is, we apprehend, a great mistake to attempt to *Europeanize* converts. This may possibly be advisable, to some extent, in the case of people living among or in close neighbourhood with a civilized race, as the Indians of North America, the Negroes in the West Indies, or the Hottentots of South Africa, but not ordinarily in regard to independent tribes and nations, or those who form the mass of the population of a country. All tribes and nations have a predilection for their own manners and customs, even to the very names current among them; and, in matters of indifference, they should be left to retain their own national practices. To follow a different course is to increase the difficulties of conversion, already sufficiently great, and to expose converts to reproach from their own countrymen, as having become not only Christians but Englishmen or Europeans. Besides, it raises a line or wall of separation between them and their countrymen, interferes with their easy and friendly intercourse with them, and lessens their influence among them. The European dress, stiff and unnatural as it is, sits very awkwardly on the natives of other countries, is much less elegant and becoming than the costume of some of the Oriental nations, and is less adapted to a warm climate than their loose and flowing robes. Even where modesty requires an increase of clothing, we would not be disposed to introduce the European dress, but would engraft improvements on that already in use among the natives, and, as much as possible, in unison with it, modelling it, perhaps, in some cases, after

[1] (Amer.) Miss. Her. vol. xxv. p. 152.—Hawaian Spectator, vol. i. p. 102.

the Oriental style. To our eye, there appears something very unnatural and untasteful in a Kafir or a South Sea Islander dressed up in a hat, coat, and breeches.[1]

In some missions it has been common to give converts European names at baptism, and, in connexion with various stations, persons were incited to give money for the support and education of children, by having their own or other names which they had fixed on, assigned to particular boys or girls. To say nothing more, there was something ridiculous in having a Hindu or Negro boy called by such names as John Calvin, Richard Baxter, David Brainerd, Jonathan Edwards, or William Wilberforce, men who have made such a distinguished figure in the Christian world, and some of them in the history of Europe. What if the youths or converts who were so designated should ultimately prove worthless characters; if John Calvin should turn out a fool, Richard Baxter a reprobate, and William Wilberforce a slave-trader? We have also of late years had a silly and incongruous combination of English titles with Hindu or other heathen names, as the Rev. Krishnu Chundru, or the Rev. James Waimea. In propagating the gospel among the heathen, we should study to propagate it in its scriptural simplicity. There is more evil in the empty titles which have been introduced into the Church of Christ than people generally think. Why not allow the preachers who are raised up among the heathen to retain simply their

[1] We are apt to think no dress so suitable and becoming as our own; but there is sometimes, in even that of savages, something peculiarly graceful. The following extracts from the Journal of the Rev. W. Lawry, the superintendent of the Methodist Missions in the South Sea Islands, when on a visit to the Fiji Islands, may, we think, teach us a useful lesson :—

"*October* 14, 1847.—I observed some of the natives trying to dress after the English fashion, but the failure was complete, and the effect all but ridiculous. An English bonnet, instead of the beautiful way in which the natives dress their hair, causes a sad falling off in their dark faces. A white shirt, and a sable skin above and below, contrast rather unfavourably.

"15*th*. I have procured three Fijian wigs of different sizes, and coloured variously. They are certainly an exact imitation of the several ways in which the chiefs dress their natural hair, or rather get it dressed; for many hours are spent over this work, and there are professed hair-dressers among them. In general, the natives of all these islands dress and wear their hair very beautifully; and, when they try to imitate us by wearing hats or bonnets, they appear quite degraded, and sometimes ridiculous. The wigs which I have procured would add dignity to almost any wearer, and are done up as tastefully and elegantly as if they were designed for English bishops, counsellors, or judges."—*Meth. Miss. Not.* 1849, p. 2.

own names, as did Peter, and James, and John, Apollos, and Timothy, and Titus, and the other first preachers of Christianity? Or if any designation is to be given them, let it be some such scriptural title as a "minister or servant of Jesus Christ," which will tell them of their duties, instead of cherishing their vanity and pride.[1]

Most people, we apprehend, have a very imperfect idea of the grand object of missions. If some souls are converted, they think the end of them is gained, and they will moralize as to the worth of even one soul, and of its salvation being of more value than the whole world, or than ten thousand worlds. This is, no doubt, a solemn truth; but the same instrumentality, the same labour, the same money, which have been expended on missions among the heathen during the last fifty years, if wisely laid out in England or America, would, according to God's ordinary method of working, have effected a far larger number of conversions than has been effected in the heathen world, perhaps by a hundred or a thousand fold. We cannot, therefore, restrict our idea of the importance of missions among the heathen to the conversion of *individual* souls. We must employ a totally different measure in estimating their value. This, though their first, is not their great and ultimate end. It is essential to the accomplishment of that end, but it is not the end itself. The grand design of missions is to multiply the points, and especially important points, from which Christianity may propagate itself in the world. With this design, the great object should be effectually to root it in a country, with a view to its sending forth branches, and shedding its blessed fruits throughout the land, and not throughout it only, but that they may be carried to neighbouring lands, and so be extended from district to district, and from one country to another. In this point of view, such countries as India and China possess transcendent importance. The soul of a Greenlander or a Tahitian is of as great value, considered in itself, as that of a Hindu or a Chinese; but the conversion of the latter is of vastly greater moment, as the commencement, or as a step, of that process to which we have just alluded. Should missionaries succeed in planting (*i. e.*, effectually *rooting*) the gospel in India or China,

[1] Some good observations by the Serampur missionaries on the change of the names of converts may be found in vol. ii. p. 36.

the immense population of these countries and of the countries around them, combined with the character of that population, would invest such success with a thousand-fold greater importance than the same thing in Tahiti or in Greenland, or in any savage country on the face of the earth.

Here we cannot help remarking that some missionaries, in common with many good people, are much given to pronounce judgments in regard to matters of which man is ordinarily a very incompetent judge. They speak with great freedom and familiarity of the conversion of persons—of their "being born again," and of their having "passed from death unto life;" of their "growing in grace;" of their progress in the divine life; and if they happen to die, of their having gone to heaven—gone to glory—gone to be with Christ. Now, these are points as to which man has not adequate means of judging. It is often no easy matter for one to come to a well-grounded judgment as to his own character and state before God; and he must, in the nature of things, be still less qualified to pronounce a well-grounded judgment in the case of others, of whom his knowledge must necessarily be very imperfect, and into whose heart he cannot see. On such subjects a truly wise and pious man will speak with modesty and caution. Missionaries, above all men, might learn to do so, considering the frequent disappointments which they experience in regard to professed converts, not excepting some of whom they have at one time entertained the highest hopes.

The work of the Holy Spirit is another subject in regard to which many are much given to pronounce rash and unwarranted judgments. Of its reality there is no question, but of its nature, and of the way in which it is carried on, we have little knowledge. "The wind," says our Lord, "bloweth where it listeth, and thou hearest the sound thereof, but canst not tell whence it cometh, nor whither it goeth: so is every one that is born of the Spirit." Yet, some missionaries, especially in giving accounts of what they consider as revivals, speak of the presence and agency of the Holy Spirit in their assemblies, as positively and unhesitatingly as they would do of things subjected to their senses. Much of what they often refer to the influences of the Holy Spirit, is probably nothing more than the natural operations of the human mind, under new and exciting circumstances; sometimes, perhaps,

the workings of the imagination, or of the passions, and sometimes the result of mere sympathy. This is all the more probable from what we in many cases see to be the ultimate fruits. But whatever it may be, they at least are not entitled to speak of the work of the Holy Spirit in the easy and familiar and confident style in which they are accustomed to write and to talk of it.

The providence of God is with many another fruitful source of false judgments. When auspicious circumstances occur in regard to a mission, they are set down, perhaps, as a clear call in providence; as leadings of providence; as wonderful and gracious interpositions of providence; or they are spoken of as sure tokens of the divine favour; as unequivocal testimonies of the divine approbation; as evident marks of the divine presence; as "the Lord himself appending his own seal to the mission, by adding one after another to the Church of such as shall be saved." It is no doubt true that the government of God extends to everything which takes place in the Church and in the world, whether great or small, and that it is our duty to observe and mark the doings of divine providence; but, in general, it becomes not so ignorant and so blind a creature as man, to sit in judgment upon them, to be always interpreting them, always explaining to himself and others their causes, ends, and design. There are some men who are never at a loss to understand the providence of God; they see it step by step; and the acknowledgment of it is continually in their mouths. This may have the appearance of piety; but it is a very unenlightened and unscriptural piety: it is, in truth, gross presumption. How differently did the apostle Paul feel and act! "O the depth of the riches both of the wisdom and knowledge of God! How unsearchable are his judgments, and his ways past finding out!" It should also be recollected that others can interpret providence as well as we. Romish missionaries, for example, tell us of the interpositions of God in their behalf as well as Protestant missionaries; and interpreters of providence will often not find it easy to draw a line of distinction between the cases of the one and of the other. Heathens, too, have their providences which may not unnaturally be interpreted in their favour. Besides, what shall we say to inauspicious circumstances,—to counter providences? These are not unfrequent in the history of missions. Are we to hold them as manifestations of the divine dis-

pleasure? as tokens of the divine disapprobation? as proofs of the divine condemnation? But though we are not to indulge in *interpretations* of providence, there is ample room for a hallowed improvement of it in adoration, in thanksgiving, in humiliation, in submission, in encouragement and hope, in prayer and praise, according to the aspect of its varied dispensations.

The only other point to which we shall here refer is the manner in which many speak of the agency of Satan. This they find a very simple and easy way of explaining untoward events. If opposition arises, they unhesitatingly ascribe it to Satan; he is perhaps spoken of "as raging." If this opposition arises out of supposed success, he is described as "trembling for his kingdom;" and it is often set down as a favourable indication,—as a proof of the progress of the good work. Some things are spoken of as instances of the great power of Satan, and perhaps also of his great success. Now, though the Scriptures leave no doubt of the agency of the devil in our world, and of the great evil which he effects in it (1 Pet. v. 8; Rev. xii. 9; xx. 2, 3); yet it should be recollected that he is a spirit, and that his agency is of a spiritual nature, and that it is unseen and little understood by us. While, therefore, we maintain the Scripture doctrine on the subject, it becomes us to speak with caution and reserve as to his acts and influence in particular cases.

Were it not that we might be thought chargeable with the very error we are condemning, we would almost be disposed to remark that we doubt whether Satan is so easily put in a rage as some seem to think, or that he is so readily made to tremble for his kingdom, which has been so long, and is still, so firmly established in the world.

There is another point which seems greatly forgotten by many who are ever ready to explain the evil in our world by the agency of Satan, that there are other fallen beings besides "the Devil and his angels;" that our earth is at all times peopled by hundreds of millions of human beings who are all sinful creatures, whose "hearts are deceitful above all things, and desperately wicked." Now, though we do not mean to deny the evil influence of Satan over these hundreds of millions of human beings, yet we cannot forget the fact that they themselves are depraved, and that much of the evil for which Satan gets credit, may be satisfactorily

accounted for by the natural operation of their own corruption and ungodliness. When we have so adequate a cause at hand to account for the existence and operation of evil in the world, we think we should be less disposed to be always referring to an agency which, though we know as a general fact to be in active operation, is yet in particular cases not ascertainable and not computable by us. We suspect some people have got into the way of ascribing all evil to Satan as an apology or covert for their own sinfulness, thus making him a scape-goat for the depravity of their own hearts.

We conclude in the words of MILTON's sublime prayer:—

"COME FORTH OUT OF THY ROYAL CHAMBERS, O PRINCE OF ALL THE KINGS OF THE EARTH; PUT ON THE VISIBLE ROBES OF THY IMPERIAL MAJESTY; TAKE UP THAT UNLIMITED SCEPTRE WHICH THY ALMIGHTY FATHER HATH BEQUEATHED THEE; FOR NOW THE VOICE OF THY BRIDE CALLS THEE, AND ALL CREATURES SIGH TO BE RENEWED."[1]

[1] Milton's Works. London, 1834. P. 66.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX.

No. I.

A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF MISSIONS OF INFERIOR NOTE, &c. &c.

I. THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL IN FOREIGN PARTS.

NEW YORK.

In June 1701, was incorporated by royal charter, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, consisting entirely of members of the Church of England. Though it directed its attention chiefly to the supply of the British colonies in North America and the West Indies, with Episcopal ministers, and catechists, and schoolmasters, it did not entirely overlook the heathen world. As there were great numbers of negroes in the American colonies, the Society early gave directions to its missionaries, to use their best endeavours for instructing the slaves in their neighbourhood in the principles of Christianity. In the prosecution of this work, however, they met with many difficulties. Numbers of the masters were perfectly indifferent about the instruction of their slaves, and would allow them no time for that purpose; others openly opposed it, alleging that the negroes had no souls, and that they grew worse by becoming Christians.

In 1704, a school was opened in New York for the instruction of negroes, by Mr E. Neau, a French refugee, who had been several years in the galleys, on account of his profession of the Protestant faith. He was at first obliged to go from house to house to instruct the negroes, which proved an exceedingly laborious task; afterwards he obtained permission for them to come to his house, which was a considerable relief. This place, however, was too small to contain the numbers who might have attended; and as they were allowed only a little time in the dusk of the evening, after being completely fatigued by the labours of the day, they could scarcely be ex-

pected to make very rapid progress. Notwithstanding these difficulties, Mr Neau prosecuted his labours among them with great diligence and zeal. A considerable number of the negroes acquired some knowledge of the principles of Christianity, and many of them were baptized.

In 1712, a number of negroes about New York conspired together to murder the English inhabitants, with the view of recovering their liberty. The scheme was happily discovered and defeated; but yet many of the White people took occasion from it to oppose the instruction of the slaves. Mr Neau durst hardly appear for some days in the streets; and strange to tell, his school was represented as the principal cause of the conspiracy. On the trial of the ringleaders, however, there were only two of all his scholars who were accused of it. One of these had been baptized, and though he was condemned as guilty, it was afterwards generally acknowledged that he was perfectly innocent. The other was not baptized, and though he was convicted of the conspiracy, it appeared he had no hand in the murder of his master. Upon the whole, the negroes who were guilty, were such as had never attended the school; and what is worthy of notice, the persons whose slaves were most criminal, were such as were the avowed enemies of instructing them in the principles of religion.

Notwithstanding these circumstances, a violent clamour was excited against the labours of Mr Neau. The common council of New York, passed an order prohibiting the negroes from appearing in the streets after sunset without lanterns and candles. This was in effect forbidding them to attend the school, as none of them could come before sunset, or procure lanterns after it. By degrees, however, the apprehensions of the people began to subside. The governor endeavoured to dispel their jealousy with respect to the instruction of the negroes; and as, after visiting the school, he expressed his approbation of it, the work began to be carried on with new vigour. We have noticed these circumstances more particularly, because they form a striking counterpart to the conduct of the enemies of missions in the West Indies in later times. Many pretended, indeed, that it was only to the dangerous and fanatical doctrines of the Sectarians that they were inimical, and that they would gladly receive the authorized teachers of the Church of England; yet we see, that when the Church of England did send forth missionaries, they met with the very same kind of treatment.

MOHAWK COUNTRY.

In 1704, the Society, in consequence of a recommendation from her Majesty Queen Anne, sent the Rev. T. Moor to labour among the Mohawk Indians in the neighbourhood of New York. On his arrival, he offered to settle among them and instruct them; but though they treated him in a very courteous manner, they declined returning a positive answer to his proposals until they should consult with the other tribes. After waiting near a twelvemonth at Albany, he returned to New York, discouraged by

their repeated delays. He afterwards embarked for England; but the ship, it was supposed, foundered at sea, as neither he nor any of the crew was ever heard of.

In 1712, the Rev. Mr Andrews, whom the Society had appointed to labour among the Mohawk Indians, arrived at Albany. Four sachems of the Iroquois, or Five nations, who came some time before on an embassy to England, had requested that missionaries might be sent to instruct their people; and the queen, with the view of promoting this object, ordered a fort to be erected among them, a chapel for Divine worship, and a house for the missionary. The fort was 150 feet square, and was garrisoned by a small party of soldiers under the command of an officer.

On arriving at the scene of his labours, about 200 miles from New York, Mr Andrews began to instruct the Indians in the principles of religion through the medium of an interpreter. In his intercourse with them, he treated them in the most friendly and courteous manner. He often entertained them at his house, and even gave them provisions home with them when they happened to be in want, which was not unfrequently the case. A schoolmaster, who accompanied him, opened at the same time a school for the children. He also had to treat them with the greatest lenity; he durst not employ the smallest correction, as the parents set so little value on learning, that they would not have thought it worth purchasing at the expense of corporeal pain to their offspring.

Besides procuring an impression of Hornbooks and Primers in the Indian language for the use of the children, the Society endeavoured to obtain a translation of some parts of the Scriptures into it. In this they were much assisted by the Rev. Mr Freeman, of Schenectady, who had been employed by the Earl of Bellamont, about the beginning of the century, in instructing the Indians in his neighbourhood. He had already translated into the Mohawk language the Gospel of Matthew, and many select passages from the Old and New Testaments, and also the Morning and Evening Prayers from the Liturgy of the Church of England. Several chapters of the Bible were printed at the expense of the Society, together with the Morning and Evening Prayers, the Litany, the Church Catechism, and some family prayers.

After initiating the Indians in the principles of Christianity, Mr Andrews baptized a considerable number of them; but most of the savages in a short time grew weary of instruction, and in the course of their hunting expeditions, which often lasted several months, they forgot much of what they had learned. Besides, some of the Jesuits from Canada endeavoured to infuse suspicions into their minds, as if the English, by erecting a fort in their neighbourhood, designed to murder them, under the pretence of instructing them in the principles of religion; and some of the Tuscarora Indians, who had fled from North Carolina, so animated them with hatred of the English, that when any of them came to the fort in their way to Albany, they used to mock Mr Andrews, and when he offered to visit them at their own houses, they positively forbade him. The Mohawks in a short

time came no more to chapel, and their children left off attending school. Mr Andrews and his fellow-labourers, the interpreter and schoolmaster, were even frequently in danger of their lives when they went out of the fort. For these reasons, the mission was at length relinquished about the year 1718.[1]

The mission among the Mohawk Indians was afterwards renewed; but at what particular period, we do not exactly know. It appears, however, that in 1736, Mr Barclay, a young man, it is said, of great zeal, was labouring among them with very encouraging prospects of success. Every day they became more eager for instruction, a very considerable reformation of manners was effected among them, and it was truly amazing to witness the progress of the youth in reading and writing their own language. All the young men, from twenty to thirty years of age, regularly attended the school when at home, and would leave a frolic rather than lose a lesson. Mr Barclay's labours among the Indians, however, were carried on under great disadvantages. His own salary was extremely scanty, and he could obtain no allowance for an interpreter or a schoolmaster. He was willing to have continued his labours among them amidst these and other discouragements; but it would seem he was at length obliged to leave the Indians for want of pecuniary support.[2]

FLORIDA.

In 1768, a mission was begun in Florida, a catechist being appointed to labour among the Indians on the Mosquito shore, and a missionary was added the following year. The attempt was continued till it sunk with others, under the change of political circumstances.[3]

Of the subsequent operations of the Society among the Indians in North America, we possess no particular account, but we apprehend they were inconsiderable. Nearly the whole of its missionaries were employed among the White inhabitants. Two of those in Canada, however, were appointed to visit the Mohawk Indians, and one or two schoolmasters were settled among them.[4]

BARBADOES.

In the beginning of the 18th century, General Coddrington bequeathed to the Society two plantations which he possessed in the island of Barbadoes, and part of his island of Barbuda. The objects which he had more particularly in view, will be seen from the following abstract of that part

[1] Humphrey's Historical Account of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, pp. 13, 81, 233, 284.

[2] Hopkin's Memoirs, p. 66.

[3] Propaganda, being an abstract of the proceedings of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, p. 60.

[4] Miss. Reg. 1815, p. 344.

of his will which relates to them:—"General Coddrington gives and bequeaths his two plantations in the island of Barbadoes, and part of his island of Barbuda, to the Society for the Propagation of the Christian Religion in Foreign Parts, erected and established by his good master King William the Third; and desires that the plantations should continue entire, and 300 negroes, at least, always kept thereon, and a convenient number of professors and scholars maintained there, who are to be obliged to study and practise physic and chirurgery as well as divinity, that by the apparent usefulness of the former to all mankind, they may both endear themselves to the people, and have the better opportunity of doing good to men's souls, whilst they are taking care of their bodies; but the particulars of the constitution he leaves to the Society, composed of wise and good men."[1]

Since that period, after many difficulties arising from lawsuits with the executors, the erection of a college at considerable expense, and the devastations occasioned by frequent hurricanes, an establishment was formed and supported with the produce of the estates, consisting of a president and twelve scholars; stipends being allowed to those who were desirous of prosecuting their studies in England, either in divinity, law, or physic.[2]

It would appear from this account, that the Society had not been very faithful in executing General Coddrington's will. According to it, professors and scholars were to be maintained on his plantations; the students were consequently to carry on their studies there, and these studies were to consist of "physic and chirurgery as well as divinity;" but according to the statement now given, stipends were allowed to those scholars who were desirous of prosecuting their studies in England, and that not merely in the branches prescribed by General Coddrington, but also in law, for which he had made no provision whatsoever.

In 1829, lectures began to be given in the college by professors. This, it appears, was chiefly with a view to the preparation of candidates for the ministry in the Church of England. A number of the students were afterwards ordained by the Bishop of Barbadoes, and became incumbents or curates in his diocese. Whether they were "obliged to study and practise physic and chirurgery as well as divinity," we do not know, but from the silence maintained on this point, we suspect that this part of General Coddrington's will was neglected.[3]

In August 1831, Barbadoes was visited by a tremendous hurricane, which produced terrible devastation throughout the island. Among many others of the principal buildings on the island, that venerable structure, Coddrington college, whose massy walls, it was supposed, would resist the violence of almost any tempest, and which had lately been largely extended for the reception of students, was reduced to a heap of ruins.[4]

Though the Coddrington plantations had been bequeathed to a "Society

[1] Miss. Reg. 1831, p. 128. [2] Ibid. 1820, p. 309.
[3] Ibid. 1830, p. 49.—Ibid. 1831, p. 436.— bid. 1835, p. 157.—Ibid. 1836, p. 167.
[4] Ibid. 1831, p. 512.

for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts," yet the religious instruction of the slaves on these very estates was to a great extent neglected. From the evidence given by the Society's agents in 1789, before the Privy Council, it appears that they were not allowed the Sabbath as a day of rest, but had, like the slaves on other estates, to labour for themselves. Polygamy was generally practised by them, nor was any attempt made to introduce marriage among them. A catechist indeed was employed to instruct them, but he had little success in promoting their religious or moral improvement, probably because he employed little means for this end, and because the means employed by him were little fitted to be useful; in short, the negroes on the Society's plantations were in no respect either better or worse than their fellows on the neighbouring estates.[1]

It is stated by the Rev. Mr Pinder, the Society's chaplain, that "the slaves on these estates were never provided with any regular system of religious teaching until the year 1818," and even then there was in the school an express regulation, excluding writing and arithmetic from the system of instruction; and the attendance was restricted to children under ten years of age. The consequence of this was, that even the best scholars could read only in the New Testament or the Psalter, and that all adults were excluded from learning to read.

Even polygamy still prevailed among them, and out of nearly 300 slaves on the estate, there was, in 1823, only one instance of marriage among them legally solemnized; a fact which says but little for their religious and moral improvement. Even the general treatment of the slaves does not appear, up to 1818, to have differed materially from the treatment of slaves on other estates.[2]

On the passing, by the British legislature in 1833, of the Act for the Abolition of Slavery in the West Indies and other Colonies, the Society resolved to take an active part in providing for the religious instruction of the enfranchised negroes. A special fund was raised for this purpose,[3] and it made large grants of money for the erection of churches and schoolhouses, and for maintaining, or assisting in maintaining, ministers and teachers among them.[4]

AFRICA.

In 1751, the Rev. Thomas Thompson, who had spent four years in North America as one of the missionaries of the Society, proceeded to the Gold Coast in order "to make a trial with the natives, and see what hopes there

[1] Anti-Slavery Reporter, vol. ii. p. 416.

[2] Anti-Slavery Reporter, vol. ii. p. 421.—Miss. Reg. 1820, p. 399.—Ibid. 1824, p. 153.

[3] The sum of £65,000 was raised by voluntary contributions; £62,000 was received from the Parliamentary grants for negro education; and in the course of eleven years, the Society expended besides, from its general fund, £26,000; making in all no less than £153,000.—*Miss. Reg.* 1847, p. 225.

[4] Miss. Reg. 1839, p. 413.

would be of introducing among them the Christian religion." During the four years of his stay, he officiated as chaplain at Cape Coast Castle; but he was much discouraged in his endeavours to introduce the gospel among the natives. His health having failed, he returned to England in 1756; but previous to this, he had sent home three native boys for education; one of whom afterwards went to the University of Oxford, and having completed his education there, received ordination with a view to his labouring in his native land.

In 1766, the Rev. Philip Quaque, as he was called, was appointed as a missionary, catechist, and schoolmaster, to his countrymen; he was also chaplain at Cape Coast Castle. Here he laboured for about half a century, but he does not appear to have been instrumental in turning any of his countrymen to Christianity; nor will this excite much surprise when it is known that on his death-bed he gave evidence that he had at least as much confidence in the influence of the Fetish as in the power of Christianity. After his death, several English chaplains were sent out, but they successively died soon after their arrival at Cape Coast Castle.[1]

II. THE SOCIETY IN SCOTLAND FOR PROPAGATING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE.

NORTH AMERICA.

THE Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge was instituted at Edinburgh in the year 1709. The chief design of this institution was, the extension of religion in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland; but it likewise extended its views to the conversion of the heathen.

In 1730, the Society granted a commission to several gentlemen in New England to be their correspondents in that quarter of the world, with power to choose persons qualified for the office of missionaries, and to fix the particular places where they should labour. In 1732, this board appointed three persons, as missionaries to the Indians on the borders of New England, namely, Mr Joseph Secomb, at Fort George on George's River, where the Penobscot Indians traded; Mr Ebenezer Hinsdale, at Fort Dummer on Connecticut River; and Mr Stephen Parker, at Fort Richmond, both places of resort for the Indians. These missionaries were maintained by the Society till the year 1737, when they were dismissed on account of their want of success, and their declining to live among the Indians.

The trustees for the colony of Georgia having, in 1735, engaged a considerable number of people from the Highlands of Scotland to settle in that part of America, and being desirous that they should have a Presbyterian minister to preach to them in Gaelic, and to teach and catechise the children in English, applied to the Society to grant a commission to such

[1] Beecham's Ashanti and the Gold Coast, p. 257.

a minister, who should likewise act as one of their missionaries for Christianizing the Indians, and to allow him a salary for some years, until the colonists should be able to maintain him at their own expense. The Society accordingly appointed Mr John Macleod, a native of the Isle of Skye. This mission was supported till 1740, when the greater part of the inhabitants of Georgia having been cut off in an expedition against the Spaniards at St Augustine, Mr Macleod left the colony.[1]

In 1741, the Society established a board of correspondents at New York, with the same powers as that at Boston. This board appointed Mr Azariah Horton to labour as a missionary on Long Island, and named as his assistant and interpreter, an Indian called Miranda, who had for some time laboured to instruct the Delaware and Susquehannah Indians. Miranda died soon after his appointment; but Mr Horton remained for several years on Long Island. On his arrival, he met with a very favourable reception from the Indians. Those who lived at the east end of the island, in particular, listened with great attention to his instructions, and many of them were brought to inquire what they should do to be saved. A general reformation of manners quickly ensued among them; many of them were impressed with deep convictions of their sinfulness and misery; and there were a number who gave satisfactory evidence of their saving conversion to Christ. In the course of two or three years, Mr Horton baptized thirty-five adults and forty-four children. He also took pains to teach them to read, and some of them made considerable progress. But the extensiveness of his charge, and the necessity of his travelling from place to place, rendered it impossible for him to pay that regular attention to this important object which was desirable.

Such was the promising aspect of this mission for some time; but it was not long before there appeared a melancholy declension among some of the Indians, in consequence of the introduction of spirituous liquors among them, and their being allured by this means into drunkenness, their darling vice. Some, too, grew careless and remiss in attending on divine worship; but still there were a number who retained their first serious impressions, and continued to breathe the temper of genuine Christians. In 1750, the school at Montawk and Shemcock contained about sixty children, who made considerable progress in learning; and, in general, the means of grace appeared to be blessed to the poor Indians. But in 1753, Mr Horton was dismissed from his mission on Long Island, in consequence of his not having adequate employment, the Indians whom he used to preach to having dwindled away by death or dispersion, and there being little prospect of success among those that remained, and some being so situated that they could be conveniently taken care of by other ministers. We are informed, however, that, in 1788, the Indians in those places where Mr Horton had laboured were still religiously disposed, and that they had two preachers among them, both Indians, and well esteemed.[2]

[1] Account of the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge, 1774, pp. 5, 18.
[2] Account of Soc. for Prop. Christ. Know. 1774, p. 15.—Bonar's Sermon before ditto, p. 49.

The Corporation for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England, having resolved to send a missionary and a schoolmaster to the Cherokee Upper towns, provided the Society in Scotland would send another missionary and schoolmaster to the same towns, the Society allowed £60 sterling a-year for this purpose, and placed it under the management of certain persons in Carolina and Virginia. In consequence of this, Mr Martin engaged in this mission in December 1757; and appearances being promising, Mr Richardson was sent thither the following year; but as the Cherokees joined in hostilities with the French against the English, the mission was soon after relinquished.

In 1762, the board of correspondents at Boston sent three missionaries to Ohonoquagie, an Indian town on the river Susquehannah. They were received by the Indians with great cordiality; but as they were not so successful as was expected, they returned to Boston.

As ignorance of the Indian language had always been a great obstacle to the propagation of Christianity among the Indians, the board of correspondents at Boston adopted a plan for the education of English and Indian youths. Three Indians were put to school; but as many inconveniences, and particularly a great expense, were found to attend this scheme, it was given up. They then attempted to establish schools in the Indian settlements; but the Indians on the borders of New England having commenced hostilities, this measure was attended with little effect.

In 1772, the Society sent two missionaries and an interpreter to the Delaware Indians. On their arrival, many of the savages were attentive to them, and some were desirous of being instructed in the Word of God. But these promising appearances quickly vanished; and the Indians ordered them to return to those who sent them.

The Society also paid £40 sterling towards the support of four missionaries, who were sent, in 1773, to the Indian tribes in Canada.[1]

III. THE CORPORATION FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL IN NEW ENGLAND.

RHODE ISLAND.

In May 1733, the Rev. Joseph Park was sent by the Commissioners of Indian affairs, to preach to the Narraganset Indians, about Westerly and Charlestown, in Rhode Island, and to such of the English as would attend on his instructions. After some years, the revival of religion, which was so remarkable in various parts of America, extended to this quarter, and was by no means confined to the White people. About the beginning of this

—Brainerd's Life, p. 547.—Gillies' Hist. Collect. vol. ii. p. 448.—American Correspondence, among the records of the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge, MS. vol. i. p. 106.—Edwards' Works, vol. i. p. exciii.

[1] Account of Soc. for Prop. Christ. Know. p. 15.

visitation, some of the Indians appeared to be seriously impressed with the truth, and several of them seemed to be set up as monuments of divine grace. But the power of religion began to be most remarkably displayed among them as a body, in February 1743, when a number of Christian Indians, from Stonington, a neighbouring town, came to visit their countrymen at this place. From that time, the greater part were impressed with a serious concern about their souls. They now relinquished their dances and drunken frolics, and flocked more to the worship of God than they used to do to their amusements. Formerly there were not above ten or twelve of the Indians who came to the church; now there were near a hundred who attended very regularly; many of whom afforded the most pleasing evidence of a change of heart. Within little more than a year, upwards of sixty of them were baptized, and admitted to full communion with the church. In speaking of them, Mr Park says, "Considering the disadvantages they are under, by not being able to read, they may well be called experienced Christians, and are examples of faith, patience, love, humility, and every grace of the Holy Spirit. I have sometimes been ashamed, and even confounded before God at myself, when I have been among them, and have heard their conversation, beheld their zeal, and fervent charity toward each other. They are abundant in their endeavours to bring over such as oppose themselves, by setting before them the evil of their ways, and the comfort and sweetness of true religion. When they are assembled for divine worship, their hearts are often drawn out to plead with their brethren, so that with joy I have stood still to see the salvation of the Lord.

"Their faith in God encourages and quickens them in duty to obtain the promises of the good things of this life, as well as of that which is to come; so that there is a change among them on the outward no less than in the inward man. They grow more decent and cleanly in their dress, provide better for their households, and get clearer of debt.

"The most of the Indians who are here, in a body are come into the kingdom of God; and the most of those that are without, are hopefully convinced that God is in the others of a truth, and of the necessity of their being partakers of his grace. Indeed, the Lord seems to be extending the power of his grace to such as are scattered abroad."[1]

This revival of religion among the Narraganset Indians does not appear to have been temporary. We suppose, at least, it is to them that the Rev. Charles Beatty refers, in the following account, which was written a few years before the commencement of the American war:—"I have now in my hands," says he, "a catalogue containing the names of Indians belonging to the Narraganset tribe in New England, in number about three hundred and fifteen. Mr Samuel Drake, who has furnished the catalogue, and also written an account of them, and who has lived fourteen years among them as a schoolmaster, says, 'He believes, in the judgment of

[1] Prince's Christian History, vol. i. p. 201; vol. ii. p. 22.

charity, that, in the above number of Indians, there are seventy real Christians; that about sixty of them have entered into covenant with God, and one another, as a church of Christ, and are determined to follow the Lamb of God whithersoever he goes; that three evenings in the week they constantly meet together for singing and prayer; and that, in their devotions, their affections seem to be surprisingly drawn out; that they are not fond of receiving any into church fellowship but such as can give some good account of their being born again; that they steadily maintain religious worship in their families; that, once in four weeks, they celebrate the Lord's Supper; and that, at certain sacramental seasons, he has thought the Lord Jesus seemed, as it were, to be evidently set forth crucified before them; that if any of their brethren return to their former sinful practices, the rest will mourn over them as though their hearts would break; that, if their backsliding brethren repent of their sin, and manifest a desire again to walk with the church, their rejoicing is equal to their former mourning; but that, if no fruit of repentance appears, after they have mourned over them for several meetings, they bid the offender farewell, as if they were going to part to meet no more, and with such a mourning as resembles a funeral. I have been at several such meetings, and there has been such a lamentation in the assembly, when they were obliged to part with a brother as a heathen man or publican, that even the sinner, who previously appeared perfectly obstinate, was so affected as to appear inwardly in pain for sin, and continued to cry to God for mercy, till he was delivered from his load of guilt, and admitted into fellowship with the church again.' He adds, 'That this religious concern began among these Indians twenty-six years since; that their pious minister is one of their own number, Mr Samuel Niles; and that many of their children are now able to read the New Testament to their parents.'

"There are several other tribes of Indians in New England, not far distant from this tribe, that have received the Christian religion, a number of whom, as I am credibly informed, in the judgment of charity, give evidence of their being real Christians, and have occasional communion with those of the Narraganset church, particularly about thirty or forty of the Mohegan Indians; about twenty of the Pequot tribe; six or seven of the Neantick tribe. Both these tribes live in the colony of Connecticut.[1] There are also some of the Stonington tribe, that have occasionally

[1] It is probably to some of these Indians that the following statement relates:—About the year 1745, the Indians in the neighbourhood of Plainfield, in Connecticut, were much impressed with the truths of religion, and gave the strongest evidence of their sincere conversion. They were entirely reformed in their manner of living: they became temperate, abstained from drinking to excess, held religious meetings; and a number of them were formed into a church, and had the sacraments administered to them.—Trumbull's *History of Connecticut*, vol. i. p. 495.

The Indians in different quarters appear to have participated in that remarkable awakening, which, about this period, took place in various parts of America, in consequence of ministers in their neighbourhood preaching to them.—Prince's *Christ. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 112, &c. This general statement will account for the occasional notices we meet with of Christian Indians, among whom no regular mission was ever established.

communion with the Narragansets, and about fifteen or sixteen of the Montawk tribe of Indians, who live upon the east end of Long Island. These sometimes cross the Sound, in order to join the above church in its divine ordinances."[1]

The state of religion among the Narraganset Indians was not, however, so flourishing latterly; but there were still the remains of a Christian church among them. In 1809, they were visited by the Rev. Mr Coe, who gives the following account of them:—"The whole number of Indians at Charlestown, considered as of the Narraganset tribe, is about one hundred and fifty. By intemperance and inattention to business, they are all reduced to poverty, some to an extreme degree. The quantity of their land is estimated at about three square miles; most of the valuable part of which is let out upon hire; a large portion is reserved for wood and timber; and a small part is in tillage. Very few pure-blooded Indians are now on the land, as they have for ages past been intermixing with Whites and Blacks. None are entitled to any part of the inheritance, except those who have descended from their females; hence a number of others, of mixed nations, live among them, who, by their customs, are not of the tribe.

"Their church, composed of persons of different nations, consists of between forty and fifty members. They had a preacher of their own, John Segeter, who died about two years since. He could read, and was a man of some information. They still carry on worship on the Lord's Day among themselves; and have the only place of public worship now in the town."[2]

In 1812, a schoolhouse was erected at Charlestown for the use of the Indians: the schoolmaster who was settled among them laboured with great diligence, and with favourable prospects of success. A missionary was sent among them part of the year, and another school was established among them.[3]

In 1824, the Narraganset Indians were estimated to be four hundred and twenty in number. They were then still resident on Rhode Island.[4]

ONEIDA COUNTRY.

In 1748, the Rev. Mr Spence proceeded to the country of the Oneida Indians, about 180 miles south-west from Albany, and about 130 miles distant from all settlements of the White people. The place was called Onohquaga, and was towards the head of the river Susquehanna. Here he continued through the winter, and passed through many difficulties and hardships. He met with little or no success; his interpreter, a woman

[1] Beatty's Journal of a Two Months' Tour, p. 54.
[2] Morse's Sermon before the Society at Boston for Propagating the Gospel, p. 56.
[3] New York Christian Herald, vol. ii. p. 191.—Morse's Report, Append. p. 73.
[4] Miss. Her. vol. xxi. p. 87.

who had formerly been a captive among the Indians in Canada, failed him. He returned to Boston in the spring, and was willing to go back to the Indians if a fellow-missionary and another interpreter could be obtained for him.[1]

In May 1753, Mr Gideon Hawley, who had been engaged for some time as a teacher at Stockbridge, proceeded to Onohquaga, for the purpose of renewing the mission at that place. He appears to have had considerable success among the Indians; but in 1756 he left the place in consequence of the danger of an attack from the Indians in the interest of France which was then at war with England, having become very imminent.[2]

IV. THE REV. SAMSON OCCOM.

Samson Occom, one of the Mohegan tribe of Indians in Connecticut, was converted to Christianity when he was about seventeen years of age. He was the first who was educated at Dr Wheelock's Indian school, and he was afterwards ordained to the ministry by a presbytery on Long Island, where he preached to a small number of Indians, who were once under the care of Mr Horton. In 1761, he proceeded among the Oneida Indians, who had of late expressed an earnest desire that a minister would settle among them. On his arrival he met with a favourable reception from them; and in the course of the summer he baptized five or six persons. We are unable to trace the whole course of his labours; but it appears he afterwards removed from this tribe, and settled among some other Indians.[3]

In 1788, Mr Occom preached a sermon at New Haven, at the execution of Moses Paul, an Indian, who had been guilty of murder. The text was, Rom. vi. 23, "The wages of sin is death; but the gift of God is eternal life, through Jesus Christ our Lord." As this discourse was afterwards published, we shall quote his concluding address to the criminal as a specimen of Indian eloquence:

"My poor unhappy brother, Moses,—

"As it was your own desire that I should preach to you this last discourse, so I shall speak plainly to you. You are bone of my bone, and flesh of my flesh. You are an Indian, a despised creature; but you have despised yourself; yea, you have despised God more; you have trodden under foot his authority; you have despised his commands and precepts; and now, as God says, 'Be sure your sins will find you out;' so now, poor Moses, your sins have found you out, and they have overtaken you this day. The day of your death is now come; the king of terrors is at hand; you have but a very few moments to breathe in this world. The just laws of man, and the holy law of Jehovah, call aloud for the destruction of

[1] Edwards' Works, vol. i. pp. cxliv., cxlvi.

[2] Edwards' Works, vol. i. pp. cci., ccvii., ccx.

[3] Account of some late Attempts to Christianize the North American Indians, 1763, p. 3,—Brief Narrative of the Indian Charity School, 1767, pp. 24, 26, 28.

your mortal life. God says, 'Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed.' This is the ancient decree of Heaven, and it is to be executed by man; nor have you the least gleam of hope of escape, for the unalterable sentence is past; the terrible day of execution is come; the unwelcome guard is about you; and the fatal instruments of death are now made ready; your coffin and your grave, your last lodging, are open to receive you.

"Alas! poor Moses, now you know, by sad, by woful experience, the living truth of our text, that 'the wages of sin is death.' You have been already dead; yea, twice dead; by nature, spiritually dead; and since the awful sentence of death has been passed upon you, you have been dead to all the pleasures of this life; or all the pleasures, lawful or unlawful, have been dead to you. And death, which is the wages of sin, is standing even on this side of your grave, ready to put a final period to your mortal life; and just beyond the grave, eternal death awaits your poor soul, and the devils are ready to drag your miserable soul down to their bottomless den, where everlasting woe and horror reign; the place is filled with doleful shrieks, howls, and groans of the damned. Oh! to what a miserable, forlorn, and wretched condition have your extravagant folly and wickedness brought you, that is, if you die in your sins! And, O! what manner of repentance ought you to manifest! How ought your heart to bleed for what you have done! How ought you to prostrate your soul before a bleeding God, and, under self-condemnation, cry out, 'Ah! Lord, Ah! Lord, what have I done!' Whatever partiality, injustice, and error, there may be among the judges of the earth, remember that you have deserved a thousand deaths, and a thousand hells, by reason of your sins, at the hands of a holy God. Should God come out against you in strict justice, alas! what could you say for yourself? For you have been brought up under the bright sunshine, and plain and loud sound of the gospel; and you have had a good education; you can read and write well; and God has given you a good natural understanding; and therefore your sins are so much more aggravated. You have not sinned in such an ignorant manner as others have done; but you have sinned with both your eyes open, as it were, under the light, even the glorious light of the gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ. You have sinned against the light of your own conscience, against your knowledge and understanding; you have sinned against the pure and holy laws of God, and the just laws of men; you have sinned against heaven and earth; you have sinned against all the mercies and goodness of God; you have sinned against the whole Bible, against the Old and New Testaments; you have sinned against the blood of Christ, which is the blood of the everlasting covenant. O poor Moses, see what you have done! and now repent, repent, I say again, repent! See how the blood you shed cries against you, and the avenger of blood is at your heels. O fly, fly to the blood of the Lamb of God for the pardon of all your aggravated sins!

"But let us now turn to a more pleasant theme. Though you have been

a great sinner, a heaven-daring sinner, yet hark! O hear the joyful sound from heaven, even from the King of kings, and Lord of lords, that 'the gift of God is eternal life, through Jesus Christ our Lord.' It is a free gift, and bestowed on the greatest sinners; and upon their true repentance towards God, and faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, they shall be welcome to the life which we have spoken of. It is granted upon free terms; he that hath no money, may come; he that hath no righteousness, no goodness, may come; the call is to poor, undone sinners; the call is not to the righteous, but sinners, inviting them to repentance. Hear the voice of the Son of the Most High God, 'Come unto me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest.' This is a call, a gracious call to you, poor Moses, under your present burdens and distresses. And Christ has a right to call sinners to himself. It would be presumption for a mighty angel to call a poor sinner to himself; and were it possible for you to apply to all God's creatures, they would with one voice tell you, that it was not in them to help you. Go to all the means of grace, they would prove miserable helps without Christ himself. Yea, apply to all the ministers of the gospel in the world, they would all say, that it was not in them, but would only prove as indexes to point out to you the Lord Jesus, the only Saviour of sinners of mankind. Yea, go to all the angels in heaven, they would do the same. Yea, go to God the Father himself, without Christ, he would not help you. To speak after the manner of men, he would also point to the Lord Jesus Christ, and say, 'This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased, hear ye him.' Thus, you see, poor Moses, that there is none in heaven, or on the earth, that can help you, but Christ; he alone has power to save and to give you life. God the Father appointed him, chose him, authorized and fully commissioned him to save sinners. He came down from heaven into this lower world, and became as one of us, and stood in our room. He was the second Adam. And as God demanded perfect obedience of the first Adam, the second fulfilled it; and as the first sinned and incurred the wrath and anger of God, the second endured it; he suffered in our room. As he became sin for us, he was a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief; all our stripes were laid upon him. Yea, he was finally condemned, because we were under condemnation; and at last was executed and put to death for our sins; was lifted up between the heaven and the earth, and was crucified on the accursed tree: His blessed hands and feet were fastened there;—there he died a shameful and ignominious death; there he finished the great work of our redemption; there his heart's blood was shed for our cleansing; there he fully satisfied the divine justice of God, for penitent believing sinners, though they have been the chief of sinners. O Moses, this is good news to you, in this last day of your life. Behold a crucified Saviour; his blessed hands are outstretched all in a gore of blood. This is the only Saviour, an Almighty Saviour, just such as you stand in infinite and perishing need of. O poor Moses, hear the dying prayer of a gracious Saviour on the accursed tree, 'Father, forgive them, for they know

not what they do.' This was a prayer for his enemies and murderers; and it is for all who repent and believe in him. O why will you die eternally, poor Moses, since Christ has died for sinners? Why will you go to hell beneath the bleeding Saviour, as it were? This is the day of your execution, yet it is the accepted time, it is the day of salvation, if you now believe in the Lord Jesus Christ. Must Christ follow you into the prison by his servants, and there entreat you to accept of eternal life; and will you refuse it? And must he follow you even to the gallows, and there beseech you to accept of him, and will you refuse him? Shall he be crucified hard by your gallows, as it were, and will you regard him not? O poor Moses, believe on the Lord Jesus Christ with all your heart, and thou shalt be saved eternally. Come just as you are, with all your sins and abominations, with all your blood-guiltiness, with all your condemnation, and lay hold of the hope set before you this day. This is the last day of salvation with your soul; you will be beyond the bounds of mercy in a few minutes more. O, what a joyful day will it be, if you now openly believe in, and receive the Lord Jesus Christ; it would be the beginning of heavenly days with your poor soul; instead of a melancholy day, it would be a wedding day to your soul: it would cause the very angels in heaven to rejoice, and the saints on earth to be glad; it would cause the angels come down from the realms above, and wait hovering about your gallows, ready to convey your soul to the heavenly mansions, there to take the possession of eternal glory and happiness, and join the heavenly choirs in singing the song of Moses and the Lamb; there to sit down for ever with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, in the kingdom of God's glory; and your shame and guilt shall be for ever banished from the place, and all sorrow and fear for ever fly away, and tears be wiped from your face; and there shall you for ever admire the astonishing, and amazing, and infinite mercy of God in Christ Jesus, in pardoning such a monstrous sinner as you have been; there you will claim the highest note of praise, for the riches of free grace in Christ Jesus. But if you will not accept of a Saviour proposed to your acceptance in this last day of your life, you must this very day bid farewell to God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, to heaven, and all the saints and angels that are there; and you must bid all the saints in this lower world an eternal farewell, and even the whole world. And so I must leave you in the hands of God."[1]

About 1788 Mr Occom removed with the Indians under his care from the neighbourhood of New London in Connecticut, to the Oneida country, where they were presented with a considerable tract of land by the Oneida Indians. Here they erected a town which was called Brothertown; but after some time Mr Occom died, and his people were left without a minister. The Indians at this place divided their lands, so that each individual held his property as an estate in fee simple, with this restriction, that it should never be sold to the White people. By this regulation they

[1] A Sermon at the Execution of Moses Paul, an Indian: By Samson Occom, p. 16.

acquired a decided superiority over the Oneidas and others of the neighbouring tribes. The state of morals among them, however, was very low.[1]

In 1824, the Brothertown Indians were estimated to be 360 in number. They possessed a considerable tract of land, and had improved a considerable portion of it. They had made considerable advances in civilization; and those families in which the men were sober and industrious were in the plentiful enjoyment of the comforts of civilized life.[2]

V. THE REV. SAMUEL DAVIES.

In 1747, the Rev. Samuel Davies, who was afterwards President of New Jersey College, began to preach at Hanover and the neighbouring parts of Virginia. Besides labouring with great success among the White people, he was the happy instrument of bringing many of the negro slaves to the knowledge of the gospel. In 1755, he gives the following pleasing account of the appearances of religion among them:—"The inhabitants of Virginia are computed to be about 300,000 men, the one half of whom are supposed to be negroes. The number of those who attend my ministry at particular times is uncertain, but generally about 300, who give a stated attendance; and never have I been so struck with the appearance of an assembly, as when I have glanced my eye to that part of the meeting-house where they usually sit, *adorned*, for so it has appeared to me, with so many black countenances eagerly attentive to every word they hear, and frequently bathed in tears. About an hundred of them have been baptized, after a proper time for instruction, and having given credible evidence, not only of their acquaintance with the important doctrines of the Christian religion, but of a deep sense of them upon their minds, attested by a life of strict piety and holiness. As they are not sufficiently polished to dissemble with a good grace, they express the sentiments of their souls so much in the language of simple nature, and with such genuine indications of sincerity, that it is impossible to suspect their professions, especially when attended with a truly Christian life and exemplary conduct."

In a letter written about a year afterwards, Mr Davies says, that two Sabbaths before, he had the pleasure of seeing forty of them around the table of the Lord, all of whom made a credible profession of Christianity, and several of them with unusual evidence of sincerity; and that he believed there were more than a thousand negroes who attended upon his ministry at the different places where he alternately officiated.[3]

Besides Mr Davies, many other ministers in North America have been

[1] American Correspondence, MS. vol. i. p. 144.—Mass. Hist. Coll. vol. iv. p. 68; vol. v. p. 13, 26.—Morse's Report, App. p. 114.

[2] Miss. Her. vol. xxi. p. 87.—Summary Account of the Measures pursued by the Friends of New York for the Civilization of the Indians, pp. 13, 19.—Some Account of the Conduct of the Society of Friends towards the Indian Tribes, &c., pp. 157, 169.

[3] Gillies' Hist. Coll. vol. ii. p. 334.—Appendix to Hist. Coll. pp. 29, 40, 42.

useful among the negroes and people of colour. Great numbers of them have been admitted members of the churches of various denominations in that country. There are even some churches which consist entirely of negroes and people of colour, and individuals of their own race have been ordained as pastors over them. America has still a great duty to discharge as to the Negro race; but it is a duty which, alas! she is slow to learn.

VI. THE NEW YORK MISSIONARY SOCIETY.[1]

TUSCARORA VILLAGE.

In 1800, the New York Missionary Society sent the Rev. E. Holmes on an exploratory mission to some of the north-western tribes of Indians.

Having arrived among the Tuscaroras, near the Falls of Niagara, he met with a very friendly reception from them. Before he left them, several of their Sachems and warriors addressed a letter to the New York Missionary Society, in which they implored their assistance and compassion in the following affecting strains:—"Fathers and brothers, we should be very glad to have our father Holmes to live among us, or any other good man that you would send, to teach us the meaning of the beloved speech in the good book called the Bible; for we are in darkness; we are very ignorant; we are poor. Now, fathers and brothers, you have much light; you are wise and rich. Only two of our nation can read in the good book the Bible: we wish our children to learn to read, that they may be civilized and happy when we are gone, that they may understand the good speech better than we can. We feel much sorrow for our children. We ask you, fathers and brothers, will you not pity us and our poor children, and send a schoolmaster to teach our children to read and write? If you will, we will rejoice, we will love him; we will do all we can to make him happy."

After noticing the opposition which some of the Indians had shewn to such benevolent attempts of the White people, and the abandonment of the scheme in consequence of this, they add, "We are sorry Indians have done so; we are afraid some of us shall do so too; and that the Great Spirit will be angry with us; and you being discouraged, will stop and say, 'Let them alone; there is nothing to be done with Indians.'

"Fathers and brothers, hearken. We cry to you from the wilderness; our hearts ache while we speak to your ears. If such wicked things should be done by any of us, we pray you not to be discouraged: don't stop. Think, poor Indians must die, as well as White men. We pray you, therefore, never to give over, and leave poor Indians; but follow them in dark times; and let our children always find you to be their fathers and friends when we are dead and no more."

[1] Instituted, November 1796.

On taking leave of the Tuscarora Indians, Mr Holmes proceeded on his journey, and visited the Senecas, who resided at Buffalo Creek. From them, however, he did not meet with a reception equally favourable. After he had, at their request, preached a sermon to them, the chiefs held a consultation, on the subject of the mission; upon which Red Jacket, the second Sachem, a cunning artful man, rose and delivered a speech, in which, among other things, he said, "Father, we thank the Great Good Spirit above, for what you have spoken to us at this time, and hope he will always incline your heart, and strengthen you to this good work. We have clearly understood you, and this is all truth that you have said to us.

"Father, we Indians are astonished at you Whites, that when Jesus Christ was among you, and went about doing good, speaking the good word, healing the sick, and casting out evil spirits, that you White people did not pay attention to him, and believe in him; and that you put him to death, when you had the good book in your possession.

"Father, we Indians were not near to this transaction, nor could we be guilty of it.

"Father, you do not come like those that have come with a bundle under their arms, or something in their hands; but we have always found something of deceit under it, for they are always aiming at our lands. But you have not come like one of these; you have come like a father and a true friend, to advise us for our good. We expect that the bright chain of friendship shall always exist between us; we will do everything in our power to keep that chain bright, from time to time.

"Father, you and your good Society well know, that when learning was first introduced among Indians, they became small; and two or three nations have become extinct; and we know not what is become of them. It was also introduced among our eldest brothers the Mohawks, and we immediately observed that their seats began to be small; this was likewise the case with our brothers the Oneidas. Let us look back to the situation of our nephews the Mohegans; they were totally rooted out from their seats. This is the reason why we think learning would be of no service to us.

"Father, we are astonished that the White people, who have the good book called the Bible among them, that tells them the mind and will of the Great Spirit, and they can read it, and understand it, that they are so bad, and do so many wicked things, and that they are no better.

"Father, if learning should be introduced among us at present, more intrigue or craft might creep in among us. It might be the means of our suffering the same misfortunes as our brothers. Our seat is now but small; and if we were to leave this place, we should not know where to find another. We do not think we should be able to find a seat amongst our western brothers."[1]

In August 1801, Mr Holmes returned to settle among the Seneca and

[1] Report of the New York Missionary Society for 1801, annexed to Abeel's Sermon, p. 46.

Tuscarora Indians, near the Falls of Niagara. Among the Senecas he met with many difficulties and much opposition; among the Tuscaroras he not only experienced a very favourable reception, but he had the satisfaction to see his labours attended with considerable success. Many of them renounced the use of ardent spirits, and other evil habits; a number of them appeared to be the subjects of divine grace; some in particular appeared to be deeply affected with religion. Much difficulty, however, was experienced from their loose notions on the subject of marriage. Though the efforts of Mr Holmes to introduce among them a purer system of morals were not without effect, yet promiscuous concubinage, the parties uniting and separating at pleasure, still prevailed among them to a great extent.[1]

In 1817, the Rev. Mr Crane was sent to labour among the Tuscaroras, who had been for some time without a missionary. Much ignorance still prevailed among them on the subject of religion, yet his prospects of success were on the whole highly encouraging. A school on the Lancasterian plan was established among them, which was usually attended by between forty and seventy scholars.[2]

In the spring of 1820, the pagan part of the nation, after an artful and desperate, but unsuccessful, attempt to root out Christianity from among them, removed into Canada. The Tuscaroras who remained amounted to about 280. This separation freed the Christian Indians from many temptations and difficulties. The tribe may now, indeed, be considered as nominally a Christian tribe. The village, in fact, wore more the appearance of a Christian village than most of the settlements of the White people. The Sabbath was generally regarded, and public worship was attended with regularity and devotion. Civilization was making progress. The chase was, in a great measure, abandoned, and the people possessed comfortable habitations, and employed themselves in agriculture.[3]

Besides establishing this mission among the Tuscaroras, the New York Society sent missionaries among the Chickasaw Indians on the western border of the State of Georgia, and among the Indians of Long Island; but both these missions were afterwards relinquished. A school was also established among the Seneca Indians on Buffalo Creek, and a missionary was sent among them. Paganism appears to have received a mortal blow among the Senecas; the most intelligent chiefs were on the side of Christianity.[4]

[1] Rep. New York Miss. Soc. 1803, in Relig. Mon. vol. i. p. 228.—Ibid. 1804, annexed to Livingstone's Sermon, p. 80.—Ibid. 1805, p. 4.—Ibid. 1807, in New York Christian Magazine, vol. i. p. 249.—Evan. Mag. vol. xvii. p. 478; vol. xviii. p. 368.

[2] Rep. New York Miss. Soc. 1818, in New York Christ. Herald, vol. v. p. 97.—A Sabbath among the Tuscarora Indians, pp. 28, 49.

[3] Miss. Reg. vol. x. p. 117.

[4] Rep. New York Miss. Soc. 1799, annexed to Livingstone and M'Knight's Sermons, p. 98.—Ibid. 1800, in New York Missionary Magazine, vol. i. p. 161.—Ibid. 1803, in Relig. Mon. vol. i. p. 230.—Ibid. 1804, annexed to Livingstone's Sermon.—Ibid. 1816, p. 4.—Ibid. 1818, in New York Christ. Her. vol. v. p. 97.—Ibid. 1819, in ibid. vol. vii. p. 25.—Miss. Reg. vol. x. p. 118.

In 1820, the New York Missionary Society transferred its missionary stations to the United Foreign Missionary Society, and, in 1826, this Society transferred the whole of its missions to the American Board for Foreign Missions.[1]

VII. CONNECTICUT MISSIONARY SOCIETY.[2]

CHIPPEWAY COUNTRY.

In August 1800, the Connecticut Missionary Society sent Mr David Bacon to visit the Indians on the western borders of Lake Erie; but after acquiring some knowledge of the Chippeway language, he met with no encouragement to settle among them. "The gospel," they said, "though very good for White people, would never do for Indians."[3] This mission, we apprehend, was soon abandoned.

VIII. THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES.

CHEROKEE COUNTRY.

In 1803, the Rev. Gideon Blackburn, on the application of the Committee of Missions of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, agreed to engage in a mission to the Cherokees. He devoted only part of the year to this service; and in prosecuting it he established a school near the Highwassee river, for the purpose of instructing the Indian youth in the English language, agriculture, the mechanical arts, and other branches of useful knowledge. The school received from the Cherokees all the countenance and support which they could give it, and their children made great proficiency.

In 1806, Mr Blackburn applied for the institution of a second school; but the funds of the Assembly not admitting of this addition to its expenditure, they earnestly recommended it to the patronage of charitable and liberal individuals. It was, however, instituted, and this it was supposed involved Mr Blackburn in embarrassments in regard to his farm at Maryville, though of these there appear to have been also other causes. The General Assembly ceased to support the Highwassee school after Mr Blackburn left the mission in 1810.

[1] New York Christian Herald, vol. vii. p. 663.—Rep. Board for For. Miss. 1827, p. 126.
[2] Instituted, 1798.
[3] Connecticut Evangelical Magazine, vol. i. pp. 13, 118; vol. ii. pp. 35, 159, 198, 312, 341, 345.

IX. THE WESTERN MISSIONARY SOCIETY.[1]

SANDUSKY.

In May 1806, the Rev. Joseph Badger, who had been appointed by the Western Missionary Society to settle among the Wyondat Indians in the neighbourhood of Lake Erie, arrived at Sandusky lower town. He and two other ministers had previously visited them, and had met with considerable encouragement to establish a mission among them. He was now accompanied by three other persons as labourers, who were to instruct the Indians in agriculture, and one of them ultimately to act as a schoolmaster. On his arrival, the inhabitants of the upper and lower towns were assembled in council about some unhappy wretches who were accused of witchcraft. They had already condemned four women to death on this charge, but through his representations, the others were happily set at liberty.

In his plans for the improvement of the Indians, Mr Badger experienced great opposition from the traders, but yet, on the whole, he met with considerable success. The Indians enlarged their fields; several of them learned to plough their own land, and entered with some spirit into the operations of husbandry. For more than three years (how much longer we do not know) they kept their engagement not to make use of spirituous liquors. During the whole of that time, Mr Badger did not see a single instance of intoxication among them, though the traders constantly kept spirits for sale in their neighbourhood. Many of them attended on the preaching of the gospel, and several of them appeared to be under serious impressions of religion. The school was not numerously attended, but the progress of the scholars was much greater than could have been anticipated. A few converts were made, who were put to death by the Catholic Indians on account of their religion. This mission, however, was broken up in the first year of the unhappy war between England and the United States, and, so far as we know, was not renewed after the restoration of peace.[2]

In 1815, the Western Missionary Society, at the urgent request of Cornplanter, a celebrated Indian Sachem, established a school in the village of that chief on the banks of the Alleghany. As the inhabitants of that place were few, the scholars of course were not numerous; and what was rather singular for Indian children, their progress was slow. In other respects, however, the school was attended with very beneficial effects. The Indians began to pay more attention to the arts of civilization; they cultivated the ground with more industry, and raised much larger crops of

[1] Instituted in 1802.

[2] Relig. Mon. vol. iv. pp. 85, 75.—Assembly's Missionary Magazine, vol. ii. p. 41.—Panoplist, vol. i. (N. S.) p. 427; vol. iii pp. 186, 185, 228; vol. xi. p. 86.—Evan. Mag. vol. xx. p. 437.—Morse's Report on Indian Affairs, Append. p. 91.

corn. The women also began to pay more attention to cleanliness and decency in their houses. The Sabbath they observed with some degree of strictness, abstaining from labour, hunting, and amusements. Mr Oldham, the schoolmaster, regularly met with them on that sacred day for prayer and reading the Scriptures, and also some useful sermon.

Of late years several new missionary societies have arisen in the United States; but we have seen little account of their proceedings. We can therefore do nothing more than enumerate them.

1833. The Free Will Baptist Foreign Missionary Society. It has missionaries labouring in Orissa, in the East Indies.

1837. The American Lutheran Foreign Missionary Society. It has a mission in India.

1842. Seventh Day Baptist Missionary Society. It has sent missionaries to China.

1842. American Indian Missionary Association. It has sent missionaries among the North American Indians.

1843. Baptist Free Missionary Society. It has sent missionaries to Hayti, Canada, the Southern States, and the Western States; but the last three missions are probably among the White people.

1844. Board of Foreign Missions of the Associate Reformed Presbyterian Church.

1845. Board of Foreign Missions of the Southern Baptist Convention. It has sent missionaries to China.

1845. Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. It has sent missionaries among the Indians and to China.

1846. American Missionary Association. This society has sent missionaries among the Indians, to the West Indies, to the western coast of Africa, and to Siam.[1]

Besides these, there are some other Institutions in America which have made exertions for Christianizing the heathen. The Corporation of Harvard College possesses funds for missionary purposes, and though it has not established any distinct missions, it has united with other societies in aiding and supporting missionaries among the Indians. Harvard College has long been in the hands of the Unitarians.

In November 1787, was incorporated at Boston the Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Indians, and others in North America. This society did not establish any new missions, but, like Harvard College, aided in supporting missions already established. It also occasionally sent ministers to visit the Indians in different quarters. This society has gradually passed into the hands of the Unitarians.[2]

[1] (Amer.) Miss. Her. vol. xliii. p. 177; vol. xlvii. pp. 389, 391; vol. xlviii. p. 58, 59.

[2] Morse's Sermon before the Society at Boston for Propagating the Gospel, p. 53.—New York Christ. Herald, vol. ii. p. 190; vol. iv. p. 209; vol. v. p. 522; vol. viii. pp. 17, 51, 77, 116.—Tracy's History of the American Board of Missions, p. 20.

To these societies in the United States, we may add, in British America, the Board of Foreign Missions of the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Nova Scotia. In 1848, the Rev. Messrs Geddie and Archibald, its first missionaries, took up their residence on Aneitum, one of the new Hebrides. The mission appears to be assuming a promising aspect.[1]

As the missionary bodies in America have made and are now more than ever making efforts for the Christianization of the aborigines of that great continent, we shall here subjoin a summary of the missions of the various societies among the different tribes of Indians residing within the limits of the United States. It was constructed in 1852, mainly from the latest reports of the different missionary bodies engaged in the work. It is necessarily imperfect; but on the whole it presents a view of Indian missions which is sufficiently favourable; for though it omits the schools which are supported solely by the national or tribal governments, as also those which are sustained by the Quakers; and though it fails to give the female assistants of the Methodist societies, it will convey the idea that the system of operations is more thorough in some cases than the facts will warrant. The Methodist missions, for example, are, in general, very different from those of the American Board. Indeed they are but little more than the extension of the itinerant system to the territory occupied by the Indians. It will also be understood, of course, that the terms of church membership are more strict in some cases than in others. The table gives the statistics of the communicants as reported by each society, a few Whites and Negroes being included.

	Ordained Missionaries.	Male Assistants.	Female Assistants.	Native Assistants.	Communicants.	Boarding Scholars.	Day Scholars.
United Brethren,	4	1	3	...	80	...	...
American Board for Foreign Missions,	22	13	57	7	1749	216	721
American Baptist Missionary Union,	8	2	9	10	1370	53	105
Methodist Missionary Society, North,	12	3	...	7	1197	...	443
Episcopal Board for Foreign Missions,	1	...	...	...	169	...	...
Presbyterian Board for Foreign Missions,	9	13	20	1	69	308	68
American Indian Missionary Association,	9	1	12	5	1320	178	...
Methodist Missionary Society, South,	24	...	...	7	4003	175	90
American Missionary Association,	2	5	7	1	7	6	39
Missouri Lutheran Synod,	3	...	...	...	...	...	...
	94	38	108	38	9964	936	1466[2]

[1] Evan. Mag. 1840, p. 435.—Ibid. 1852, p. 558.

[2] Miss. Her. vol. xlviii. p. 123.

X. SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.

NORTH AMERICA.

It is well known that numbers of the Society of Friends removed to North America, particularly to New Jersey and Pennsylvania, in the latter half of the 17th century. They were honourably distinguished from most other settlers in that country, by purchasing from the Indians the lands on which they settled, considering them as the only rightful proprietors of the soil, even though they might previously have paid for them to others, or obtained a grant of them from the Crown, and by otherwise treating them in a just, humane, and friendly manner. They even entered into treaties of friendship and alliance with them.[1]

Some of the Friends, and among others their founder, George Fox, engaged in "gospel labours" among the Indians, embracing opportunities from time to time of speaking to them of religious matters. He appears, indeed, to have taken a special interest in the Indians, and recommended them to the particular attention of his followers. William Penn, who received a grant of a tract of land from Charles II., comprehending about 41,000 square miles, an area nearly equal in extent to the whole of England, in lieu of a debt of £16,000 due to his father, Admiral Penn, had in his petition for said grant stated, that, in making the application, "he had in view the glory of God by the civilization of the poor Indians, and the conversion of the Gentiles, by just and lenient measures, to Christ's kingdom." After arriving in the country, he frequently held conferences with the Indians, in which he sought to imbue their minds with a sense of the benefits of Christianity; he also laboured much to impress on them the necessity of abandoning the use of spirituous liquors. The Indians generally heard patiently what was said to them on the subject of religion, but it appeared, for the most part, to make no very lasting impression upon them.[2]

The Friends continued always ready to befriend the Indians, particularly in the way of maintaining and restoring peace between them and the White people; but they do not appear, during the greater part of the 18th century, to have made any special efforts for their religious improvement, or their civilization.[3]

In 1795, the wars which had been carried on for many years between the Indians and the White people, were brought to a close by the treaty of Greenville. This led the Philadelphia and New York yearly meetings of Friends to take more decided and systematic measures for promoting the improvement of the Indians, than had hitherto been employed for this

[1] Some Account of the Conduct of the Society of Friends towards the Indian Tribes, with a Narrative of their Labours for the Civilization and Christian Instruction of the Indians, from their settlement in America to 1843, pp. 11, 14, 24, 35, 42.

[2] Ibid. pp. 19, 22, 24, 26, 42, 50.

[3] Ibid. p. 89.

object; and the New England, Maryland, Ohio, and Indiana yearly meetings, afterwards took part in the same good work.[1]

With a view to the improvement of the Indians, Friends made visits from time to time to different tribes in various parts of the country, and gave them good counsel and advice, particularly in regard to the cultivation of their lands, and other matters connected with their temporal improvement. Among the tribes to which they directed their attention were the Oneida, the Stockbridge, the Brothertown, the Onondago, and the Seneca Indians, all in the State of New York; the Penobscot Indians, in the State of Maine; the Shawnoes and others in Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois.[2]

Friends not only paid visits to the Indians, but some of them, with their wives, took up their residence among several of these tribes for the purpose of instructing them in husbandry and other useful arts. They also furnished them with agricultural implements, such as ploughs, hoes, axes, and mechanical tools of various kinds; and they assisted them, in different instances, in erecting grist-mills and saw-mills. Some difficulties being experienced, from the want of a blacksmith to make and repair their agricultural implements, Friends qualified for that kind of work went among them; and several of the Indians acquired from them a considerable knowledge of it. Schools were also established among them for the instruction of the children, but the numbers who attended them were generally small. Female Friends were also employed in instructing the women and girls, not only in the ordinary branches of education, but in spinning, knitting, sewing, and other parts of domestic economy.[3]

The labours of Friends among the Indians were attended, in most instances, with an encouraging measure of success. To none of them did they direct so much attention as to the Senecas, who had extensive reservations of land on the Alleghany river, and among none had they so much success. Many of them made considerable progress in agriculture and other useful pursuits, cultivating and enclosing their lands, raising Indian corn, wheat, oats, potatoes, flax, and various kinds of vegetables; rearing cattle, hogs, horses, &c.; building good comfortable log-houses for themselves, instead of their old bark wigwams; making roads to afford better communication from one village to another. Some of the young men manifested ingenuity in several branches of mechanical business. Their dress was similar to that of working men among the White people; and a considerable number were partially acquainted with the English language. Several of the Indians were in the way of acquiring a comfortable property by their industry.[4]

[1] Some Account of the Conduct of the Society of Friends towards the Indian Tribes, with a Narrative of their Labours for the Civilization and Christian Instruction of the Indians, from their Settlement in America to 1843, pp. 115, 157, 211, 214, 220.

[2] Ibid. pp. 115, 157, 211, 224.

[3] Ibid. pp. 130, 140, 162.

[4] Ibid. pp. 129, 140, 142, 168.

We feel great pleasure in quoting the following testimony to the usefulness of the labours of Friends among the Indians on the Alleghany Reservation, by the missionaries of the American Board in that quarter. It is of so late a date as 1849:—"Our neighbourhood especially,"

But yet the success of the efforts of Friends for the civilization of the Indians was greatly interrupted and checked by the removal of most, of them, by the government of the United States, to new lands west of the Mississippi, and by their frequently unsettled state previous to their being thus removed. Some of them, Friends followed thither with their benevolent efforts, particularly the Shawnoes who were about 1200 in number and who had a beautiful tract of country assigned them, 100 miles long and 25 broad, lying on the Kansas river. In 1842, a deputation of Friends which visited these Indians gave the following account of them :—"After visiting the schools, we called on several families, many of whom appeared to be living tolerably well in comfortable log-houses ; some of them have pretty good furniture, utensils for cooking, &c., and some have barns and other out-buildings. They raise a supply of Indian corn for themselves and cattle, and keep oxen, cows, horses, hogs, and a few sheep. All of them raise a large number of fowls. Some of them have peach orchards, and have sent some peaches to market the past season. Many of the men of this tribe are industrious as well as the women ; a few of the men are mechanics, and work by the day for the White settlers, and give satisfaction to their employers. They appear to be adopting the dress and manners of the Whites, and to be advancing slowly in civilization. It is reported that some of them have embraced Christianity, but most of them adhere to their ancient views of religion. A considerable number are still given to dissipation."[1]

It is gratifying to find that Friends were making it much more an object than they appear to have done formerly, to communicate to "the Indians a knowledge of the principles and doctrines of the Christian religion, as plainly set forth in the Holy Scriptures."[2]

Before closing this account, we may mention that, in 1839, the Indians who were located between the Mississippi and the Arkansas rivers comprised a population of about 200,000, who were originally resident there, and of 88,000 removed, or about being removed thither. Some of the tribes, more especially the Cherokees, who were about 20,000 in number,

say they, "exhibits a bright spot upon our field, which it is cheering to contemplate. Some forty years ago, the Society of Friends took into a boarding-school, under their charge, most of those who are now heads of families in the neighbourhood called Old Town, on the Alleghany Reservation. Habits of comparative industry and cleanliness, and a degree of intelligence quite in advance of every other neighbourhood, and some little notion of family government and parental responsibility, were, under God, the result of this experiment, and their children are apparently a whole generation a-head of nearly all the other Indians. It does one good to see them in the day-school or Sabbath-school, and observe the intelligence which appears in their countenances before it manifests itself in their answers ; and also to notice the corresponding change in the form and dimensions of their heads, consequent upon the action of the brain developing itself so fully in the second generation. This neighbourhood is at present quite as hopeful a field for Christian effort, as most of the school districts in the country towns of New England."—*Miss. Her.* vol. xlv. p. 369.

[1] Some Account of the Conduct of the Society of Friends towards the Indian Tribes, with a Narrative of their Labours for the Civilization and Christian Instruction of the Indians, from their Settlement in America to 1843, pp. 184, 186, 234.

[2] Ibid. p. 240.

have made great advances in civilization since the beginning of the present century; but there is every reason to fear that, as the tide of the White population flows westward, the Indians generally, who are located in that quarter, will rapidly diminish in number, until, like their brethren in the eastern parts of America, their place shall be no more found, unless they shall be preserved from destruction by the progress of Christianity and civilization among them. It is evident that, unless something more effectual is done to put an end to the sale of spirituous liquors to them,[1] and to the fraudulent dealings carried on with them by the White traders, many of the tribes will become extinct before it be long. Some of them are already fast wasting away. The policy of the government of the United States, and the benevolent efforts of missionaries and others who were labouring among them for their good, were defeated, to a great extent, by the traders, who were an unprincipled, fraudulent, lawless set of men. Besides taking advantage of the Indians, and cheating them on all occasions, they, in many instances, counteracted the designs of government, by selling spirits to them, and charging them as corn, blankets, or other articles which the licensed traders had a right to sell to them, while it was unlawful to sell them whisky. The advice of the whisky sellers and other traders had unbounded influence upon the Indians; and these traders were constantly hanging about them, and advising them against such a course as would be for their good, and cautioning them not to give up the chase, nor lay down the gun or the blanket, to have no schools estab-

[1] No external circumstance has contributed more to impede the progress of Christianity, and the arts of civilization among the Indians of North America, than the introduction of spirituous liquors among them by the White people. Of this they themselves have long been sensible; but, though they have occasionally displayed much eloquence in declaiming against the rum trade, and have often passed excellent laws with regard to it, yet so little resolution have they, that they fall before the first temptation that presents itself.

In June 1802, when a Miami chief, named Little Turtle, passed through Baltimore, on his way to visit the President of the United States, Friends in that town had an interview with him, and, having adverted to the pernicious effects of the rum trade, in preventing the success of their endeavours, he made a very impressive and pathetic speech on the subject, of which the following is an extract:—

"Brothers and friends,

"When our forefathers first met on this island, your Red brethren were very numerous; but, since the introduction amongst us of what *you* call *spirituous liquors*, and what we think may justly be called *poison*, our numbers are greatly diminished. It has destroyed a great part of your Red brethren.

"My brothers and friends,

"We plainly perceive that you see the very evil which destroys your Red brethren. It is not an evil of our own making. We have not placed it amongst ourselves. It is an evil placed amongst us by the White people. We look to them to remove it out of the country. We tell them, brethren, Fetch us useful things; bring us goods that will clothe us, our women, and our children; and not this evil liquor that destroys our health, that destroys our reason, that destroys our lives. But all that we can say on this subject is of no service, nor gives relief to your Red brethren.

"My brothers and friends,

"I rejoice to find that you agree in opinion with us, and express an anxiety to be, if possible, of service to us in removing this great evil out of our country; an evil which has had so much room in it, and has destroyed so much of our lives, that it causes our young men to say, 'We had better be at war with the White people. This liquor which they introduce into our coun-

lished among them, and, in short, against instruction and civilization in any way.[1]

WESTERN AFRICA.

In 1819, Hannah Kilham, of Sheffield, a member of the Society of Friends, made some proposals for promoting the work of African education. Her views extended not merely to the instruction of individuals, but to the formation of an institution for cultivating some of the unwritten languages of Africa, for reducing them to grammatical principles, composing in them elementary books, translating into them portions of the Holy Scriptures, and diffusing them by the instrumentality of the natives themselves, and through the medium of schools among their countrymen, with a view at once to the introduction among them of the arts of civilization and of a knowledge of religion. With this design, she took under her care two youths from Western Africa, both of whom spoke the Jaloof language. They were afterwards placed under the charge of William Singleton, another member of the Society of Friends, in order to their being instructed in reading, writing, and some other branches of useful knowledge, with the view of qualifying them for promoting the improvement of their countrymen; and he, becoming much interested in the object, made an exploratory visit to Western Africa for the purpose of ascertaining the best means of accomplishing the ends in view.

In November 1823, Hannah Kilham herself sailed for Bathurst, on the river Gambia, accompanied by other three Friends, Richard Smith, John Thompson, and his sister, Ann Thompson, as assistants, and the two youths already mentioned. Previous to their departure, an elementary work had

try is more to be feared than the gun and the tomahawk.' There are more of us dead since the treaty of Greenville, than we lost by the six years' war before. It is all owing to the introduction of this liquor among us.

"Brothers,

"When our young men have been out hunting, and are returning home loaded with skins and furs, if it happens that on their way they come where this whisky is deposited, the White man who sells it tells them to take a little drink. Some of them will say, 'No, I do not want it.' They go on till they come to another house, where they find more of the same kind of drink. It is there offered again; they refuse; and again the third time; but finally, the fourth or fifth time one accepts of it, and takes a drink, and, getting one, he wants another, and then a third and fourth, till his senses have left him. After his reason comes back to him, when he gets up, and finds where he is, he asks for his peltry. The answer is, 'You have drank them.' 'Where is my gun?' 'It is gone.' 'Where is my blanket?' 'It is gone.' 'Where is my shirt?' 'You have sold it for whisky!' Now, brothers, figure to yourselves what condition this man must be in. He has a family at home; a wife and children who stand in need of the profits of his hunting. What must be their wants, when even he himself is without a shirt?"

[1] Some Account of the conduct of the Society of Friends towards the Indian Tribes, with a Narrative of their Labours for the Civilization and Christian Instruction of the Indians, from their Settlement in America to 1843, pp. 171, 178, 181, 183, 197, 199, 202.

[2] Miss. Reg. 1820, p. 332.—Ibid. 1822, p. 132.—Ibid. 1823, p. 135.—Ibid, 1824, p. 414.—Ibid. 1825, pp. 11, 240.

been printed, entitled, "African Lessons," in Jaloof and English, consisting of three parts: 1. Easy lessons and narratives for schools; 2. Examples in grammar, family advices, and a short vocabulary; 3. Selections from the Holy Scriptures. Shortly after their arrival, they opened a school at Bathurst, under Sandanee, one of the Jaloof youths, consisting partly of liberated negroes from Sierra Leone; and another under the women Friends, at their own house, with the mulatto girls and others in the colony; while it was proposed that the men Friends and Mahmadee, the other Jaloof youth, should proceed to Birkow, a Mandingo town, eight miles distant at Cape St Mary, with the view of commencing farming operations. The two African youths, who had been educated in England, did not realize, as often happens in such cases, the expectations which had been formed of them. Hannah Kilham and John Thompson paid a short visit to Sierra Leone; and, on their return, they and Ann Thompson embarked for England; but John Thompson died on the passage, and, before the other two reached that country, Richard Smith, who had remained in charge of the concerns at Birkow, also died, after an illness of eight days.[1]

In November 1827, Hannah Kilham again sailed for Africa, and on this occasion she proceeded to Sierra Leone. Her object was to avail herself of all practicable means, particularly of the assistance of the more intelligent of the liberated Africans, for compiling vocabularies of the languages and dialects of the coast, and the interior of that quarter of the world; but she stopped only between ten and eleven weeks at Sierra Leone, and then returned to England by the vessel in which she went out. During her short stay she collected a number of words, particularly the numerals and some other leading terms in the principal languages spoken by the liberated Negroes, and, after her return to England, she published "Specimens of African Languages spoken in the Colony of Sierra Leone." These specimens extended to thirty languages or dialects, but they are probably not of much value.[2]

In 1830, Hannah Kilham went out a third time to Africa, in prosecution of her benevolent designs, as regards the languages of that part of the world. After remaining about fourteen months in Sierra Leone, she proceeded on a visit to Liberia; but, in returning from that colony to Sierra Leone, she died at sea.[3] Thus terminated the benevolent, yet, we cannot help thinking, somewhat ill-directed, course of this devoted and disinterested woman.

AUSTRALIA AND SOUTH AFRICA.

In September 1831, James Backhouse, of York, and George Washington Walker, of Newcastle, two members of the Society of Friends, sailed from

[1] Miss. Reg. 1824. pp. 222, 225, 299, 415.
[2] Miss. Reg. 1827, pp. 343, 557.—Ibid. 1828, pp. 213, 280.—Ibid. 1829, p. 5.
[3] Miss. Reg. 1830, p. 471.—Ibid. 1831, p. 8.—Ibid. 1832, p. 320.

London for Van Dieman's Land, with the view of visiting, in the first instance, the English colonies in Australia.

"After having had," says James Backhouse, "an impression upon my mind for about sixteen years respecting paying a religious visit to some parts of the southern hemisphere, which impression I believed to be of the Lord, the time arrived when I thought I clearly perceived that it was His will that I should proceed to the performance of this duty. I therefore laid the matter before the meetings for discipline, upon which it devolved to judge of such a subject, according to the good order observed in the Society of Friends. These were, first, the monthly meeting of York, within the compass of which I resided; secondly, the quarterly meeting of Yorkshire, to which the said monthly meeting belonged; and, thirdly, the yearly meeting of the ministers and elders of the Society of Friends, to which the general yearly meeting of the Society, for Great Britain and Ireland, held in London, deputes the final judgment of the cases of such of its members as believe themselves called to travel in the work of the ministry in foreign parts. These meetings all concurred in the belief that I was called of the Lord to this service, and they gave me certificates of their unity, commending me also to the kind regards of the persons amongst whom I might come. The yearly meeting of ministers and elders, nevertheless, signified its judgment to be, that I should not proceed without a suitable companion. I had settled my affairs, and taken leave of my children before setting out from York; and I remained several weeks in the vicinity of London, waiting for a companion, without one presenting. One evening, after retiring to my bed-room, I had been engaged in earnest prayer, that if it were the will of God that I should, at this time, proceed on the work which I had in prospect, he would be pleased to raise up a companion for me. I retired to rest with this petition upon my mind, and awoke in the night under the same feeling. Towards morning, before I was thoroughly awake, I was considering who there were, in various places, who might be suitable for such a service, when the words, 'Now look northward,' were distinctly and powerfully impressed upon my mind, but without audible sounds; and, in a moment, Newcastle and my friend George Washington Walker were set before me. Being afraid lest I should be deceived by my imagination, I tried to bring other places and other persons into view; but it was not in my power to give a similar character to any effort of my own. On awaking fully, such a feeling of heavenly sweetness attended the view of my friend accompanying me, as left no doubt on my mind that he was the person chosen of the Lord. I therefore wrote to him, simply informing him how I was situated, and encouraging him, if he felt drawn to the service, to give up to the will of the Lord therein. Subsequently it appeared that his mind had been prepared for this work by a series of circumstances, scarcely less remarkable than the one here related. But, up to the moment of my receiving the impression described, I had never thought of him as a person likely to

accompany me, nor had this field of labour opened to his view. We had taken leave of each other, and he had sent letters to my care for some of his relations who were settled in Van Dieman's Land. The manner in which we were subsequently 'led about and instructed' in the performance of this duty, added a strong confirmation to the belief that our call to it was of the Lord."[1] We have given this statement, as it furnishes an illustration of the views and practice which prevail among the Society of Friends.

After a voyage of about five months, they arrived at Hobart Town; and they spent six years in the Australian colonies, particularly Van Dieman's Land and New South Wales, prosecuting the pious and benevolent objects which they had in view. In towns they held meetings for the promotion of religion and good morals, pleading, in a particular manner, the cause of Temperance Societies, drunkenness being a chief bane of these colonies, and the ruin of vast numbers of the settlers. They also visited a large proportion of the country settlers, in their own houses, holding religious meetings with such as they could collect, almost every evening in the course of their journeys. These journeys were generally performed on foot; this mode of travelling being most independent, and giving the easiest access to that part of the prisoner population, assigned to the settlers as servants. They also made many visits of a religious character to penal establishments, including Norfolk Island, which is the place of transportation of the worst description of convicts.[2]

In February 1838, they sailed from Freemantle, in West Australia, for the Mauritius; and after spending near three months in that island, they sailed for the Cape of Good Hope. In South Africa, they prosecuted their pious and benevolent labours among all classes of the population; and, in the course of their extensive journeyings, they visited most of the missionary stations which had been established by the United Brethren, the London Missionary Society, the Methodist Missionary Society, the Glasgow Missionary Society, the Paris Missionary Society, the Berlin Missionary Society, and the Rhenish Missionary Society, in various parts of the colony, of Caffraria, of the Bechuana country, and of Great and Little Namaqualand, scattered as they were over a vast extent of country, and often at a great distance from each other. By the missionaries of the various denominations they were received in the most friendly manner, and every facility and assistance were given them in addressing the people under their care. Though their addresses were not free from the peculiarities of Friends, yet we feel peculiar pleasure in noticing the evangelical character of their views in regard to "the way of salvation through Jesus Christ." At the end of this extensive journey, George W. Walker sailed for Hobart Town, intending to settle in Van Dieman's Land; and James Backhouse embarked for

[1] Backhouse's Narrative of a Visit to the Australian Colonies, p. 1.—Backhouse's Narrative of a Visit to the Mauritius and South Africa, p. 638.

[2] Backhouse's Australian Colonies, pp. xvi. 13, 252, 553.

England, where he arrived February 15, 1841, having spent nine years and five months in these extended and benevolent labours.[1]

SOUTH SEA ISLANDS.

In November 1833, Daniel Wheeler, a minister of the Society of Friends, who had been many years resident in Russia, and had long had impressions on his mind as to its being his duty to visit, "in the love of the gospel," the islands of the Pacific Ocean, New South Wales, and Van Dieman's Land, proceeded, with the concurrence of meetings of Friends to whom he referred the matter, on this voyage of disinterested benevolence, accompanied by his son, Charles Wheeler. In the course of it, he visited most of the missionary stations in the Society Islands, the Sandwich Islands, the Hervey Islands, the Friendly Islands, and New Zealand, and he was most cordially received by the missionaries in these various groups of islands, including those of the London Missionary Society, the American Board for Foreign Missions, the Methodist, and the Church Missionary Societies, who, though they differed materially in sentiment from Friends on many points, some of them of no small importance, afforded him every facility for addressing their congregations on the subject of religion, and were always ready to act as his interpreter. He was not, however, prepared to avail himself of their assistance, unless he had some impression on his mind beforehand in regard to the duty; yet he rarely lost any opportunity of the kind; but it is worthy of notice, that before addressing any audience, he usually had "a great weight of exercise" on his mind: and when he had delivered himself, he felt light and easy, like a man relieved of a burden. Though his addresses were not free from the peculiarities of Friends, yet, generally speaking, they were of a Scriptural and evangelical complexion. He often speaks of the stillness and solemnity which spread over the meetings, and of "the Divine presence being over them as a crown and a diadem." We suspect, however, that he greatly overestimated the impression that was made upon his hearers, judging, perhaps, of their feelings by his own, which we doubt not were of that character. He appears to have been a truly pious, humble, benevolent, disinterested, good man. In his voyages among the islands of the Pacific Ocean, he spent about two years; and he at length arrived in London, May 1st, 1838, after an absence of four years and a half.[2]

[1] Backhouse's Visit to the Mauritius and South Africa, pp. 1, 59–648; Appendix, p. viii.

[2] Memoirs of the Life and Gospel Labours of Daniel Wheeler, pp. 197, 203, 205, 208, 233, 286, 297–686.

XI. THE DANES.

LAPLAND.

In 1716, two missionaries, Kiel Stub and Jens Bloch, were sent to that part of Lapland called Finmark, under the auspices of Frederick IV., King of Denmark whose reign was distinguished by giving birth to the Danish missions, both to India and Greenland. This undertaking continued to be supported by his successors, and other missionaries were sent, from time to time, to instruct the ignorant Laplanders in the principles of religion.

In the winter season, the missionaries travel among the mountains in sledges, drawn by reindeer, from the habitation of one Laplander to that of another, sometimes spending a whole week with the same family. During his stay with them, he daily catechizes them concerning the principles of religion, and on festival days, the whole of the inhabitants of that district assemble together, and then, besides catechizing them, he delivers a sermon to them. On these occasions, he not unfrequently finds it necessary to perform Divine worship under the canopy of heaven, upon the deep snows, and amidst a cold almost intolerable. In the summer season, the missionaries go in boats from one part of the sea-coast to another, instructing the inhabitants in a similar manner. To assist them in these labours, there are schoolmasters who teach the young people the art of reading, and the first principles of religion.

The Laplanders, according to Leemius, who was a number of years a missionary among them, have not only made great progress in Christian knowledge, but manifest the highest respect for the ordinances of religion; for though public worship on the Sabbath seldom occupies less than three hours, they will sit bareheaded in the hut, amidst the severest cold, manifesting the greatest attention and devotion.

Among them you hear no oaths or imprecations, though these are so common in most other countries. The Sabbath day they rarely profane. They are of a meek and very peaceful disposition, so that they very seldom fall into quarrels, or proceed to blows. In their manners they are exceedingly chaste, and theft is a crime little known among them.[1]

But notwithstanding the favourable accounts of Leemius, we fear that Christianity has made but little progress in Finmark. This conclusion we are led to draw from many of the very circumstances which he mentions in the course of his work, to shew the flourishing state of religion in that country.

[1] Leemii Commentatio de Lapponibus Finmarchiæ, pp. 61, 507.

XII. THE UNITED BRETHREN.

LAPLAND.

In March 1734, Andrew Grasman, Daniel Schneider, and John Nitschman, set off on a mission to Lapland. After arriving at Uleaborg, Grasman proceeded into Swedish Lapland, and travelled through many parts of the country as far as the borders of the Arctic Ocean. "At Knusamo," he says, "I found lodgings with the priest. His parish consists exclusively of Laplanders, comprises a circuit of 300 miles, and stretches to the Russian frontier, for the Laplanders live very much scattered. He could see the greater part of his charge only once a year, on which occasions he baptized the children born in the preceding twelvemonth, instructed the young people, and administered the Lord's Supper. This was the general practice at that time throughout the whole of Swedish Lapland." At Uleaborg and Tornea, he speaks of meeting many awakened people, among whom he and his brethren laboured in a private way with much success.[1]

In 1736, Grasman and Schneider finding that it would be very difficult to reach Russian Lapland from Tornea, as was originally their object, left that place and returned to Stockholm, where they were joined by Miksch, another of the Brethren, as their future fellow-labourer. It was now settled that they should make an attempt to carry the gospel to the Samoiedes, and accordingly they proceeded next year (1737) to Archangel. At Christmas, the Samoiedes are accustomed to come to Archangel with their reindeer. This year there were several hundreds of them with 600 reindeer. They are a race of dwarfs, and, like the Greenlanders, dress in sealskins. Wishing to return with them to their country, the Brethren applied for passports from the authorities, but being suspected to be spies employed by France or Sweden, they were thrown into prison, and after being confined for nine weeks, they were sent on to Petersburg under an escort of three soldiers, and on their arrival there, were taken straight to prison. On being brought up for examination, they were asked why they had not at once avowed their proper object. They had obtained a passport at Revel as mechanics, and had wished to do the same at Archangel, while they were all the time missionaries from the Church of the Brethren. To this they replied, that they really were mechanics, and wrought as such wherever they stayed. After being imprisoned other three weeks, they were liberated on bail, and at length an order was given that they should be sent out of the country. Its purport was as follows:—"Because they had undertaken to go secretly to the heathen in her Majesty's dominions, in order to introduce their religion amongst them, though they knew that her Majesty was endeavouring to convert them to her religion, they had deserved to be punished according to the laws; but as her Majesty had ever been graciously disposed towards the Germans, the punishment should

[1] Period. Accounts, vol. xx. p. 6.

this time be remitted. But in case they, or any other members of their Church, were found engaged in similar enterprises, they should, without mercy, suffer the punishment prescribed by the law." "This, as was explained to us," says Grasman, "was to be burnt alive."[1]

In 1741, Elias Ostergreen and Ulric Behr, two others of the brethren, set out again for Lapland. Having spent the summer at Tornea, they proceeded after Christmas, in company with a party of traders, to the first place where a fair was held, about 170 miles from that town. Here they found a small church built of wood, in which a minister preached, and administered the sacraments during the fair. Except at this time, it seems, the people never came to church the whole year round. The Brethren inquired whether any unbaptized or heathen people were there, that they might speak to them, but they were assured that they were all good Christians. Of this, however, their conduct was no great proof, for before the fair was ended, there was not an individual but what was guilty of drunkenness. This the traders encourage, in order that, when the people are intoxicated, they may make the better bargains with them.

Apprehending that they could be of no use in this quarter, the Brethren resolved to cross the mountains and go to Finmark, and with this view they engaged a Lapland guide. This man had a herd of 500 reindeer, which he drove as far as the confines of the country, and having left them there, he conducted the missionaries to a bay on the Icy Sea. Here they waited in vain for twelve weeks, but they at length procured a boat, with which they intended to proceed to Norwegian Lapland. On leaving the bay, they had the wide ocean to the right, and exceeding high rocks and mountains, covered with perpetual snows, to the left. Whenever the wind was high, they were obliged to run toward some rocky island, or to the neighbouring coast, for safety, and wait till it abated. They had sufficient covering to protect themselves from the cold, but when it rained they were completely wet. As the sun, however, never set, they soon got dry again in clear weather, and suffered no material injury. At sea, they were not unfrequently in danger of being overset by whales. One morning, when they had a bay to cross, they discovered no less than ten of these monsters of the deep, and were obliged to return after repeated attempts to pass it. After encountering a variety of dangers, they arrived at an island belonging to Norwegian Lapland, in 71° north latitude. From hence they proceeded to a place where they found a church and a minister. The Norwegian Laplanders are, in this respect, better provided for than the Swedish, for they have public worship every Lord's Day. In this quarter, the Brethren remained two years, but as they saw no prospect of being useful to the people, they left it; and thus the mission to Lapland was finally abandoned.[2]

[1] Period. Accounts, vol. xx p. 61.

[2] Ibid. vol. ii. p. 203.

GUINEA.

In March 1737, Henry Hukuff, and Christian Protten, a mulatto from Guinea, sailed from Holland for that country. Hukuff died soon after his arrival, but Protten remained some years in his native land; and, while he did little good to the souls of others, he suffered in his own spiritual interests. He at length returned in 1741; but he afterwards, of his own accord, made two other unsuccessful attempts to introduce the gospel into that quarter of Africa.

In 1768, Jacob Meder, and four others of the Brethren, sailed for the coast of Guinea. Here the Copenhagen Guinea Company had agreed to assign them a tract of land on the Rio Volta, or in any other situation which should be deemed most convenient for a missionary settlement, with such other privileges as were necessary for promoting the conversion of the negroes. Before, however, they were able to begin the intended settlement, Meder and two of his assistants died, and the two others laboured, at the same time, under dangerous disorders. As soon as these painful news reached Europe, several of the Brethren cheerfully offered to go and supply their places.

In 1769, John Erich Westmann, and four other assistants, sailed for the coast of Guinea, and on their arrival they found two of the preceding company still in life. Soon after their arrival, the Danish governor introduced them to the King of Achim, who was then on a visit to him, and explained to him the wish of the missionaries to settle in his country, rather than in the Danish fort. After consulting with his Kaboseers, the king replied, "I will receive these good people on my land. They may take up their residence wherever they please, only they must not erect any fort." Having fixed on a spot for a settlement, at a place called Ningo, they began to build a house; but scarcely had they commenced their operations, when they were attacked by the fever which is so common in this inhospitable country, and which cut them off one after another in rapid succession. By the end of 1770, not one of them was left alive.[1]

CAROLINA.

In 1738, Peter Boehler and George Schulius were sent to South Carolina, at the request of the associates of Dr Bray,[2] for the purpose of instructing

[1] Risler Erzahlungen, tom. ii. p. 176.—Crantz's Hist. Breth. pp. 223, 615.—Fortsetzung Brud. Hist. tom. i. p. 176.

[2] Dr Bray's association was instituted for the purpose of providing for the establishment of parochial libraries, and for the instruction of the negroes in the British colonies. The fund for the conversion of the negroes consisted chiefly of £900 which Mr d'Alone, private secretary to William III., had bequeathed to Dr Bray and his associates for that purpose. This association is still in existence, and supports three schools in Nova Scotia, in which are educated a considerable number of negro children, two in Philadelphia, and one in New Providence, one of the Bahama Islands.—*Christian's Magazine*, 1760, vol. i. p. 84.—*Christian Observer*, vol. i. p. 51; vol. xvii. p. 555.

the negroes in that colony. In consequence, however, of the sinister views of those who ought to have assisted them, they were hindered from prosecuting the great object of their mission. Schulius died soon after his arrival; and Boehler, who was at the same time minister of the colony of the Brethren in Georgia, retired with them to Pennsylvania, in consequence of their being required to carry arms in the war with Spain.[1]

Of late years, the Brethren in North Carolina have made some attempts for the conversion of the negroes in their neighbourhood, and have baptized several of them.[2]

CEYLON.

In January 1739, David Nitschman, jun., and Augustus C. F. Eller, a physician, embarked at the Texel for the island of Ceylon. For three successive nights they had to sleep among a crowd of noisy, turbulent people on the deck, as the captain took no notice of them, nor appointed them any place to put up their hammocks. On its being discovered that they were Herrnhutters, a nickname of the Brethren, the crew not only laughed at them, and loaded them with reproaches, but pushed them about, and thrust them into dark corners, spat in their faces, and threw dirt upon them; but, as they bore all with patience, their persecutors became at length ashamed of their conduct. Eller, indeed, rendered himself so useful in a medical capacity, that the conduct of the crew to them was completely changed. On their arrival at Colombo, they found most of the clergy much prejudiced against them; but the governor, Mr Imhof, gave them some land in the country, by the cultivation of which they might maintain themselves and the mission. But he, having been removed to the government of Java, the new governor of Ceylon was very unfavourable to them. As their labours appeared to make an impression on some of the European settlers, the jealousy of the clergy was roused; and, as the Brethren were averse to live amidst contention and strife, they left the island, after a residence of less than twelve months.[3]

GEORGIA.

In 1774, Ludwig John William Muller, and John George Wagner, were sent to Georgia, in consequence of a request which the Brethren had received from Mr Knox, the English under-secretary of state, to send some of their number to instruct his negroes in that colony. On their arrival, Mr Habersham, the president of the council, expressed a wish that they would also take his negroes under their care. But their labours were attended with little success.

[1] Crantz's Hist. Breth. pp. 226, 229. [2] Period. Accounts, vol. iv. p. 199; vol. viii. p. 238.
[3] Ibid. vol. vii. p. 247.

After the commencement of the American war, the Brethren were often required to take up arms; but this they avoided for a long time. It was at length, however, resolved by the congress of the colony, that if they persisted in refusing, they should either pay a fine monthly of £7 sterling, or leave the province. In consequence of this, one of the Brethren who had come to their assistance from Wachovia, in North Carolina, retired again to that settlement; and, though Wagner was still permitted to carry on his labours, yet at length, in 1779, when Savannah, the capital, was captured by the British, he returned to England, as there seemed little prospect of his doing any good while the country was in so distracted a state.[1]

MOSQUITO COAST.

In March 1849, the Brethren, H. G. Pfaifer, E. Lundberg, and G. Kandler, commenced a station at Bluefields, on the Mosquito coast, with a special view to the instruction of the Indians and negroes.[2]

AUSTRALIA.

In October 1849, the Brethren, A. F. C. Tager, and F. W. Spieseke, sailed for Port Philip, with the view of commencing a mission among the aborigines of Australia. They began a station among the Papoos, on the shores of Lake Boga, about 200 miles north-west of Melbourne.[3]

XIII. THE METHODISTS.

GEORGIA.

In October 1735, Mr John Wesley, accompanied by his brother Charles, and his friends, Mr Ingham and Mr Delamotte, left London for Georgia, with the view of Christianizing the Indians in that quarter of North America. When the proposal was first made to him, he peremptorily refused; and when many objections which he started were answered, he alleged the grief it would occasion his mother, who had but very lately been left a widow—"I," said he, "am the staff of her age—her chief support and comfort." He was then asked whether he would go, if his mother gave her consent to the measure. This he thought impossible; but he allowed the trial to be made, resolving that, if she made no objections, he would consider it as the call of God. Her answer was worthy of a Christian parent, and well deserves the imitation of the relations of missionaries in similar circumstances. "Had I," said she, "twenty sons, I should rejoice they were all

[1] Fortsetzung Brud. Hist. tom. i. p. 248. [2] Period. Account, vol. xix. pp. 151, 278.
[3] Ibid. vol. xix. p. 278; vol. xx. p. 48.

so employed, though I should never see them more." He now, therefore, agreed to the proposal; and, issuing from the retirement of a college, prepared to embark for the new and untried scenes which were before him.

On arriving in Georgia, Mr Wesley undertook the pastoral care of the colonists, until he should be able to go among the Indians; and, in the prosecution of his ministry among them, he spared neither labour nor pains. He exposed himself with the utmost indifference and with perfect impunity to every change of season and inclemency of weather. Heat and cold, frost and snow, storms and tempests, made no impression on his iron body. In travelling through the woods, he often slept on the bare ground, covered with the night dews; and sometimes when he awoke in the morning, his hair and clothes were frozen to the earth. He would wade through swamps, and swim over rivers with his clothes on, and then proceed on his journey till they were dry. One instance of his presence of mind is not unworthy of notice. In sailing to Fredrica, the pettiawaga, a kind of flat-bottomed barge, in which he had taken his passage, cast anchor near Skidoway island, where the water at flood is twelve or fourteen feet deep. Mr Wesley wrapped himself up from head to foot in a large cloak to keep off the sandflies, and lay down on the quarter-deck to sleep. Between one and two o'clock in the morning, he awoke in the midst of the sea, with his mouth full of water, having rolled out of his cloak and fallen overboard. Many, on finding themselves in such perilous circumstances, would have lost all presence of mind, and quickly found a watery grave; but such was Mr Wesley's self-possession, that, on awaking, he swam round to a boat on the other side of the barge, and climbed up the rope without sustaining any injury, except the drenching of his clothes.

Mr Wesley was anxious to proceed among the Indians, agreeably to his original design; but, whenever he made the proposal, he was told he must not leave Savannah without a minister. There, indeed, he was at first highly respected; but many of the very people who, on his arrival, received him as an angel of God, soon became his bitterest enemies. The animosity toward him became at length so general and so violent, that he was glad to escape from the colony in a private manner.

On his voyage to England, Mr Wesley instituted a particular investigation of his Christian character; and as the result of the inquiry, he concluded that he was still a stranger to vital religion. "It is upwards of two years," says he, "since I left my native country, in order to teach the Indians in Georgia the nature of Christianity; but what have I learned myself in the meantime? Why, what I least of all suspected, that I who went to America to convert others was never converted myself. I am not mad though I thus speak; but speak the words of truth and soberness, if haply some of those who still dream, may awake and see that as I am, so are they."

"Are they read in philosophy? So was I. Are they skilled in ancient or modern tongues? So was I. Are they versed in the science of divinity? I, too, have studied it many years. Can they talk fluently about spiritual things? The very same can I do. Are they plenteous in alms? Behold

I give all my goods to feed the poor.[1] Do they give of their labour as well as of their substance? I have laboured more abundantly than they all. Are they willing to suffer for their brethren? I have thrown up my friends, reputation, ease, country. I have put my life in my hand, wandering into strange lands. I have given my body to be devoured by the deep, parched with heat, consumed by toil and weariness, or whatsoever God shall please to bring upon me. But does all this make me acceptable to God? Does all I ever did or can do justify me in his sight? Does all this give me a claim to the holy, heavenly, divine character of a Christian? By no means. If the oracles of God are true; if we are still to abide by the law and the testimony, all these things, though they are holy, just, and good when ennobled by faith in Christ, yet without it they are dung and dross."[2] Whether Mr Wesley was at this period a partaker of divine grace, is a question which must be left with the great Searcher of hearts, but certainly the conclusion which he drew concerning himself is well calculated to awaken a holy jealousy in the breast of the Christian missionary, and of the candidate for that sacred employment, with respect to his own character and qualifications, his principles, motives, and ends.

FOULAH COUNTRY.

In February 1796, several mechanics of the Methodist connexion sailed from England for Sierra Leone, with the view of beginning a colony in the Foulah country, in order to instruct the inhabitants in the useful arts of life, and to make known the gospel among them. Previous to their embarkation, nothing unsuitable to their missionary character appeared among them, but during the voyage they became extremely discontented, quarrelled among themselves, and two of them were continually calling each other ill names. On their arrival at Sierra Leone, they behaved in such a manner as excited the derision and contempt of all who had an opportunity of observing them. Happily, however, their dissensions among themselves prevented them from proceeding to the Foulah country, where their unhallowed conduct and example could have produced nothing but mischief. Some of the women declared they would proceed no further, and reflected on their husbands for conducting them to a foreign land; the men, after wavering for a season, joined them in their revolt. Thus the design of a colony was completely abandoned. The unworthy adventurers seized the earliest opportunity of returning to England to accuse each other of having defeated the undertaking, and to endure that shame which

[1] In the 7th volume of Mr Wesley's *Sermons*, there is an account of the charities of one of the first Methodists, which is supposed to be himself. "When," says the preacher, "he had £30 a-year, he lived on £28, and gave away £2. Next year he received £60; he still lived on £28, and gave away £32. The third year he received £90, and gave away £62. The fourth year he received £120, and still continued to live on £28, and gave away £92." — Hampson's *Life of Wesley*, vol. iii.

[2] Coke and Moore's Life of Wesley, p. 92.

their misconduct so justly merited.[1] It is only an act of justice to the Methodist body to add, that, though the colonists belonged to that communion, they were not sent out by the Conference, but by a Committee in London consisting of gentlemen of various denominations.

XIV. THE SOCIETY FOR THE CONVERSION OF THE NEGROES IN THE WEST INDIES.

In 1794, was incorporated by royal charter, the Society for the Conversion and Religious Instruction of the Negroes in the British West India Islands. This institution was originally proposed by Dr Porteous, the Bishop of London, and its funds, in the first instance, consisted chiefly of the rents of an estate, purchased with money which had been left by the Honourable Mr Boyle, for charitable and other pious uses, particularly the advancement or propagation of the Christian religion amongst infidels.[2] It sent several clergymen of the Church of England to the West Indies; but, like other missionaries in that quarter of the globe, they had many difficulties to encounter, the chief of which was an invincible reluctance on the part of the planters to promote any plan, however "quietly and prudently" conducted, for the instruction of their slaves.[2] Though these gentlemen had often professed their readiness to have their negroes instructed by what they called duly authorized teachers, yet, in some instances, the missionaries of this society, notwithstanding they belonged to the Church of England, met with greater opposition than even the Methodist missionaries, with all "their dark and dangerous fanaticism."[3]

In 1823, this society had two missionaries and one schoolmaster in Antigua, one missionary in Nevis, one in St Kitt's, and four in Jamaica. The Legislative Assembly of this last island, allowed from one to two hundred pounds currency, for the support of clergymen sent out by this society.[4]

In 1824, a bishop was appointed for Jamaica, and another for Barbadoes and the Leeward Islands; but this measure did not prove favourable, in the first instance, at least, to the religious interests of the slaves. Previous to the appointment of bishops, the society sent missionaries, or chaplains, as they were called, to the West Indies; but after that time they sent catechists only. The bishops were averse to having chaplains of the society in their dioceses, as they thought it caused a collision of authorities, and was not quite compatible with ecclesiastical discipline. The missionaries appear therefore to have been adopted as part of the colonial clergy, and the efforts of the society were henceforth directed to

[1] Drew's Life of Dr Coke, p. 366.

[2] Hodgson's Life of Bishop Porteous, p. 111.—Account of the Society for the Conversion of the Negro Slaves in the West Indies, p. 5.

[3] Watson's Defence of Meth. Miss. p. 98.—Anti-slavery Reporter, vol. v. p. 363.

[4] Account of the Society for the C version of the Negroes, p. 11.—Miss. Reg. vol. vii. p. 46.

the maintenance of catechists, schoolmasters, and schoolmistresses, who were under the parochial clergy. In 1832, the society had about fifty of these lay agents in all the islands. They were appointed by the bishop; and the society at home knew little of them, and did not even know the principle on which they were selected. In Jamaica, some of them were *book-keepers;* some, persons of colour. The instruction given to the slaves was chiefly oral, and consisted in teaching them to repeat the creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Church Catechism; comparatively few were taught to read. Indeed, the instruction altogether appears to have been of a very imperfect and inefficient kind.[1]

XV. ANTHONY N. GROVES, ESQ.

BAGDAD.

In June 1829, Anthony N. Groves, Esq., of Exeter, sailed from England for St Petersburg, accompanied by his wife and two children, his sister and another lady, a young Scottish missionary, and a deaf youth of the name of John Kitto, who had the special charge of the two little boys, and who afterwards became distinguished as the author and editor of many valuable and useful works. Mr Groves had lately published a pamphlet, entitled, "Christian Devotedness, or the Consideration of our Saviour's Precept—'Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth,'" in which he advocated the literal interpretation of that passage, and the obligation of Christians to consecrate their whole property to the cause of Christ, without laying up anything either for themselves or their children; and he now personally exemplified the principles which he had inculcated, gave up his possessions, left his station in society, relinquished the enjoyments, privileges, and distinctions of this world, not presuming to retain any of its gifts even for the supposed service of the Redeemer. He knew he must be prepared to endure contempt, reproach, and scorn from the world, all help from which he found himself compelled to refuse, in order that the power might be seen to be of God, and the glory ascribed to him alone. Believing that "the earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof," he felt confident that God would keep him as "the apple of his eye," and provide all things necessary for him. He therefore committed himself altogether to the tender care of that gracious Being, without thought or carefulness for the morrow, believing that the same love which provided for him to-day was unchangeable

[1] Miss Reg. 1824, pp. 152, 328.—Ibid. 1828, p. 590.—Anti-slavery Rep. vol. iv. pp. 124, 469, 486; vol. v. pp. 272, 456, 461.

It is a curious fact, that since 1696, it had been a part of the slave law of Jamaica, that all "the owners and managers and overseers of slaves shall, as much as in them lies, endeavour the instruction of their slaves in the principles of the Christian religion, to facilitate their conversion." How these men fulfilled this obligation, may be seen by referring to the *Anti-slavery Reporter*, vol. iv. pp. 124, 126. To expect such men, most of them living in all manner of immorality, to instruct their slaves in the principles of religion, was more than ridiculous.

and inexhaustible, and would continue to provide for him. He went forth without other provision for himself, his wife, and his children, and his other companions, than what his Master might incline the hearts of his brethren to furnish.[1]

Their passage to St Petersburgh was provided in a way somewhat remarkable. A gentleman, Mr P., who had gone down to Portsmouth to sell a yacht which he had, having been informed of Mr Groves's intention, agreed to carry him and his company out before disposing of it, and he, together with one of his friends, was even so kind as accompany them thither. On their arrival in St Petersburgh, they met with much Christian kindness from various of the friends of religion in that city. Instead of incurring any expenses at St Petersburgh, Mr Groves had all his charges paid for him, and even received considerable contributions for the future expenses of his journey. Proceeding on their way, they experienced many of those incidents which are common to all such journeys, and, after about four or five months, they reached Bagdad in safety.[2]

When they came to Bagdad, they expected to be able to travel pretty extensively in Persia and in the mountains of Kurdistan; but the state of the country and other considerations brought all such plans to nothing. Schools did not originally enter into their views; but an Armenian teacher having offered to place his school in their hands, they accepted of his offer, particularly as there appeared no immediate prospect of any other work in which they might engage. It was attended chiefly by boys; but they afterwards opened another school for girls. They also availed themselves of opportunities for circulating the Holy Scriptures; but in Bagdad itself they found they could not do much in this way. It may not be improper here to mention, that Mr Groves was one of those who believed that the coming of Christ to earth to establish his kingdom of peace and glory was at hand, and expected no great success through missionary labours, but merely "some choice fruit from here and there a fruitful bough."[3]

In 1831, Bagdad was visited by a succession of calamities, to which we know of few or no parallels. First of all came the plague. The deaths were at first few in number, but they afterwards rose, it was said, to from 1500 to 2000 a-day; a few days later they were even reported as 5000. The accounts were probably much exaggerated; but there is no reason to doubt that the mortality was absolutely appalling. Great numbers of the inhabitants fled from the city, some in one direction, some in another, often carrying the plague along with them. Many died in a state of the greatest destitution and misery; the air of all the roads was tainted by the immense number of dead bodies lying in them. In the towns and villages around, the report was, that the plague was as bad or worse than in the city itself.[4]

[1] Journal of Mr Anthony N. Groves through Russia, Georgia, and Persia, p. v., 3.

[2] Ibid. pp. 2, 17.

[3] Miss. Reg. 1830, p. 452.—Ibid. 1831, p. 454.—Groves's Journal of a Residence in Bagdad, pp. 1, 68, 169, 213, 237.

[4] Groves's Residence in Bagdad, pp. 96, 116, 121, 137, 155, 158.

Meanwhile, the distresses of the people were greatly aggravated by an inundation of the river Tigris, which had now overflowed the whole country around Bagdad. The entire harvest was destroyed. The barley, which was just ready to be reaped, was swept away by the flood, and every other kind of grain was likewise either ruined, or there were not, in consequence of the deaths by the plague, hands to cut down what remained; so that, for thirty miles round Bagdad, no grain could be expected to be collected this year. The waters went on rising, and, as they rose, the fear of the plague gave way to dread of the inundation of the city. They did at length make a breach in the walls, and, bursting forth in full stream into the city, laid more than half of it level with the ground, sweeping away some thousands of houses, and burying the sick, the dying, and the dead, with many of those in health, in one common grave. The palace of the Pacha was a heap of ruins.[1]

Happily the waters soon fell; but the plague still carried on its destructive ravages, apparently with no other mitigation than that arising from the diminished and diminishing number of the inhabitants; but the inundation prevented even this from having its full effect, for the remaining population were crowded into a space unnaturally small, and so increased the mortality. Many took refuge in houses which had been left desolate by the plague. Numbers of dead bodies might be seen lying in the streets unburied, and the dogs eating with avidity the loathsome food. But in a few days the plague also diminished. Fewer were attacked by it, and more recovered. Though it may have been secretly making its way before it was discovered, yet it did not subsist in all its virulence for more than a month; but, short as was its course, it was calculated that upwards of one-half, or perhaps even two-thirds, of the inhabitants of Bagdad were swept away by it and the inundation.[2]

During the whole time the plague was carrying on its ravages among all classes of the inhabitants of Bagdad, Mr Groves and his family were preserved in safety. Amidst its fearful ravages, Mr Groves and his pious wife felt composed and peaceful. They not only consoled and supported their minds by an assured sense of the loving-kindness of God, and by the hope of Christ's speedy coming to earth, but they had the most perfect assurance that he would protect them, and not allow the plague to enter their dwelling. But at length, when it was subsiding, Mrs Groves was seized by it, and died after a week's illness. Two others of their household were also attacked by it, one of whom died. Mr Groves himself had likewise an attack of it, but it was slight, and mercifully passed off. His infant child was also taken ill, though not of the plague; and after a lengthened illness, this "sweet little flower," as he feelingly calls it, was cut down.[3]

[1] Groves's Residence in Bagdad, pp. 110, 116, 124, 127, 136, 198.

[2] Ibid. pp. 130, 132, 133, 134, 135.

[3] Ibid. pp. 101, 107, 112, 133, 140, 143, 147, 150, 154, 155, 157, 159, 165, 171, 237.

The assurance felt by Mr and Mrs Groves was certainly not warranted by Scripture. It is unquestionably the duty of the Christian, in seasons of trial, to trust in God, to commit himself

Mr Groves was called to pass through these trying scenes without having a single earthly friend at hand to support and comfort him; none of those who originally came out with him being now at Bagdad, with the exception of the deaf boy. Nature could not but deeply feel such heavy trials; but yet grace prevailed, and yielded him support under them. "My poor heart," he writes, "flutters like a bird, when it contemplates the extent of its bereavements as a husband, a father, a missionary. Oh! what have I lost! Dear Lord, sustain my poor, weak faith. Thy gracious visits sometimes comfort my soul, yet my days move heavily on; but the Lord, who redeemeth the soul of his servants, has declared that none of those that trust in him shall be desolate. Lord, I believe; help thou mine unbelief. I do indeed desire, with my whole soul, to cast myself into the ocean of thy love, and never to let Satan have one advantage over me, by instilling into my heart hard thoughts of thy ways. Surely we expect trials, and if so, and thou sendest one other than we expected, should it surprise us when we see but a point in the circle of thy providence, and thou seest the end from the beginning."

The Grand Seignior had for some time past been greatly dissatisfied with the pacha of Bagdad, and rumours had been current that he was resolved on superseding him, and that troops would be sent to attack the city in case he should make any resistance. The plague and the inundation had not long subsided, when there arose fighting between different parties. Now one party prevailed, now another. The city was at length besieged by the Arabs, and there was also fighting between the troops within the city and the inhabitants. Famine, too, was now added to these other calamities. The people were reduced to a state of the greatest distress. The city was in a state of perfect anarchy. At length the besiegers entered it, and Ali Pacha, who had been sent by the Sultan, conducted himself, amidst numberless provocations, with a moderation and prudence which did him high honour; and by the firmness and energy with which he acted, order and quietness were speedily restored.[1]

These calamities severely affected the schools. On the appearance of the plague, they were, of course, broken up. Of eighty children attending them, only twenty-five remained. Of five masters, not one survived.[2]

Previous to these calamities, John Parnell, Esq., and his lady, and Mr Francis

to his protection and care, to resign himself to his holy will. But what that is to be, he must not determine, one way or other; that he must leave with God, who may have wise and gracious ends to serve, by pursuing a course the very opposite to his fondest hopes and wishes. Hence, we are so much accustomed to speak of the mystery of Providence. The error to which we have been referring arises sometimes from a misapplication of the promises of God, and perhaps still more frequently from taking the impressions and persuasions of our own minds as a ground of faith, instead of the Word of God, which is the only safe and warranted ground of faith, than which there are few things more deceptive and dangerous to weak and ill-informed, though, perhaps, pious minds. Mr Groves afterwards saw his error, though not, we think, on its true grounds.—*Residence in Bagdad*, p. 220.

[1] Groves's Residence in Bagdad, pp. 63, 67, 77, 80, 172, 177, 181, 185, 187, 196, 204, 221, 234, 236, 241, 248, 257, 272, 281.

[2] Ibid, pp. 170, 280.

William Newman, fellow of Baliol College, Oxford, had left England with the view of joining Mr Groves at Bagdad; but on their way, they stopped at Aleppo for a considerable time, thinking they had there found a considerable field of usefulness. In afterwards proceeding to Bagdad, they carried with them a number of boxes of the Holy Scriptures round by Mardin, in the hope of putting them into circulation by the way. In consequence, however, of selling a few Turkish Testaments at Aintab, they were involved in so many troubles, that it nearly cost them their lives. A Mr Cronin who had joined them was left for dead, and Mr Parnell and Mr. Newman escaped a similar fate by the fleetness of their horses.

After the arrival of these fellow-labourers, Mr Groves proceeded on a visit to India; with the view, among other objects, of perfecting himself in the knowledge of lithographic printing, in order to present the Scriptures in a form more acceptable to the people on his return. From India he afterwards proceeded to England.[1]

In 1836, Mr Groves returned to India, accompanied by his wife, he having married again, and by his relatives, Mr and Mrs John Groves, and Miss Groves; the Rev. Dr Gundert; Miss Julia Dubois; Miss Mary Monnard; Mr and Mrs Bowden; and Mr and Mrs Beer. Here it may not be improper to state, that he and his coadjutors, as will have been seen already, entertained some peculiar views. They relied entirely on the free-will offerings of the whole Church, and disapproved of publishing accounts of their labours, or of acknowledging the receipt and expenditure of moneys, as is usually done by public religious bodies. They also disapproved of the continuance of a mission beyond five years in one place, if no signs of repentance were manifested by the people; advocated the operation and brotherly union of all the members of Christ's body; and alleged that the gospel is to be preached as a *witness* only, and that then will come the end. We have, of late years, met with no accounts of their labours, perhaps in consequence of some of the views now stated.[2]

Of Mr Newman, whom we left at Bagdad, the history is at once singular and painful. He was the brother of the Rev. John Henry Newman, who was for some years a leading man among the Tractarian party at Oxford, and who afterwards joined the Church of Rome, came out as one of her priesthood, and was known under the name of Father Newman. He was early in life impressed with serious views of religion, and when rather more than seventeen years of age, he, according to the established rule, subscribed the Thirty-nine Articles at Oxford, in order to his admission to the university. Subscription, however, he says, was "no bondage," but a pleasure to him; for he well knew and loved the Articles, and looked on them as a great bulwark of the Truth. But he had not been long at Oxford when he began to change his opinions on one point after another, and he at length

[1] Miss. Reg. 1830, p. 453.—Ibid. 1833, p. 80.—Ibid. 1835, p. 82.
[2] Calcutta Christ. Observ. vol. v. p. 425; vol. vi. p. 270.

came to discover that he could not fulfil the dreams of his boyhood by becoming a minister in the Church of England.

Having gone over to Ireland, he there came into contact with a young Irish clergyman of a singular character, who rapidly gained an immense sway over him. Indeed, but for a few weaknesses, which shewed that he might err, he could almost "have accepted him as an apostle commissioned to reveal the mind of God." Under the stimulus given to his imagination by this remarkable man, the desire which, from his boyhood, he had more or less nourished, of becoming a teacher of Christianity to the heathen, took stronger and stronger hold of his mind. But he saw that he was shut out from the ministry of the Church of England; and from the idea he had formed of Dissenters, he had no wish to connect himself with them. About this time he heard of Mr Groves, and of the tract he had written, entitled "Christian Devotedness," on the duty of devoting all worldly property to the cause of Christ, and who, in pursuance of this principle, was then going out to Persia as a Christian missionary. "I read his tract," says he, "and was inflamed with the greatest admiration, judging immediately that this was the man whom I should rejoice to aid and serve." In reasoning about the Evidences of Christianity, he had formed the idea that the argument for its truth from miracles was too unwieldy a weapon for use among heathens or Mahommedans, and that direct moral evidence alone would carry conviction to their minds. But then came the question, How could such moral evidence become appreciable by them? "I felt distinctly enough," says he, "that mere talk could bring no conviction. While nations called Christian are known only to heathens as great conquerors—powerful avengers—sharp traders—often lax in morals, and apparently without religion—the fine theories of a Christian teacher would be as vain to convert a Mahommedan or Hindu to Christianity, as the soundness of Seneca's moral treatises to convert me to Roman paganism. Christendom has to earn a new reputation, before Christian precepts will be thought to stand in any essential or close relation with the mystical doctrines of Christianity. I could see no other way to this, but by an entire Church being formed of new elements on a heathen soil—a Church in which by no means all should be preachers, but all should be willing to do for all whatever occasion required. Such a Church I had read of among the Moravians in Greenland and in South Africa. I imagined a little colony so animated by primitive faith, love, and disinterestedness, that the collective moral influence of all might interpret and enforce the words of the few who preached. Only in this way did it appear to me, that preaching to the heathen could be attended with success. In fact, whatever success had been attained, seemed to come only after many years, when the natives had gained experience in the characters of the Christian family around them."

In September 1830, Mr Newman accordingly set out with some Irish friends to join Mr Groves at Bagdad. "What I might do there," he says, "I knew not. I did not go as a minister of religion, and I everywhere

pointedly disowned the assumption of the character, even down to the colour of my dress. But I thought I knew many ways in which I might be of service, and I was prepared to act according to circumstances."

Mr Newman had already changed his views on a variety of points, as the matter of the Sabbath—of the Mosaic law—of infant baptism—of episcopacy. He now took a greater step than any he had before taken. He became Arian in his views of the divinity of Christ, and denied the personality of the Holy Spirit. He had long thought that "God in the heart" was a sufficient explanation of the phrase, the "Spirit of God," in the New Testament.

Two years after he left England, he returned to it from Bagdad, with a commission to bring out others of their friends, if there were suitable persons disposed to join them; but he had scarcely reached this country, when he found that "painful reports had everywhere been spread abroad against his soundness in the faith." An entire separation now took place between him and his former friends. He now gave ample scope to the bias of his mind, and renounced one principle of his former faith after another. Calvinism he abandoned as neither evangelical nor true; denied not only the inspiration of the Scriptures, but the credibility and truthfulness of the historical books, not excepting the gospels, and at length disparaged the character of Christ himself, which even Rousseau so highly extolled.

But notwithstanding all this, Mr Newman's infidelity was of a singular kind. With a mind more disposed, perhaps, to raise doubts, to fix on difficulties, to seize objections, than to look at and weigh arguments in favour of the Bible and of Christianity, he yet appears to have retained a strong sense of moral and spiritual excellence. His was, in fact, that form of infidelity which has appeared of late years under the name of *Spiritualism*. "I still felt," says he, "the actual benefits and excellencies of this religion (oh! how contrasted to paganism!) too remarkable a phenomenon to be scorned for defect of proof." "Meanwhile it did begin to appear to myself remarkable, that I continued to love and have pleasure in so much that I certainly disbelieved. I perused a chapter of Paul or of Luke, or some verses of a hymn, and although they appeared to me to abound in error, I found satisfaction and profit in them. Why was this? was it all fond prejudice—an absurd clinging to old associations?

"A little self-examination enabled me to reply, that it was no ill-grounded feeling or ghost of past opinions, but that my religion always had been, and still was, *a state of sentiment* toward God, far less dependent on articles of a creed than I had once unhesitatingly believed. The Bible is pervaded by a sentiment which is implied everywhere, viz.,—*The intimate sympathy of the pure and perfect God with the heart of each faithful worshipper.* This is that which is wanting in Greek philosophers, English deists, German pantheists, and all formalists; this is that which so often edifies me in Christian writers and speakers, when I ever so much disbelieve the letter of their sentences. Accordingly, though I saw more and more of moral and spiritual imperfection in the Bible, I by no means ceased to regard it

as a quarry whence I might dig precious metal, though the ore needed a refining analysis; and I regarded this as the truest essence and most vital point in Christianity—to sympathize with the great souls from whom its spiritual eminence has flowed,—to love, to hope, to rejoice, to trust, with them; and *not* to form the same interpretations of an ancient book, and to take the same views of critical argument."

In the conclusion of his work, after stating some of his views, he thus proceeds:—"But nothing of this ought to be allowed to blind us to the truly spiritual and holy developments of historical Christianity, much less make us revert to the old paganism or pantheism which it supplanted. The great doctrine on which all practical religion depends—the doctrine which nursed the infancy and youth of human nature—is, 'the sympathy of God with individual man.' Among pagans, this was so marred by the imperfect characters ascribed to the gods, and the dishonourable fables told concerning them, that the philosophers who undertook to prune religion, too generally cut away the root, by alleging that God was mere intellect, and wholly destitute of affections. But happily, among the Hebrews, the purity of God's character was vindicated, and with the growth of conscience in the highest minds of the nation, the ideal image of God shone brighter and brighter. The doctrine of His sympathy was never lost, and from the Jews it passed into the Christian Church. This doctrine, applied to that part of man which is divine, is the well-spring of repentance and humility, of thankfulness, love, and joy. It reproves and it comforts; it stimulates and animates. This it is which led the Psalmist to cry, 'Whom have I in heaven but thee? and there is none upon earth that I desire beside thee.' This has satisfied prophets, apostles, and martyrs, with God as their portion; this has been passed from heart to heart for full 3000 years, and has produced bands of countless saints. Let us not cut off our sympathies from those who have learned to sympathize with God, nor be blind to that spiritual good which they have, even if it be more or less sensibly tinged with intellectual error. In fact, none but God knows how many Christian hearts are really pure from bigotry. I cannot refuse to add my testimony, such as it is, to the effect, that *the majority is always true-hearted.* As one tyrant, with a small band of unscrupulous tools, manages to use the energies of a whole nation of kind and well-meaning people for cruel purposes, so the bigoted few, who work out an evil theory with consistency, often succeed in using the masses of simple-minded Christians as their tools for oppression. Let us not think more harshly than is necessary, of the anathematizing churches. Those who curse us with their lips, often love us in their hearts. A very deep fountain of tenderness can mingle with their bigotry itself, and with tens of thousands the evil belief is a dead form—the spiritual love is a living reality. Whether Christians like it or not, we must needs look to historians, to linguists, to physiologists, to philosophers, and generally to men of cultivated understanding, to give help in all those subjects which are preposterously called *theology;* but for devotional aids, for pious meditations, for inspiring hymns, for purifying and glowing thoughts,

we have still to wait on that succession of kindling souls, among whom may be named with special honour, David and Isaiah, Jesus and Paul, Augustine, A Kempis, Fénélon, Leighton, Baxter, Doddridge, Watts, the two Wesleys, and Channing."[1]

The course of the two brothers is remarkable: the one taken in the superstitions of Popery, the other in the mazes of infidelity; the one landed in credulity, the other in scepticism. Whether there was anything common to the minds of both, which will account for their singular course, we do not know.

XVI. WELSH FOREIGN MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

INDIA.

In May 1840, an association was formed among the Welsh Calvinistic Methodists for sending missionaries to the heathen, and in November following, the Rev. Thomas Jones sailed for Calcutta, from whence he proceeded to Cherrapunji, in the north-east of Bengal, near Sylhet, for the purpose of commencing a mission at that place among the Kassias, one of the hill tribes. Other missionaries were afterwards sent out, and another station was begun at Sylhet in 1850. In 1852, the number of communicants, at the two stations, was twenty-eight. The Rev. W. Lewis has translated the four gospels, and the Acts of the Apostles, into the Kassia language. A translation of the Gospel of Matthew into that language by the Rev. T. Jones, was previously printed in the Roman character.[2]

XVII. NAVAL MISSIONARY SOCIETY FOR THE LOOCHOO ISLANDS.

About 1844, a Naval Missionary Society for the Loochoo Islands was formed by a number of officers belonging to the Royal Navy. It was their wish to send out two missionaries connected with the Church of England: the one a minister, the other a medical man.

In September 1845, Dr Bettelheim, a converted Jew, sailed with his family, and also a female infant-school teacher, with a view to a mission on these islands. On his landing, the government made decided objections to his remaining, and as he shewed that he was determined not to go away, it

[1] Phases of Faith, or Passages from the History of My Creed, by Francis William Newman. London, 1850, pp. 3, 15, 26, 33, 37, 39, 40, 43, 45, 46, 52, 54, 67, 74, 76, 90, 94, 106, 187, 200, 208, 230.

Mr Newman is now Professor of the Latin language and literature in University College, London.

[2] Miss. Reg. 1842, p. 236.—Revised Statistics of Missions in India, p. 11.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1847, p. 90.—Ibid. 1853, p. 80.

was equally determined to make his residence as disagreeable as possible. He and his wife were placed under a strict surveillance; wherever he went, he was attended by spies. His offers of medical aid, and of instruction in geography and astronomy, were rejected. The opposition to him was persevering and increasing, and he was at times exposed to personal violence. He maintained his position, however, in opposition to the will of the government, and employed manœuvres, which, if they are correctly reported, were unworthy of a Christian missionary. It appears that another missionary has been lately sent to his assistance.[1]

XVIII. PATAGONIAN MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

TIERRA DEL FUEGO.

In 1844, a missionary association was formed at Brighton, with the special view of establishing a mission in Patagonia. It was formed and carried on chiefly through the influence and efforts of Captain Allen F. Gardiner, R.N. He was the originator, the advocate, the secretary, the pioneer, the first missionary, the first superintendent of the society; and in these several capacities collected funds, selected agents, and carried out its operations. He had some years before proceeded to the Zulu country, in South Africa, with the view of promoting missionary efforts in that quarter; but he left it, in common with other missionaries, in consequence of the massacre of the Dutch boers by Dingaan.[2] Previous to this he was impressed with the idea that some attempt ought to be made for the Christianization of the independent Indian population on the borders of Chili and the Buenos Ayres provinces; and on returning from Africa, his mind reverted to the people in whom he had formerly felt so much interest, and he went twice to South America, and visited various parts of that continent with the view of finding an opening for the gospel; but the various tribes of Indians in the interior were so suspicious, and so hostile to strangers, while they were at the same time surrounded by the old Spanish Popish states, and there was so powerful an influence exerted to prevent its introduction, that there appeared no practicability of settling among them.

It was not until his endeavours to establish a friendly communication with the independent Indians in the interior were frustrated, and every prospect of reaching them was closed, that his attention was drawn to the scattered tribes of Patagonia, more especially those which were found in the neighbourhood of the Straits of Magalhaen. It appeared evident to him that nothing could be accomplished, humanly speaking, for the spiritual benefit of the Indians in the interior, unless they could be approached

[1] Cape of Good Hope Christian Magazine, 1845, p. 253.—Ibid. 1846, p. 254.—Calcutta Christ. Observ. vol xix. p. 350.—Amer. Miss. Her. 1854, p. 20.

[2] See vol. iii. p. 241.

from a quarter which was not margined by Papists, and over which they did not exercise a direct or indirect influence. It is but fair to Captain Gardiner to state, that in fixing on Patagonia as a field of missions, it was not simply with a view to the small and scattered population of that wild and inhospitable region; the idea in his mind appears to have been, that it would form an important link between their northern and southern neighbours, and become a key of communication with both. He hoped that if "a mission were established in Oazy Harbour, it would soon become a centre of operations, embracing more immediately the most southern Patagonian tribes, but aiming also to supply the spiritual wants of the entire native population, from the southernmost inhabited spot of the New World, to the Rio Negro and the independent tribes beyond, which at present scour and devastate the Pampas of Buenos Ayres."

After spending more than three years, on occasion of his second visit to South America, in seeking to prepare the way for the entrance of a missionary among the native tribes of the southern part of that continent, he returned to England. He now solicited the Church, the Wesleyan, and the London Missionary Societies, to undertake a mission in that quarter; but they all declined the proposal.[1] A few friends at Brighton, where Captain Gardiner resided, were however called together, and out of them a small committee was formed to promote a mission to the Patagonian Indians, in the hope that it would afterwards be extended to Tierra del Fuego, and to many other tribes in South America. It was the earnest desire of the committee to send out, in the first instance, both a clergyman and a catechist; but every effort to procure the services of a clergyman having failed, and the funds at that time not being adequate to the maintenance of more than one individual, it was resolved that Mr Robert Hunt should be sent out as a missionary catechist, and Captain Gardiner, with his accustomed liberality, offered to accompany him, free of all cost to the society.[2]

In December 1844, Captain Gardiner and Mr R. Hunt sailed for Patagonia; and after a voyage of about ten weeks they entered the Straits of Magalhaen, and landed at Cape Gregory. They early fell in with a family of Fuegians; but were much disappointed in meeting with no Patagonians. They therefore undertook one or two journeys in quest of them; but they were obliged to return without falling in with any of the objects of their search. After about another week, a chief named Wissale, whom Captain Gardiner had met with on a former visit which he had paid to Patagonia, came to the place where they had begun to erect houses for themselves, and also a number of his people, to the number of seventy or eighty; but he proved an audacious and troublesome beggar, and assumed at times a threatening aspect. They met with so many difficulties, and had so little prospect, in consequence of a variety of circumstances, of doing any

[1] He afterwards applied to the United Brethren, but with a similar result.

[2] Despard's Hope Deferred, not Lost, pp. 3, 10, 16, 19.

good, that, finding an opportunity of returning to England, they gladly availed themselves of it, after being only about a month in the country.[1]

In January 1848, Captain Gardiner again sailed from England, with the view of attempting a mission in Tierra del Fuego. He was provided with a long-boat, a life-boat, and a dingy, and with stores and supplies of all sorts for seven months, and was accompanied by four seamen and a boat carpenter. On his arrival, he fixed on a spot to which he gave the name of Banner Cove, on Picton Island, as the site of the mission. Here, after a few days, some natives made their appearance. They were very unceremonious, and were evidently intent on making booty of anything that might happen to lie exposed. As soon as it grew dark, Captain Gardiner appointed a watch for the night; and it seemed plain that they would be always obliged to keep watch—that they would be able neither to build in peace, nor to separate for any length of time with safety; and, if the number of the natives should increase, they would be absolutely at their mercy. Captain Gardiner, therefore, gave up the idea of forming a station on shore. Had he possessed two large decked boats, one to be fitted up as a mission-house, the other to contain the stores, with a small one merely for landing, he thought the mission could have been carried on. But, situated as they were, he came to the conclusion that they had no alternative but to return to England. Within a week after they reached Picton Island, they dismantled the store which they had erected, re-embarked that part of their supplies which had been landed, and sailed away, in the vessel which had brought them out, to Payta, on the coast of Peru, whither it was bound; and from thence the captain returned to England by way of Panama and the West Indies.[2]

In September 1850, Captain Gardiner sailed again for Tierra del Fuego. He was accompanied by Mr Richard Williams, surgeon, and Mr John Maidment, who both went out in the capacity of catechists; John Bryant, John Pearce, and John Badcock, fishermen, from Cornwall; and Joseph Erwin, boat carpenter, from Bristol. He was also provided with two decked boats and two small boats as tenders. Masts, sails, cordage, anchors, chain cables, were ordered by him according to his own unfettered judgment, and provisions of all kinds to last the party for six months. On arriving in Tierra del Fuego, they appear never to have been able to bring themselves to settle at any particular place. Instead of wishing to meet with the natives, they lived in continual dread of them, and the sight of even a few of them in any quarter where they happened to go was the signal for them to make their escape. That the natives were troublesome, intrusive, rude, impudent, uncontrollable, we can easily believe; but whether their hostility did not exist chiefly in the apprehensions of Captain Gardiner and his associates, it is difficult to say, for they never had much opportunity of shewing it by outward acts. He and his party seldom remained any time at one place, but were almost always voyaging hither and thither;

[1] Despard's Hope Deferred, pp. 20, 42, 51, 80. [2] Ibid. p. 101.

and, in sailing about in so tempestuous a region, they often encountered fearful weather, suffered many hardships, and were exposed to many dangers. Having deposited part of their stores and provisions at Banner Cove on Picton Island, they returned to obtain them; and, before again leaving it, Captain Gardiner, with the view of affording intelligence to the vessel which was expected to come to their relief, this being the place appointed for her coming to, inclosed notices in bottles, and sunk them in various places, with boards erected above them, and letters painted on them, "Look underneath." The following is a copy of these notices:— "The natives are hostile; we are obliged to move from place to place; if not in Banner Cove, we shall be near Cape Rees, or Cape James, on the N.E. side of Navarin Island; if not there, in Spaniard Harbour, which is on the main island, not far from Cape Kinnaird. We have sickness on board, our supplies are nearly out, and, if not soon relieved, we shall be starved. We do not mean to go to Staten Island, but, if unable to remain at the two places indicated above, to run for Spaniard harbour, and stay there on a cove, on the western side, until some vessel comes to our assistance.

"ALLEN F. GARDINER,
"*Superintendent of the Mission.*[1]

"*Banner Cove, March* 26, 1851."

Previous to this, Mr Williams the surgeon, and John Badcock, had shewn symptoms of scurvy, and their strength continued greatly to fail them. Erwin, Bryant, and Pearce, after a time, also shewed symptoms of the same disease. They were not only without fresh vegetables, but without fresh meat, and other remedies suitable for such a disease. By a fearful neglect, their gunpowder was left in the ship, and carried on to California, so that they had not the means of providing themselves with fresh meat, by shooting birds or wild animals. Captain Gardiner had also calculated on obtaining supplies of fish from the sea; but few were to be found; and, early in June, the net by which they had occasionally caught a few, was so much torn, and almost entirely carried away by the floating ice, that to repair it was out of the question, and thus another source of supply was lost. They were now at Spaniard harbour. Captain Gardiner and Mr Maidment lodged in a cavern about a mile and a half from the mouth of Cook's river, where the boat, containing the rest of the party, was moored; and, though the distance was so inconsiderable, yet so exhausted and weakened were they all, that they could not maintain a daily communication with each other. On Friday, the 4th of July, Captain Gardiner writes:—"Went this afternoon to Cook's River, found Mr Williams enjoying great peace of mind, and he said that, in some respects, he felt better even in his body; extremely weak, but able to take refreshing sleep at times. Erwin had been suffering again from a pain in his chest, and had been laid up for two days, but was considerably better.

[1] Despard's Hope Deferred, pp. 126, 143, 190, 195, 197, 202, 219, 323, 378, 397.

Bryant very weak, but still able to help a little in procuring wood, &c. Pearce complains of pains in his bones, and general weakness. I have desired them not to think of coming over to us, unless there should be anything of importance to communicate. In the weakened condition of our party, the necessary duties of procuring food, cooking, and attending on the sick, is in itself a very great exertion, and sometimes too much for them. What a mercy it is that no Indians have been permitted to approach us, for, to the eye of sense, we are utterly helpless. Should we wish to move the boat, we could not; the exertion of weighing the anchor and attending to the sails would be too great; besides which, neither sails nor rigging are now in a trustworthy condition. We have now been more than seven weeks on short allowance, and latterly even this has, of necessity, been curtailed. The meat and the biscuit of our share (in the cavern) was all expended on Wednesday, so that we have now remaining half a duck, about 1 lb. of salt pork, the same of damaged tea, a very little rice (a pint), two cakes of chocolate, and four pints of peas, to which I may add six mice. The mention of this last item in our list of provisions may startle some of our friends, should it ever reach their ears; but, situated as we are, we partake of them with a relish, and have already eaten several. They are very tender, and taste like a rabbit."

"In noting down our wants and difficulties, I would not conclude without expressing my thanks to the God of all mercies for the grace which he has bestowed on each of my suffering companions, who, with the utmost cheerfulness, endure all without a murmur, patiently awaiting the Lord's time to deliver them, and ready, should it be his will, to languish and die here, knowing that whatever he shall appoint will be well. My prayer is, that the Lord my God may be glorified in me, whatever it be, by life or death; and that he will, should we fall, vouchsafe to raise up and send forth other labourers into this harvest, that his name may be magnified, and his kingdom enlarged, in the salvation of multitudes from among the inhabitants of this pagan land, who, by the instrumentality of his servants, may, under the divine blessing upon their labours, be translated from the power of darkness into the glorious liberty of the children of God."[1]

From this time forward, to the end of their tragic history, they had little other means of sustenance besides mussels and limpets, and a species of gelatinous sea-weed. On Tuesday, July 22, Captain Gardiner writes: "For six days we have had no intercourse with" our friends at "Cook's River, on account of the weather." "They feel the want of food, and sometimes the cravings of hunger are distressing to them. After partaking of mussels for a fortnight, I was obliged to give them up on the 19th. My food is now wild celery, mussel broth, and the soft part of limpets, when they can be procured. Mr Maidment is indefatigable in his endeavours to obtain all that can be scraped together, in order to furnish a meal, and endures the cold necessary in procuring mussels, and limpets, and wild

[1] Despard's Hope Deferred, pp. 207, 211, 220, 234, 236, 238, 247, 329, 340.

celery, in addition to supplying food and water. All this trouble and labour he engages in with the greatest cheerfulness."

"It was a providential circumstance that, on the very day on which I was obliged to discontinue eating mussels, the remains of a fox were found. It had been thrown up high on the beach, and for some days had been covered with snow; but it was sadly diminished by the ravenous picking of some birds. The skin was also found some days previously on the beach."[1]

Death had already begun his work, and now he proceeded with his ravages. John Badcock had died on the 28th of June; Erwin died on the 23d of August, and Bryant on the 26th. Mr Maidment went to Cook's River to bury them. He laid them side by side in one grave; but the effort was too much for him.[2] The following are the last entries in Captain Gardiner's journal:—

"*Wednesday, September* 3.—Mr Maidment returned, perfectly exhausted. The day also was bad, snow, sleet, and rain. He has never since recruited from that day's bodily and mental exertion. Wishing, if possible, to spare him the trouble of waiting upon me, and for the mutual comfort of all, I proposed, if practicable, to go to the river and take up my quarters in the boat; this was attempted on Saturday last. Feeling that without crutches I could not possibly effect it, Mr Maidment most kindly cut me a pair (two forked sticks), but it was no slight exertion and fatigue in his weak state. We set out together, but I soon found that I had not strength to proceed, and was obliged to return before reaching the brook, on our own beach. Mr Maidment was so exhausted yesterday, that he did not rise from his bed until noon, and I have not seen him since, consequently I tasted nothing yesterday. I cannot leave the place where I am, and know not whether he is in the body, or enjoying the presence of the gracious God whom he has served so faithfully. I am writing this at ten o'clock in the forenoon. Blessed be my heavenly Father, for the many mercies I enjoy: a comfortable bed, no pain, nor even cravings of hunger, though excessively weak, scarcely able to turn in my bed, at least it is a very great exertion; but I am, by His abounding grace, kept in perfect peace, refreshed with a sense of my Saviour's love, and an assurance that all is wisely and mercifully appointed, and pray that I may receive the full blessing, which it is doubtless designed to bestow. My care is all cast upon God, and I am only waiting His time, and His good pleasure, to dispose of me as He shall see fit. Whether I live or die, may it be in Him. I commend my body and soul into His care and keeping, and earnestly pray that He will mercifully take my dear wife and children under the shadow of His wings, comfort, guide, strengthen, and sanctify them wholly, that we may together, in a brighter and eternal world, praise and adore His goodness and grace, in redeeming us with His precious blood, and

[1] Despard's Hope Deferred, p. 249. [2] Ibid. pp. 242, 254, 255, 256.

plucking us as brands from the burning, to bestow upon us the adoption of children, and make us inheritors of His heavenly kingdom. Amen.

"*Thursday, September* 4.—There is now no room to doubt that my dear fellow-labourer has ceased from his earthly toils, and joined the company of the redeemed in the presence of the Lord whom he served so faithfully. Under these circumstances, it was a merciful providence that he left the boat, as I could not have removed the body. He left a little peppermint-water which he had mixed, and it has been a great comfort to me, but there was no other to drink; fearing I might suffer from thirst, I prayed that the Lord would strengthen me to procure some. He graciously answered my petition, and yesterday I was enabled to get out, and scoop up a sufficient supply from some that trickled down at the stern of the boat by means of one of my India-rubber over-shoes. What combined mercies am I receiving at the hands of my heavenly Father! Blessed be his holy name!

"*Friday, September* 5.—Great and marvellous are the loving-kindnesses of my gracious God unto me. He has preserved me hitherto, and for four days, although without bodily food, without any feelings of hunger or thirst.

There was also found another paper addressed to Mr Williams, and written in pencil, the whole being very indistinct, and some parts quite obliterated, but nearly as follows:—

"My dear Mr Williams,—The Lord has seen fit to call home another of our little company. Our dear departed brother left the boat on Tuesday afternoon, and has not since returned. Doubtless he is in the presence of his Redeemer, whom he served faithfully. Yet a little while, and though . . . . . the Almighty to sing the praises . . . . . throne. I neither hunger nor thirst, though . . . days without food . . . . . Maidment's kindness to me . . . . . heaven.

"Your affectionate brother in . . . . .

"Allen F. Gardiner.[1]

"*September* 6, 1851."

Meanwhile, the committee had made various efforts to find a ship by which they might send out supplies to the mission; but the general answer was, that no vessel would risk her insurance by attempting to land so small a freight as the proposed stores. From this, and other causes, considerable delays took place; and before the supplies, which were at length sent out, reached Picton Island (if, indeed, they ever reached it), the whole party were gone.

A gentleman in Monte Video had also made some unsuccessful efforts to get vessels to call at Picton Island; but he at length succeeded in sending an American vessel, Captain Smyley, with instructions to visit it, and to assist Captain Gardiner and his associates in anything they might require.

[1] Despard's Hope Deferred, p. 257.

Captain Smyley did not reach Picton Island till the 21st of October; and, on finding the notice at Banner Cove that they had gone to Spaniard Harbour, he proceeded thither the next day. "Went on shore," he says, "and found the boat on the beach, with one person dead inside, supposed to be Pearce, as we cut the name off his frock; another we found on the beach completely washed to pieces; another buried, which is John Badcock. These, we have every reason to believe, are Pearce, Williams, and Badcock. The sight was awful in the extreme. Books, papers, medicines, clothing, and tools, strewed along the beach, and on the boat's deck and cuddy; but no sign of any edge tools whatever. The person in the boat had a large scar on his head, and one on his neck. I supposed he had done this by being delirious, or by chance an Indian might have killed him, as they were too weak to offer resistance." Of Captain Gardiner and Mr Maidment he was able to give no account.

Meanwhile, H.M.S. *Dido*, Captain Morshead, being about to sail for the Pacific, an order was obtained from the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to him to touch, if possible, at Picton Island, and inquire after the missionaries. Captain Morshead reached Spaniard Harbour, Jan. 21 1852, and sent Lieutenant Pigott and Mr Roberts, the master, to reconnoitre; and they returned shortly, having discovered the bodies of Captain Gardiner and Mr Maidment unburied. Captain Gardiner's body was lying beside the boat, which he apparently had left, and being too weak to climb into it again, had died by the side of it. Mr Maidment's was found in the cavern. Their remains were collected together and buried, and a small inscription was placed on a rock near the spot.[1]

XIX. RHENISH MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

SOUTH AFRICA.

In 1828, the Rhenish Missionary Society was constituted, by the union of three previously existing associations at Elberfeld, Barmen, and Cologne; and they were soon after joined by other associations in the Rhenish provinces, and in Westphalia. The seat of the society is Barmen, and it derives its support chiefly from the territory between the Rhine and the Mæse.[2]

In July 1829, Messrs J. G. Leipoldt, G. A. Zahn, P. D. Luckhoff, and Theobald Von Wurmb, sailed from London for the Cape of Good Hope, with the view of establishing a mission in South Africa. These were the first missionaries of the society; but they were afterwards followed by others, and numerous stations were formed by them, both within and beyond the

[1] Despard's Hope Deferred, pp. 168, 174, 186.

[2] (Amer.) Miss. Her. vol. xxxiii. p. 165; vol. xlvii. p. 130.

colony. Some of them settled not only among the Namaquas, but in Damaraland, north of the tropic of Capricorn.[1]

In 1851, the numbers who had been baptized at the various stations since the commencement of the mission, amounted to 4,340; and the communicants were then 1,647.[2]

BORNEO.

In August 1834, Messrs Barnstein and Heyer sailed from Amsterdam for Batavia, with the view of commencing a mission on the island of Borneo; and they were afterwards followed by other missionaries. The Dutch government was not favourable to the settlement of missionaries in Borneo, and they had at first to undergo a year's probation in Java before they could obtain permission to proceed to that island; but afterwards it became more friendly, supported them wherever they could, and sought, by this means, to introduce among the heathen tribes some portion of morality and civilization. The missionaries laboured partly among the Malays, who are Mahommedans, and among the Chinese in Banjàr, and partly among the Dyaks, in the interior of the island. Their chief labours were in the schools, which were attended by about 500 children. Besides a number of small school-books, the New Testament was printed in the Dyak language, and a translation was carrying on of the Old Testament.[3]

In 1851, the number who had been baptized, from the commencement of the mission, was 98; and the communicants then amounted to 40.[4]

CHINA.

In 1846, Messrs Genahr and Koster were sent to China, at the request of Dr Gutzlaff, with the view of superintending that portion of the native preachers who were employed by the Christian Union established by him in the province Kwang-tung; but they did not long maintain their connexion with him. They did not, however, settle at any of the five ports, but took up their residence in a village named Saiheong, between Hong Kong and Canton. They had also several out-stations, and they were assisted in their labours by some native catechists. It does not appear that they met with any interruption, either from the authorities or the people. They prescribed for the sick, and performed surgical operations, as occasion offered; and this aided them in gaining the goodwill of the natives, and in removing any prejudices which they might

[1] Evan. Mag. 1829, pp. 372, 378.—(Amer.) Miss. Her. vol. xlvii. pp, 130, 132.
[2] (Amer.) Miss. Her. vol. xlviii. p. 212.
[3] Miss. Reg. 1835, p. 147.—(Amer.) Miss. Her. vol. xlvii. p. 181.
[4] (Amer.) Miss. Her. vol. xlviii. p. 212.

feel on account of their being foreigners. They dressed in the Chinese costume, and wore long Chinese cues.[1]

In 1851, the number who had been baptized from the commencement of the mission was 60; and the communicants then amounted to 54.[2]

XX. BERLIN MISSIONARY SOCIETY.[3]

SOUTH AFRICA.

In October 1833, this society commenced its foreign operations, by sending four missionaries to South Africa. These were afterwards followed by others, and a number of stations were formed in the Cape Colony, Kaffraria, the Bechuana country, and Port-Natal colony.[4]

In 1845, the Rev. Mr Scholtz, who, with other four missionaries, had lately arrived in South Africa, was murdered by two Kafirs, when on the way to the scene of their future labours. They had just entered the Kafir territory, and had outspanned for the night. Their men, among whom was a servant of Mr Shepstone, one of the Methodist missionaries, slept round the fire, they themselves remaining in the waggon. About one o'clock in the morning, the violent barking of their dogs led them to suppose that a hyena was prowling around them; but on some of the men advancing, two Kafirs sprung out of the bush and attacked them. Mr Shepstone's servant was stabbed with an assagai; and on Mr Scholtz, and another of the missionaries named Kropf, opening the curtain of the waggon, and looking out to ascertain the cause of the noise, the former received a stab from an assagai in the stomach. They drew back, and Scholtz pulled out the weapon. The wound, they thought, was not deep. Their men having run to several neighbouring waggons for help, the Kafirs in the meanwhile made off. A surgeon having been obtained from Fort-Peddie, he dressed Mr Scholtz's wound, and it was proposed to remove him to the Wesleyan missionary station; but his sufferings were too great to allow him to proceed far. His lips grew cold; he became unable to swallow; and shortly after, he expired. The dead body of the servant was found in the bush, and the remains of both were, on the following day, committed to the grave.[5]

XXI. GOSSNER'S MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

"GERMANY has one organization for the conversion of the heathen which is unlike all others. It is generally called Gossner's Missionary

[1] (Amer.) Miss. Her. vol. xlvii. pp. 134, 413; vol. xlviii. p. 166.
[2] Ibid. vol. xlviii. p 212.
[3] This society was instituted in 1824.
[4] (Amer.) Miss. Her. vol. xliii. p. 170; vol. xlviii. p. 384.
[5] Cape of Good Hope Christian Magazine, 1846, p. 55.

Society.[1] This warm-hearted but eccentric servant of Christ, extensively known as Prediger Gossner, formerly belonged to the committee of the Berlin Missionary Society. But, as he could not assent to all the principles of his associates in regard to the training of missionaries, he resigned his office in 1836. Soon afterwards he took charge of a number of young men, mostly mechanics, who were anxious to engage in the missionary work as Christian artisans, catechists, and teachers. They were to earn their livelihood by manual labour; and such instruction as they needed was to be given to them gratuitously by pious students.

"Gossner had scarcely entered upon this new enterprise, when Dr Lang, of the Scotch Presbyterian Church in Australia, invited these humble but zealous candidates for missionary employment to make known the gospel to the natives of Australia, near Moreton Bay; and accordingly, on the 10th of July 1837, eleven men, one of them having been ordained, and seven married, proceeded to Scotland, whence they sailed at a subsequent date for their destination.[2] A few months later, the Rev. Mr Start, of the Church of England, anxious to establish a mission in Bengal, went to Berlin, and selected twelve persons for this purpose, who proceeded to England, July 1, 1838. One of them was a 'candidate,' and three were married.[3] In 1840, a reinforcement of five was sent to this mission. During the same year also, six labourers set out for Middle India, upon the invitation of several Englishmen.[4] In the following year, another company left Germany

[1] Gossner was originally a Roman Catholic priest.

[2] In 1838, the first missionaries arrived at Moreton Bay. Their labours were for a considerable time confined, from pure necessity, in a great measure, to the preliminary operations of clearing ground, fencing it in, and breaking it up for cultivation, and in erecting houses and other buildings. The cultivation of the soil was resorted to with two objects in view—partly to lessen the expense of the mission, by deriving support for the missionaries from the produce of the land, and partly to secure a sufficient supply of food for the natives, whom they wished to employ in labouring to earn their own bread by the sweat of their brow, and as a means of fixing them with them.—*Calc. Christ. Obser.* vol. x. p. 601.

[3] In 1836, the Rev. W. Start, who went out to India with the Bishop of Calcutta, but afterwards seceded from the Church of England, settled at Patna. After labouring for some time in that place, he returned to England to seek for suitable persons to be employed as missionaries; but not succeeding in this country, he went to Germany, and at Berlin engaged twelve persons as missionaries. In 1838, he sailed with them for Calcutta, he paying their outfit and passage money, which alone exceeded £900. His plan was, that they should labour with their own hands, and thus do what they could to support themselves, while he should supply what else was necessary from his private resources.

Mr Start afterwards removed, with his assistants, to Darjeeling, where he purchased land and erected houses for himself and them. The mission was designed to be self-supporting. The brethren were to instruct the heathen not only in the truths of Christianity, but also in different branches of labour which might be brought to bear on their present happiness, in the increased enjoyment of the comforts of life. Mr Start was at the expense of printing the Gospel of Matthew in the Lepcha language, which is spoken by one of the hill tribes in and near Darjeeling. He translated the Gospel of Luke and the Acts of the Apostles into the Nepalese language, both of which have also been printed.—*Miss. Reg.* 1838, p. 420.—*Ibid.* 1843, p. 364.—*Calc. Christ. Observer*, vol. xi. p. 116.—*Rep. Bib. Soc.* 1847, p. 90.—*Ibid.* 1851, p. 77.—*Ibid.* 1853, p. 80.

[4] In September 1841, the Rev. H. Loesch, and four unordained brethren, arrived in Bombay and were there joined by another brother who had come by the overland route. The five unordained brethren were artizans and agriculturists; one of them also appears to have had some

for the Chatham Islands. In 1843, an attempt was made to establish a mission in New Caledonia; but those who were destined to this field, on arriving at Sidney, concluded to join their brethren at Moreton Bay. A similar fate attended an effort to commence operations at Mergui, in 1844, the company sent forth for this purpose having concluded to establish themselves in Chuta Nagpur, some three hundred miles west of Calcutta. In 1846, a man and his wife went to Madras to take charge of an orphan school; of them nothing particular is known. During the same year, Gossner was persuaded to send 'a dismissed Basle missionary' and three others to West Africa, near Cape Coast. Quite recently, three brethren have been sent to Java; and a like number have gone to the Tubuai Islands.[1]

"It has been seen that Gossner prepared his young friends for their future

knowledge of medicine. They were sent out by pastor Gossner, in compliance with the wishes of a pious civilian who felt deeply interested in the Gonds, one of the aboriginal tribes of India, from having dwelt long in their neighbourhood, and who had offered to support missionaries if sent to them. They are found chiefly in the hills, and on the forests along the southern bank of the Nerbudda, near its sources, and are a poor, wild, degraded race. The mission was designed to introduce among them at once a knowledge of Christianity, and of the arts of civilized life. Many of the friends of missions in Bombay, and other parts of the presidency, took a deep interest in the missionaries, and came liberally forward to their assistance.

On arriving in the country of the Gonds, the missionaries took up their residence at the village of Karangia. They found the people at first very shy, as they usually are to strangers, and they could hardly obtain the necessaries of life from them, though they paid beforehand for everything; but they at length gained their confidence so much, that they gave them up a great part of their fields to cultivate. The missionaries now commenced cutting down timber, and removing the stones of a ruined temple, wherewith to build houses. The Gonds wondered to see Europeans thus work with their own hands, and assisted them in carrying the timber to the place where the houses were to be built. During the hot weather, the lay brethren were toiling in the sun from morning to night, cutting timber, &c. By the commencement of the rains, their houses were not quite ready. During the day, they worked in the fields on the damp ground, with a hot sun over-head. Then their houses began to leak, and there was not a spot dry in the whole house; even the places they lay on were wet. The consequence was, that they were all attacked with diarrhœa. In this state, however, without appetite or strength, they continued to toil at the completion of their houses, and in the cultivation of their fields. One day we find it stated, that they were "many hours in the pouring rain," sowing their seed and repairing the roofs of their houses. It is stated, however, that they were recovering, when the wind, loaded with moisture, blowing in on their debilitated bodies through windows without glass, they "fell like dead men on the floor." One died on the 23d July 1842, only five months after their arrival at Karangia; their doctor on the 26th; and on the 31st, Loesch, and Gatzke the carpenter. The two who survived, Bartels and Apler, were now left by their servants, and by everybody; many of the people of the village also took ill and died, and those who remained fled in terror to the mountains. At last the two survivors fell ill, and wrote to their friends at Jabbalpur, praying for means to convey them to that station. They accordingly removed thither from Karangia, and there, by the blessing of God on the kindness of their friends, they both recovered. They afterwards removed to Kampti, and ultimately became connected with the Free Church mission at Nagpur.—*Calcutta Christ. Observer*, vol. xix. p. 439.—*Sum. Orient. Spect.* vol. i. pp. 21, 62, 217.—*Free Ch. Miss. Rec.* vol. iii. p. 513.

[1] Two of the last-mentioned missionaries landed at Rurutu, one of the Tubuai or Austral islands, which lie about 500 miles south of Tahiti. They were received by the natives in a very cordial manner, but they did not remain long there. We soon find them at San Francisco on their "way home, or to some other field where the Lord wants" them.—*Amer. Miss. Her.* vol. xlix. p. 118.

labours with little or no expense to himself. He also endeavoured to make the missions undertaken by them as light a burden upon his treasury as possible. Indeed, the support of some of these missions was assumed by others. For the large company sent to Australia in 1837, he provided merely an outfit and the cost of the journey to Scotland. The expense of the passage to Australia was paid by the Irish Presbyterian Church; and Dr Lang agreed that the wants of the mission, after its arrival, should be supplied by the Scotch Presbyterian Church of Australia, it being understood that the missionaries should connect themselves with that body. The two who went to Madras in 1846 were supported by others. How far the Bengal mission, commenced at the instance of the Rev. Mr Start, was to be a charge upon Gossner, does not appear; and the same is true of the Middle India mission; though it is presumed that both were expected to receive important assistance, if not all which they should require, from other sources. The Java mission is to be supported, in part at least, by the Dutch.

"The remaining missions looked originally to Berlin for all the aid which they should need; but it was a part of Gossner's plan that, as far as possible, they should be cheap and self-supporting. This was one argument, indeed, for sending forth such a number of mechanics, though their qualifications, in some respects, must have been of a very ordinary character.

"It is to be regretted that we have no full and accurate history of Gossner's experiments; for the facts elicited thereby would doubtless throw much light upon the expediency of attempting to conduct missions upon plans different from those which are generally adopted. Certain points, however, appear to have been pretty well settled. 1. It is not always safe to rely upon the promises of individuals for support. This has been proved, according to the author of *Das Missionswesen der Evangelischen Kirche*, by the history of the missions to Australia, Bengal, and Middle India; inasmuch as they were soon left unprovided for, and were obliged to rely upon their own labour, or look to Gossner for help; and they had, for this reason, but a sickly existence, even if they escaped annihilation. The last of the three, indeed, lived only a short time. 2. The attempt to carry out the self-supporting plan, as far as possible, has occasioned the loss of many lives, particularly in India. 3. A number have abandoned the missions with which they were at first connected, and gone into the service of other societies. 4. And it is even claimed by the author of the *Missionswesen*, that the greater economy of Gossner's missions, as compared with other German missions, is rather apparent than real.

"If definite information is asked in regard to the present state of the missions, the commencement of which has been already described, it is not easy to give it. Gossner publishes no annual reports; and his *Biene auf dem Missionsfelde* is deficient in statistics. The effort in West Africa proved a failure, mainly through the misconduct of the 'dismissed Basle missionary.' The missions to Australia and Chatham Islands, it is be-

lieved, have accomplished nothing for the heathen. The former has done something for the colonists; but the latter has probably been abandoned; at any rate, Gossner expected this result in 1850.

"The *Missionswesen* assigns three stations to the Bengal mission, namely, Chupra, Muzufferpoor, and Darjeeling, the last being at the foot of the Bengal Himalayas. There are several schools at Chupra; and a number of persons have received baptism. The schools at Muzufferpoor contain two hundred and eighty-five pupils; and prior to January 1850, baptism was administered to ten families and eighteen orphan girls. Thus far there appears to have been but little success at Darjeeling.

"The labours of the mission in Chuta Nagpur are directed mainly to the races which preceded the Hindoos, though other classes receive some attention. There are three stations in this field, namely, Bethesda, Lahardugga, and Covinpore. Earnest and persevering efforts have been made to interest the people in education; but the result at first was not satisfactory. The latest accounts from this field, however, are of a very encouraging character. The Coles, it is said, manifest great readiness to receive the gospel.

"The number of labourers connected with these missions at the present time does not appear. In reply to one of the secretaries of the Board in October 1850, Gossner gave the statistics of his missions as follows:—

Missions.	Missionaries.	Laymen.	Females.
Australia, ...	...	16	16
Bengal, ...	3	8	7
Chuta Nagpur, ...	2	10	5
Chatham Islands, . . .	...	5	3

"Prior to 1842, Gossner had the sole management of his various operations. In that year it was deemed expedient that a society should be organized; and on the 19th of September, the 'Evangelical Union for the Spread of Christianity among the Natives of Heathen Lands' obtained a legal existence. There has been but little change, however, in the mode of conducting the business. Gossner may be regarded as the embodiment of the society. In a humble dwelling outside of the walls of Berlin, far back in a garden, where no one would think of looking for him without a special direction, he receives those who are candidates for the missionary work; and there he transacts the business of his society. Though quite aged, he is exceedingly active, full of vivacity, simple, benevolent, a Lutheran, yet very catholic; and a transient visitor will have no difficulty in believing that he may have a strong hold upon the confidence and affections of a portion of the good people of Germany.

"He has never sought to establish auxiliaries, or other subordinate organizations. His treasury receives the free-will offerings (amounting to

not quite 5,000 dollars a-year) of all such persons as see fit to make use of this channel to send the gospel to the heathen; and that is the whole story. To those who go forth from under his care he makes no pledges. They must trust in God. 'I promise you nothing,' he says; 'you must go in faith. And if you cannot go in faith, you had better not go at all.' Those whom he accounts suitable persons to preach the gospel, he ordains prior to their departure. He was once asked if he had the right to ordain. His reply was, 'Not for Germany, but I have for the heathen.' None of his missionaries have received any other ordination."[1]

XXII. EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

This Society was formed in 1836. Its seat was formerly at Dresden. It is now at Leipsic. Its efforts were directed to Southern India, where its missionaries occupy the field of the Danish missionaries at Tranquebar and other stations connected with it, as Madras, Trichinopoly, &c. It had also missionaries at Adelaide and Encounter Bay, in New Holland.[2]

XXIII. NORTH GERMAN MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

This Society was also formed in 1836. Its seat was originally Hamburg, but it was afterwards removed to Bremen. It sent missionaries to Western Africa and New Zealand. It also commenced a mission in India, in the Telugu country; but it would appear that this mission was afterwards transferred to the German Foreign Missionary Society, in the United States of America, which was organized in 1837. It consists of three stations; Guntur, begun in 1842; Rajamundry, in 1845; and Palnaud, in 1849.

In 1853, the total numbers baptized from the commencement of the mission, including both adults and children, was 334, and the number of communicants, at the date now mentioned, was 70.[3]

XXIV. SWEDISH MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

LAPLAND.

In January 1835, the Swedish Missionary Society was instituted at Stockholm, and a few months afterwards, a Swede, named Carl Ludovic Tellstroem, was sent by it to Lapland as a catechist. He proceeded, in the

[1] (Amer.) Miss. Her. vol. xlviii. p. 184.

[2] See vol. i. p. 175.—(Amer.) Miss. Her. vol. xlvii. p. 391; vol. xlviii. p. 249.—Miss. Reg. 1850, p. 218

[3] (Amer.) Miss. Her. vol. xlvii. p. 391; vol. xlviii. pp. 186, 385.—Miss. Reg. 1847, p. 407.—Ibid. 1849, p. 222.—Sum. Orient. Christ. Spect. 1850, p. 244.—Ibid. 1853, p. 82.

first instance, to Lycksele, a village on the borders of Sweden and Lapland, but he found the work attended with many and great difficulties. The residence of the Lapland families is regulated according to the movements of their flocks of deer. So long as the animals obtain a supply of the moss on which they feed, they remain stationary, and their owners have rest; but when that supply begins to fail, the deer set off for a more favoured spot, and they must strike their tents and follow them. No great number of Laplanders can therefore be found together, and travelling from place to place is hazardous. In summer, extensive marshes have to be crossed; the roads, consisting of small pine-trees stripped of their branches and thrown longitudinally into the marsh, float upon the surface and sustain the weight of a single traveller, who, with his soft seal-skin boots yielding to the shape of the tree, and possessed of exquisite skill in maintaining his balance, may, at the expense of much fatigue, travel a few miles a day. In the winter, all is frozen over, but the danger of being lost in trackless deserts is imminent. Tellstroem was brought near his end, and passed through months of excruciating suffering in consequence of missing his way on a winter journey.

Finding that the Laplanders gathered in considerable numbers at several points where yearly or half-yearly fairs were held, which were attended by Swedish merchants who exchanged their goods with them for their reindeer skins and other articles, Tellstroem hoped to find, on these occasions, opportunities of communicating religious instruction to them, but he quickly met with moral obstacles still more formidable than the natural difficulties of the country. On the eve of the fair, each booth had on the counter a jar of spirits and glasses, and the Laplanders were encouraged to drink freely without charge. The offer was so generally accepted, that all of them were in a state of intoxication during the fair, and it was vain to attempt to interest them in the subject of religion.

Finding so little encouragement in his attempts to communicate religious instruction to the adult population, Tellstroem directed his attention chiefly to the young. He opened a school for children, who were taken from their parents for a term of two years, and were clothed, lodged, and boarded, at the expense of the Society, and at the end of that period, were restored to their parents with a plentiful supply of religious and useful books, to spread the knowledge which they had received. After some years, several young men, who had been taught by him, took charge of similar schools; there were seven schools, which were attended by nearly 150 children. The catechists also, by turns, undertook journeys through the country.

The utter ignorance of religion generally manifested by the Laplanders, shews how little is effected by dividing a country like Lapland into parishes, and placing at the head of each a clergyman, who, as is generally the case, knows nothing of the language of the people committed to his charge.[1]

[1] Evangelical Christendom, vol. iii.

In 1851, Mr Forbes, professor of natural philosophy in the University of Edinburgh, visited

XXV. SWEDISH MISSIONARY SOCIETY, LUND.

CHINA.

In 1846, a Missionary Society was formed at Lund, in South Sweden. It appears to be connected with the extreme Lutheran party. In 1849, it sent two missionaries, Messrs Fast and Elgqvist, to China. They sailed to Fuh-chau-fu, but their course was of short duration. In 1850, they went to the mouth of the river to convert bills of exchange into money. Having obtained two hundred dollars, they set out on their return, but when they were just out of sight of the ships which they had visited, they were assailed by a band of pirates. They discharged their pistols, after which Mr Fast's side was pierced with a spear, when Mr Elgqvist supposed he fell into the water and was seen no more. Mr Elgqvist himself jumped overboard, and swam to the shore. The Chinese officers subsequently destroyed the villages of these pirates, arrested several of them, and carried them to Fuh-chau-fu for trial. One of them died of his wounds. "This," says Mr Peet, one of the American missionaries, "is a melancholy affair, and it is much to be regretted that the brethren should have armed themselves with 'carnal weapons.' It is my belief, that had they not attempted thus to defend themselves, they would have received but little injury comparatively, and lost but little besides their money." Mr Elgqvist's mind was seriously affected, and it was thought necessary that he should return to Sweden. Other missionaries were sent out to carry on the plans of the Society in China.[1]

XXVI. NORWEGIAN MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

This Society was instituted in 1842. Its seat appears to be Stavanger. It sent missionaries to the Zulu country, in South Africa. An estate was bought near Pieter Mauritzberg, for a station called Uitkompst.[2]

Norway, and, in the course of his travels, he fell in with an encampment of Laplanders at Tromsoe, in latitude 69° 40′, of whom he gives, on the whole, a favourable account. "We at length," says he, "extricated ourselves from the wood, and, crossing the stream, saw the Lapp camp before us on a dry and pleasant grassy space, about two and a half English miles from the sea. . . . . Their appearance, uncouth, squalid, and diminutive in the extreme, was, I thought, decidedly unprepossessing. But an attentive survey brought out some more favourable features. The countenance was altogether unlike any I had seen, but by no means devoid of intelligence, and even a certain sweetness of expression. . . . . On inquiring into their occupation, we were surprised to find them possessed of some excellently printed and well-cared-for books, particularly a Bible in the Finnish tongue, and a commentary, each forming a quarto volume. We found some of them also engaged in writing. This was a matter of surprise, where we had been led to expect something approaching barbarism; and we had soon a proof that their pretension to religious impressions was not merely theoretical, for they positively refused to taste the spirits which were freely offered to them, and of which our party partook, though it is well known that excessive and besotting drunkenness used to be the great sin of the Lappish tribes, and still is, of those who have not been converted to habits of order and religion by the zealous efforts of the Swedish missionaries (particularly, I believe, Lestadius and Stockfleth), who have indefatigably laboured among them."—Forbes's *Norway and its Glaciers, visited in* 1851.

[1] Amer. Miss. Her. vol. xlvii. p. 138; vol. xlix. p. 118; vol. l. p. 87.

[2] Amer. Miss. Her. vol. xlvii. p. 391.—Miss. Reg. 1851, p. 70.

No. II.

ACCOUNT OF THE EXERTIONS OF SOME PERSONS DISTINGUISHED BY THEIR ZEAL FOR THE PROPAGATION OF CHRISTIANITY AMONG THE HEATHEN.

THE HONOURABLE ROBERT BOYLE.

THE Honourable Robert Boyle was not only a man of extensive learning, and one of the first philosophers of the age in which he lived; he was no less distinguished by his zeal and activity in promoting the interests of Christianity, both at home and abroad. Having been greatly instrumental in procuring the charter of the East India Company, and been for many years one of the directors, he made a proposal to them, that they should make some attempt for the propagation of Christianity in the East, and as soon as he found that they were favourable to the measure, he sent £100 to assist in the commencement of the work, intending at the same time to promote it still further, when it should be actually begun. During the space of about thirty years, he was governor of the Corporation for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England; and in the course of his life he contributed £300 to that object, and at his death he left a further sum for the same purpose. He not only expended £700 on an edition of the Irish Bible, which he ordered to be distributed in Ireland (besides contributing largely to the printing of the Welsh Bible, and of the Irish Bible for Scotland), but he designed to have defrayed the expense of publishing the New Testament in the Turkish language. The Turkey company, however, thought it became them to be at the charge of that undertaking, and allowed him to be only a contributor to it. He was at the expense, however, of publishing the four Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles, in the Malay language, which were printed in the Roman character, at Oxford, in 1677, under the direction of the learned Dr Hyde, professor of Oriental languages in that university, and were afterwards sent for distribution in the East. He likewise gave a noble reward to Dr Edward Pococke, for translating into Arabic the celebrated work of Grotius, *De Veritate Christianæ Religionis;* and was at the expense of the whole impression, which he was careful to have circulated in those countries where that language was

understood. To crown the whole, he left, at his death, the sum of £5400 for the propagation of Christianity among infidel and unenlightened nations. With this sum an estate was purchased in Yorkshire; the annual rent of which was paid to William and Mary College in Virginia, until the commencement of the American war. In 1793, the accumulated capital which now yielded near £1000 a year, was appropriated "to the Society for the Conversion and Religious Instruction of the Negroes in the British West Indies," which was then incorporated by royal charter.[1]

DEAN PRIDEAUX.

In 1695, Dr Prideaux, the well-known author of *The Connexion of the History of the Old and New Testaments*, addressed some proposals to the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr Tennison, for the propagation of Christianity in the English settlements in the East Indies. This was an object to which his mind had long been turned; and in his letter to the archbishop, accompanying his proposals, he expresses himself in a way which strongly indicates both his piety and zeal. "The inclosed paper," says he, "proposeth the whole matter, and informs you of a million of souls within your Grace's province, as belonging to the Diocese of London, which none of your predecessors ever extended their pastoral care unto, and which, I think, cannot, without a great reproach and shame to our whole Church and nation, be any longer neglected; and I fear, since God hath by his providence put them under our government, he will require of us an account of their souls, if we make no use of so fair and advantageous an opportunity of administering to them the means whereby they may be saved; especially since they are not of the savage and wild nations such as we have to do with in the *Western* plantations (whose barbarity so strongly indisposeth them for Christianity, as in a manner to make all attempts for their conversion to it impracticable, till they shall be better civilized), but, by the best accounts we have of those countries, they are a civilized, polite, and ingenuous people, who have all mechanical arts in a great height among them, and are very capable of all manner of instruction, and are very docile to receive it; and many of them in their morals even exceed the best of the Christians that live among them, and consequently recommend themselves unto us as deserving of a better religion than that which they do profess."

After referring to his having been consulted, in 1677, relative to the Hon. Mr Boyle's printing the four Gospels in Malay, he adds:—"However, the impression which the first proposal made on me, hath stuck in my mind ever since; and the prints, which the East India Company have published to defend themselves against the late attacks made upon them,

[1] Birch's Life of Mr Boyle, prefixed to his Works, vol. i. pp. 108, 139.—Bishop Burnet's Sermons, p. 197.—Hodgson's Life of Bishop Porteous, p. 111.

first by the interlopers, and since in parliament, having informed me of the vast numbers of those poor infidels who live under their government in India, without receiving any benefit to their souls from them, this hath further moved me to be concerned for them, and for the great neglect which we are guilty of, as to the interest of Jesus Christ, in omitting so fair an opportunity of bringing them to him. And this is it which hath constrained me to put these papers into your Grace's hands; and I humbly beg I may not be thought troublesome in so doing. It is the interest of our Great Master, to whom your Grace and I are equally servants. But you have the greater power and the larger talents wherewith to promote it. The most that I can do, is to offer the matter to be considered: your Grace is only able to bring it to any effect. I confess we have work enough at home (God Almighty help us); but this is no sufficient reason, when an opportunity is offered to serve him elsewhere, for us to neglect it. If the Company cannot be brought to do something in the business, it would be a work worthy of your Grace to promote it, by the contributions of well-disposed Christians among us; and it would be a matter of great reputation to our Church, if we alone, who are of the clergy, should undertake it. And whenever it shall be thus undertaken, though I serve the Church mostly upon my own estate, yet my purse shall be opened as wide towards it as any man's. I will readily subscribe an hundred pounds at the first offer; neither shall I stop here, if the work goes on; and if others will give proportionably, I doubt not but that a great deal might be done herein."

The following were Dr Prideaux's principal proposals:—

"1. That at Madras, Bombay, and Fort St David, there be in each of them a school and a church erected, where the inhabitants may be instructed in the Christian religion, in their own language.

"2. That in order hereto, men of piety and prudence may be found out and encouraged to undertake the mission, where they will undergo no such dangers and persecutions as the first planters of the gospel did, because in those places they will be under the protection of the English government.

"3. That a seminary may be erected in England to breed up persons to supply this mission for the future; and that they be therein instructed, not only in all parts of good learning, to enable them to withstand the oppositions of the Popish priests (who swarm in the Indies, and will be sure to obstruct this work all they can), but also in the Indian, Malabar, and Sanskrit languages.

"4. That the choice of those who shall be bred up in this seminary be made up of poor boys out of the hospitals of London or elsewhere; such whose fortunes can give them no temptations, when educated for this employment, to refuse to undertake it: and that care be taken only to elect such for the purpose, whose temper, parts, and inclinations, may promise them to be most capable of being fitted for it. Or else I would propose much rather,

"5. That, after this matter hath received some settlements and progress, the persons to be bred up here for this employment be brought from India, which will have these two conveniences, 1*st*, That the language of the country from whence they come will not be to learn; and, 2*dly*, That when they are bred up, there will be no such danger of their miscarrying, when they come thither into their native country, as the English are liable unto on their going hence into so hot a climate.

"6. That the persons to be brought from India for this purpose be chosen out of the children of the Malabar Christians, who are an ancient Church in those parts, provided they be of such as are not infected with the corruptions of Popery, which the Portuguese of Goa have much laboured to introduce among them.

"7. That, when Christianity shall have made such a progress in those parts as to encourage the settling of a bishop at Madras, or any other place of the English settlements in those parts, the said seminary to be removed thither, and the care of it committed to the charge and government of the said bishop; that so, ministers being there bred up upon the spot, the charge, fatigue, and danger of a long voyage from thence hither for their education, and afterwards back again thither, for their entering on their ministry in that country, may be prevented and avoided."

He further proposes that "a law be procured here, by act of parliament, to *force* our East India Company" to take measures similar to those employed by the Dutch for promoting Christianity in their territories.

We have already mentioned (vol. i. p. 154) that, by the charter granted by William III. in 1698 to the East India Company, it was provided, that the Company should maintain one minister in every garrison and superior factory which they might have, and that all such ministers should be obliged to learn the native languages, for the purpose of instructing the Gentoos that should be the servants or slaves of the Company, or of their agents, in the Protestant religion. Whether this was the result of Dr Prideaux's proposals, we do not know; but it is not unlikely that it was. We are not aware, however, that this clause of the charter was ever acted upon; the likelihood is, that the whole proved a mere dead letter.

In 1718, Dean Prideaux addressed Dr Wake, who had succeeded Dr Tennison as Archbishop of Canterbury, on the subject of propagating Christianity in the East Indies, and sent him a copy of the paper in which were contained the preceding proposals; but we are not aware that this was followed by any results in reference to the great object which he had so long had in view.—*Life of the Rev. Humphrey Prideaux, D.D.* London: 1748; pp. 151, 155, 158, 168, 173, 183.

DR BERKELEY.

In 1725, Dr Berkeley published "A Scheme for Converting the Savage Americans to Christianity, by a College to be erected in the Summer Islands, otherwise called the Isles of Bermuda." With the view of accomplishing this object, he offered to resign his own preferment as Dean of Derry, which was worth £1100 a-year, and to dedicate the remainder of his life to the instruction of youth in America, with the moderate salary of £100 per annum. In a letter of recommendation which the celebrated Dean Swift gave him to Lord Carteret, the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, we have the following amusing account of him and his plan:—"He is an absolute philosopher with regard to money, titles, and power; and for three years past has been struck with a notion of founding an university at Bermuda, by a charter from the crown. He hath seduced several of the hopefulest young clergymen and others here, many of them well provided for, and all of them in the fairest way for preferment; but in England, his conquests are greater, and I doubt will spread very far this winter. He shewed me a little tract which he designs to publish, and there you will see his whole scheme of a life academico-philosophical; of a college founded for Indian scholars and missionaries, where he most exorbitantly proposeth *a whole hundred pounds for himself, forty pounds for a fellow, and ten for a student.* His heart will break if his deanery be not taken from him, and left to your Excellency's disposal. I discourage him by the coldness of courts and ministers, who will interpret all this as impossible and a vision; but nothing will do. And therefore I do humbly entreat your Excellency, either to use such persuasions as will keep one of the first men in this kingdom for learning and virtue quiet at home, or assist him by your credit to compass his romantic design, which, however, is very noble and generous, and directly proper for a great person of your excellent education to encourage."

Having applied to government for assistance, Dr Berkeley obtained from Sir Robert Walpole, by authority of the House of Commons, a promise of £20,000 for the establishment of a college in Bermuda;[1] but notwithstanding this grant, so many difficulties were thrown in the way by men in power, that though the whole soul of Dr Berkeley was bent on the object, upwards of two years elapsed before it was possible for him to get the necessary arrangements made.

In September 1728, he at length sailed for America, accompanied by Mr Smilert, an ingenious painter; Messrs James and Dallon, two gentlemen

[1] It is stated, though on what authority we know not, that when the Queen, with whom Dr Berkeley was a favourite, endeavoured to dissuade him from his design, and offered him her interest for an English bishopric, he nobly replied, that "he would prefer the headship of St Paul's College at Bermuda to the primacy of all England;" though, as we have already mentioned, his salary from that office was only to be £100 a-year.—*Encyclopædia Britannica*, art. "Berkeley."

of fortune; a pretty large sum of money of his own property, and a collection of books for a library. He directed his course to Rhode Island, which lay nearest to Bermuda, with the view of purchasing lands on the adjacent continent, for the support of his college, having a positive promise from the British ministry, that the parliamentary grant would be paid as soon as the lands were agreed on.

But notwithstanding this promise, the money was never paid, being always delayed, sometimes under one pretence, sometimes under another. Bishop Gibson, on applying to Sir Robert Walpole, at length received from him the following disingenuous answer:—"If you put this question to me as a minister, I must and can assure you, that the money shall most undoubtedly be paid as soon as suits with public convenience; but if you ask me as a friend, whether Dean Berkeley should continue in America expecting the payment of £20,000, I advise him by all means to return to Europe, and to give up his expectations." The Dean having received information of this conversation from the Bishop, and being fully convinced that the base policy of one man had rendered abortive a scheme on which he had expended much of his private fortune, and more than seven years of his life, returned to Europe in 1731. Before leaving Rhode Island, he divided his books between the clergy of that province, and Yale College. He also assigned ninety-six acres of land to that institution; and immediately after his arrival in London, he returned all the private subscriptions that had been advanced for the support of his undertaking. Such was the unfavourable termination of Dr Berkeley's scheme for the erection of a college in the Bermuda Islands, and the conversion of the American Indians; a scheme which reflects more honour on his memory than all his philosophical labours can ever confer.[1]

REV. DR WHEELOCK.

In 1754, the Rev. Eleazer Wheelock, of Lebanon, in Connecticut, established a charity-school for the education of Indian children, and of some English youths, with the view of preparing them for labouring as missionaries, interpreters, or schoolmasters, among the different tribes of Indians. In 1765, there were three missionaries, eight schoolmasters, and two interpreters occasionally hired to assist them, employed in labouring among the Indian tribes, together with twenty-two youths in the school at Lebanon: all of whom were dependent on him for support.[2]

[1] Berkeley's Works, vol. i. pp. 11, 42.—Holmes's American Annals, vol. ii. p 114.

[2] Brief Narrative of the Indian Charity School, 1767, pp. 3, 22.

In June 1763, the Rev. Charles J. Smith was ordained at Lebanon, with the view of proceeding as a missionary among the Indians. He was a young man of some fortune, which he devoted to the support of himself and of his companion in labour, Joseph Brandt, a young chief of the Mohawk tribe, who afterwards rose to the rank of colonel in the British service. Mr Smith was the first missionary sent out by Dr Wheelock; but, after travelling upwards of 200

In 1766, the Rev. Mr Whitaker, and the Rev. Samson Occom, an Indian preacher, and the first pupil who was educated at the school, were sent over to Great Britain in order to obtain subscriptions for the support of this institution. Upon their arrival in England, the plan met with the most liberal patronage from Christians of every denomination, and of all ranks of society. His Majesty came forward with a subscription of £200; the whole contributions in England amounted to near £10,000, and in Scotland, to upwards of £2500.

In 1770, Dr Wheelock removed with the school from Lebanon to Hanover, in New Hampshire. The governor of that province annexed to it a charter of incorporation for an university, under the name of Dartmouth College, in honour of its great friend and benefactor in England, the Earl of Dartmouth. The college was endowed with a landed estate, amounting to 44,000 acres, and a board of trustees was constituted, with powers of perpetual succession.[1]

The whole number of Indian children educated in the school from 1767 to 1785, was 156, exclusive of those educated in the wilderness; and the whole number of English youths was 147. Though a considerable number of Indians were admitted into it after the removal of the school to New Hampshire, yet only two of them completed their education.[2]

The whole of the money contributed in England, was gradually remitted for the use of the institution. But of the sum collected in Scotland, a considerable part is still in the hands of the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge, which had undertaken the management of it. During the American war, the communication with the Society in Scotland was interrupted, but in 1783 it was renewed, with reference particularly to the expense which had been incurred for educating Indians during the intervening period. The accounts, however, which were transmitted, were so unsatisfactory as to lead the Society to entertain a suspicion, that their funds had been applied more generally to the purposes of the school and college than exclusively to the education of Indians at the school. At length, in 1799, after a great deal of correspondence, accounts were finally settled up to that date; but, in making the settlement, the Society distinctively intimated to Dr John Wheelock, who had succeeded his father in the presidency of the college, that no further sum would be remitted, unless the

miles to the Indians, he was obliged to leave them, in consequence of war breaking out between the English and the savages.

Mr Kirkland, of whose labours we have already given an account, was one of the missionaries referred to in the above statement. The other two were the Rev. Theophilus Chamberlain and the Rev. Titus Smith, who, with the eight Indian schoolmasters, were employed among the Oneida, the Mohawk, and the Onondago tribes. — Wheelock and Whitaker's *Sermons at the Ordination of the Rev. Charles J. Smith*, p. 43.—*Brief Narrative of the Indian School*, p. 29.

[1] Continuation of the Narrative of the Indian Charity School, 1769, pp. 83, 85, 128.—Account of Soc. in Scot. for Prop. Christ. Know. 1774, p. 16.

[2] American Correspondence in the possession of the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge, MS. vol. i. pp. 291, 302.

accounts were confined to the expense incurred for the maintenance and education of Indians alone.

About the end of the 18th century, the school was again opened, and for several years there were generally three or four Indian youths in it. From that period to 1817, remittances were occasionally made, upon satisfactory evidence being received of their appropriate application; but still the Society do not appear to have been satisfied, nor did they obtain all the information which they required. It is also painful to state, that few of the Indian youths educated in the school, had turned the education received in it to subsequent good account.

In 1839, a deputation, consisting of John Tawse, Esq., the secretary, and George Lyon, Esq., the law-agent of the Society, proceeded to America with the view of ascertaining precisely the facts as to Moor's school, and the practicability, or impracticability, of carrying out its original design so far as regarded the Indians. The results of this visit were very satisfactory.[1] The fund under the charge of the Society, supports four Indians at the school. Messrs Tawse and Lyon were well pleased with the Indian students then beneficiaries on the fund, and every year since, most favourable accounts have been received of their successors. There is every reason to believe that the fund is faithfully and beneficially applied to the purposes for which it was intended, and the Society have great confidence in the superintendence of Dr Lord, the president of Dartmouth College, under whose care the beneficiaries are placed.

THE REV. HENRY MARTYN.

In September 1805, the Rev. Henry Martyn, a young man of distinguished talents and piety, sailed for India as one of the chaplains of the East India Company. He had, for a considerable time past, resolved to devote himself to the service of Christ, as a missionary among the heathen, and though it was deemed advisable by his friends that he should accept of this appointment, still it was with the view of directing much of his attention to the Hindus. He possessed, indeed, in no common degree, the spirit of a missionary; his whole soul appeared to be absorbed in the conversion of the heathen.[2]

Previous to his departure from England, Mr Martyn had begun the study of the Hindustani language, and on his arrival in India, he applied to it with more ardour than ever. Having been appointed chaplain at Dinagepore, he not only laboured with great faithfulness among the military, who were the immediate objects of his charge, but erected several schools for

[1] Report to the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge of a Visit to America, by John Tawse, advocate, and George Lyon, W.S., pp. vii. 2, 10, 18.

[2] Memoirs of the Rev. Henry Martyn, pp. 30, 117.

the education of the native youth. He early translated into Hindustani, those parts of the Book of Common Prayer which are most frequently used, and commenced divine worship in that language. His congregation consisted chiefly of the native women connected with the military, many of whom were Roman Catholics, and others Mahommedans. Afterwards, when he was removed to Cawnpore, he preached on the lawn before his house to a congregation of natives, consisting chiefly of mendicants, whom, to prevent perpetual interruptions, he appointed to assemble on a stated day. His congregation sometimes amounted to no fewer than 800 persons. But the great work which Mr Martyn undertook, was the translation of the New Testament into the Hindustani, the Arabic, and the Persic languages, in which he was assisted by learned natives.[1] The Hindustani version

[1] His assistant in the Persic and Arabic translations was the well-known Nathaniel Sabat. Of the conversion of this young man to Christianity, a very remarkable account was given by Dr Buchanan—(Buchanan's *Star in the East*, 12mo edit. p. 28)—which excited great interest throughout the Christian world. He was educated, it is said, under the most learned men in Bagdad, and his attainments as a scholar were very considerable.—*Rep. Bib. Soc.* 1811, *App.* p. 24. Mr Martyn, however, found him of a peevish, proud, passionate, jealous, perverse, greedy temper, and witnessed in him many painful aberrations from that line of conduct which religion prescribes, yet when he beheld the tears he shed in prayer, and listened to the confessions he made of his sinfulness, and to his declarations of his readiness to correct whatever was reprehensible in his behaviour, he could not, in charity, doubt of the sincerity of his Christian profession, even while he daily suffered much from him. "If the Spirit of Christ," said Sabat, "is given to believers, why am I thus, after three years' believing? I determine every day to keep Christ crucified in sight; but I forget to think of him. I can rejoice when I think of God's love in Christ; but then I am like a sheep who feeds happily whilst he looks only at the pasturage before him, but when he looks behind and sees the lion, he cannot eat." His life, he avowed, was of no value to him; the experience he had of the instability of the world had weaned him from it; his heart was like a looking-glass, fit for nothing but to be given to the glass-maker to be moulded anew."—Martyn's *Memoirs*, pp. 281, 293, 295, 306. —Martyn's *Letters and Journals*, vol. ii. p. 400. Having come down to Calcutta with Mr Martyn, he was still continued in the work of translating the Scriptures, first under the superintendence of the Rev. Mr Brown, and afterwards of the Rev. Mr Thomason. To the latter, his proud, perverse, unmanageable temper was a constant source of vexation; he absented himself almost as he pleased; till, at last, Mr Thomason was surprised to hear that he had actually renounced, not his service only, but his profession of Christianity. Whether he had been meditating this for some time, is not known, but it appeared that, finding the surplus of a too liberal salary increasing upon him, he had been expending it in the purchase of certain articles of Bengal merchandise, till he had accumulated a considerable stock, which he resolved to take to a more distant market. This, however, he knew he could not do as a Christian, being an apostate from Islamism, but at the peril of his life. He therefore presented himself before the Cazi in Calcutta and recanted, solemnly abjuring the Christian religion. He then put himself and his goods on board an Arabian vessel, bound to the Persian Gulf. Scarcely, however, had the vessel cleared out and entered the Bay of Bengal, when he perceived that he was looked upon by the master and crew with an evil eye. The value of his goods, it seems, excited their cupidity. They pretended to suspect the sincerity of his recantation; that he was still secretly "a Christian dog;" and he heard from his servants of plots against his life. Their voyage was protracted, which, to him, was a protraction of misery. At length, falling short of water, they put into Tellichery, on the Malabar coast, for a supply. Sabat, watching his opportunity, plunged into the sea, swam on shore, and, hastening to the house of the English judge and magistrate, James Baber, Esq., cast himself at his feet, and craved protection of his life. This Mr Baber readily granted; and hearing such part of his tale as Sabat, supported by his servant, chose to tell him, succeeded in getting the greater portion of his goods landed for him from the vessel. He became much interested in him; and Sabat at length told him of his previous engagement with the Bible

was highly approved of, but the Persic, though two successive versions were made, on being examined at Calcutta, was deemed not sufficiently level to common readers. Mr Martyn therefore resolved to go into Arabia and Persia for the purpose of collecting the opinions of learned natives,

Society, and of his recent apostasy, referring him, in confirmation of his story, to Mr Thomason of Calcutta, and to Mr Thompson of Madras, and entreating him, under a profession of the deepest repentance, to use his influence with these gentlemen to obtain his restoration. Through Mr Baber's exertions, the unhappy man was received back again in Calcutta, though upon a reduced salary, and subject specially to Mr Thomason's good pleasure. Resuming his work, he seemed, for a while, to do well; but he worked with his spirit galled. He felt humiliated, and he at length again apostatized from Christianity.—Hough's *Hist.* vol. iv. p. 384.

In March 1815, Mr Thomason thus writes of him:—"We have had a fresh cause of grief in the relapse of Sabat. I never thought well of him. He left me at Monghir after completing the New Testament. On his return to Calcutta, he published a book against the Christian religion. He calls it Sabatean proofs of the truth of Islamism, and falsehood of Christianity. He pretends to pull down the pillars of our faith; and, in a pompous page, has expressed all the bitterness, and arrogance, and profaneness of his character, declaring that he has printed the book, not 'for any private emolument, but as a free-will offering to God.' It is a public and bitter avowal of his hypocrisy, in all his dealings with us, and the scandal occasioned is greater than you can conceive. I have learned some useful lessons;—*to be cautious in judging; to be backward in praising; above all, to be careful how we publish the tidings of our operations.*"—Thomason's *Life*, p. 240.

In January 1816, Mr Mylne, missionary in Malacca, met the apostate in Prince of Wales Island. After his public attack on Christianity, he made an unsuccessful trading voyage to Rangoon, and he had now come to Penang with the wreck of his fortune. He now professed to be deeply affected with the sin and folly of his conduct: "I am unhappy," said he; "I have a mountain of burning sand upon my head. When I go about, I know not what I am doing." Of Mr Martyn he spoke with perfect rapture. "Were every hair in my head a tongue," said he, "I could not fully tell the worth of that man."—*Miss. Trans.* vol. iv. p. 369.—*Evan. Mag.* vol. xxvi. p. 17. Colonel MacInnes, a British officer at Penang, gives a similar account of Sabat. "During his stay on this island," he says, "I had the opportunity of knowing him thoroughly. I saw in him a disappointed man, uneasy and agitated in his mind. He attributed all the distress of his soul to the grief he felt for having abandoned Christianity." "He declared he had not had a moment's peace since, at the instigation of Satan, he had published his attack upon Revelation, an attack which he called his 'bad work.' He told me also, that what had led him to this fatal step was the desire of revenging himself on an individual" (the Rev. Mr Thomason), "to whom he thought an attack upon Christianity would be more painful than any personal injury; but he had no sooner executed this detestable project, he added, than he felt a horror of the action, and now he only valued his life that he might be able to undo the pernicious tendency of his book, which, he thought, would be great in Mahommedan countries. He never spoke of Mr Martyn without the most profound respect, and shed tears of grief whenever he recalled how severely he 'had tried the patience of this faithful servant of God.' 'He was less a man,' he said, 'than an angel from heaven.' He affirmed that, according to the general report, he did, indeed, profess Christianity anew, and he declared that it was his intention to consecrate the remainder of his days to the advancement of this holy religion in the world. In conformity with these declarations, rather than lodge with a Mahommedan, he went to stay at the house of an Armenian Christian, named Johannes, a respectable merchant, who had known him at the time of his baptism at Madras. While there, he every evening read and expounded the Scriptures, to the great satisfaction of his host, who was a very worthy man, but very inferior to Sabat in talent and knowledge, especially of the Scriptures. In this last respect, I imagine, few men have surpassed Sabat."

But, notwithstanding all his professions, Colonel MacInnes says he continued to frequent the mosque, and to join with the Mahommedans in their worship; and, when the inconsistency of such conduct was represented to him, he cited the example of Nicodemus, who, although a disciple of Christ, persevered in the public profession of Judaism, and was not blamed on this account. Sometimes he would review the arguments in favour of Mahommedanism, apparently as if to display his talents in defending a religion which was manifestly indefensible. But, being soon forced to abandon this ground, he confessed, though with manifest reluctance,

with respect to the Persic version, which had been rejected, as well as the Arabic, which was not yet completed.[1]

In October 1810, Mr Martyn left Cawnpore and proceeded to Calcutta, from whence he sailed to Persia. On his arrival at Bushire, he assumed the Persian dress, and adopted the Persian manners. "The Persian dress," says he, "consists of stockings and shoes in one, next a pair of large blue trowsers, or else a pair of huge red boots; then the shirt, then the tunic, and above it the coat, both of chintz, and a great coat. I have here described my own dress, most of which I have on at this moment. On the head is worn an enormous cone, made of the skin of the black Tartar sheep, with the wool on. If to this description of my dress I add, that my beard and moustachios have been suffered to vegetate undisturbed ever since I left India, that I am sitting on a Persian carpet in a room without tables or chairs, that I bury my hand in the pilaw without waiting for spoon or plate, you will give me credit for being already an accomplished Oriental." Being thus equipped, he set out for Shiraz with a cafila, consisting chiefly of mules, with a few horses. It was a fine moonlight night, the scene new, and perfectly oriental; but though the journey was at first agreeable, it soon became extremely irksome. "At sunrise," says he, "we came to our ground at Ahmedee, six parasangs, and pitched our tent under a tree; it

that Mahommedanism owed its success to fraud and violence, and that Mahommed was no better than an impostor.

During his stay at Penang, a Malay prince, named Jouhuroolalim, the sovereign of the neighbouring state of Acheen, in Sumatra, whence he had been forced to flee by a revolt of his subjects, came to the island in order to procure arms and provisions, with the view of recovering his lost authority. Sabat offered his services to him, with no other end, he said to Colonel MacInnes, than to discover and improve any favourable opportunity which might offer of introducing Christianity amongst the Acheenois, a people particularly untractable and ferocious, many of them even being cannibals. He accordingly accompanied the prince to Acheen, where, by his talents, he soon gained such an ascendancy as to manage all public affairs, and was regarded by the enemy as the great obstacle to their final success. But, as months rolled on without bringing about any decisive result, and, as the issue of the struggle appeared still distant and doubtful, Sabat resolved to retire; but, while seeking to effect his retreat, he fell into the hands of the usurper, who gave orders that he should be imprisoned on board a vessel, and strictly watched.

"During his detention," says Colonel MacInnes, "Sabat wrote several notes to Johannes and me, calling on us to observe that it was with his own blood that he had traced the characters, his enemies refusing him the usual materials for writing. In these notes, written some in Persian, others in bad English, he recited his sufferings, which he wished us to consider as the consequence of his attachment to Christianity, and that he was, in some sense, a martyr. Being a Malay interpreter, belonging to the local government, I was the organ of communication with the States connected with Penang. In addressing himself to me, therefore, Sabat hoped to obtain the intervention of the government in his favour; but, as he was not a British subject, and possessed no right to the protection of our government, he was disappointed in his expectation." Colonel MacInnes, however, employed his private influence to obtain an amelioration of the captivity of Sabat, if he could not procure his enlargement; but his intriguing and dangerous character was too much dreaded to allow of his freedom, until public tranquillity was re-established. But even in this he failed of success, and some time after it was reported that he was tied up in a sack and thrown into the sea.—*Thomason's Life*, p. 244. Such was the miserable end of this unhappy man.

[1] Martyn's Memoirs, pp. 100, 188, 192, 221, 230, 242, 244, 316, 325, 328, 333.—Miss. Reg. vol. i. p. 268.

was the only shelter we could get. At first the heat was not greater than we had felt in India, but it soon became so great as to be quite alarming. When the thermometer was above 112°, I began to lose my strength fast; at last it became quite intolerable. I wrapped myself up in a blanket, and all the warm covering I could get, to defend myself from the external air, by which means the moisture was kept a little longer on the body, and not so speedily evaporated as when the skin was exposed. But the thermometer still rising, and the moisture of the body quite exhausted, I grew restless, and thought I should have lost my senses. The thermometer at last stood at 126°; in this state I composed myself, and concluded, that though I might hold out a day or two, death was inevitable. Capt. ——, who sat it out, continued to tell the hour and height of the thermometer; with what pleasure did we hear of it sinking to 120°, 118°, &c.! At last the fierce sun retired, and I crept out more dead than alive. It was then a difficulty how I could proceed on my journey, for, besides the immediate effects of the heat, I had no opportunity of making up for the last night's want of sleep, and had eaten nothing. However, while they were lading the mules I got an hour's sleep, and set out, the muleteer leading my horse. The cool air of the night restored me wonderfully, so that I arrived at our next munzel with no other derangement than that occasioned by want of sleep. Expecting another such day as the former, we began to make preparations the instant we arrived at the ground. I got a tattie made of the branches of the date-tree, and a Persian peasant to water it; by this means the thermometer did not rise higher than 114°. But what completely secured me from the heat, was a large wet towel which I wrapped round my head and body, muffling up the lower part in clothes. How could I but be grateful to a gracious Providence, for giving me so simple a defence against what, I am persuaded, would have destroyed my life that day?"

"The next morning we arrived at the foot of the mountains, at a place where we seemed to have discovered one of nature's ulcers. A strong suffocating smell of naphtha, announced something more than ordinarily foul in the neighbourhood. We saw a river; what flowed in it, it seemed difficult to say, whether it were water or green oil; it scarcely moved, and the stones which it laved, it left of a grayish colour, as if its foul touch had given them the leprosy. Our place of encampment this day was a grove of date-trees, where the atmosphere at sunrise was ten times hotter than the ambient air. I threw myself down on the burning ground and slept; when the tent came up, I awoke, as usual, in a burning fever. All this day I had recourse to the wet towel, which kept me alive, but would allow of no sleep. At night we began, for the first time, to ascend the mountains. The road often passed so close to the edge of the tremendous precipice, that one false step of the horse would have plunged his rider into inevitable destruction. In such circumstances, I felt it useless to attempt guiding the animal, and therefore gave him the rein. These poor animals are so used to journeys of this sort, that they generally step sure. There

was nothing to mark the road but the rocks being a little more worn in one place than in another. The sublime scenery would have impressed me much in other circumstances; but my sleepiness and fatigue rendered me insensible to everything around me. The next night we ascended another range of mountains, and passed over a plain where the cold was so piercing, that with all the clothes we could muster we were shivering. At the end of this plain we entered a dark valley, contained by two ranges of hills converging to one another. The muleteer gave notice he saw robbers. It proved to be a false alarm; but the place was fitted to be a retreat for robbers. There were on each side caves and fastnesses, from which they might have killed, at their leisure, every man of us. After ascending another mountain, we descended by a very long and circuitous route into an extensive valley, where we were exposed to the sun till eight o'clock. Whether from the sun, or continued want of sleep, I could not, on my arrival at Cargeroon, compose myself to sleep; there seemed to be a fire within my head, my skin like a cinder, and the pulse violent. Through the day it was again too hot to sleep, though the place we occupied was a sort of summer-house, in a garden of cypress-trees, exceedingly well fitted up with mats and coloured glass. Had the cafila gone on that night, I could not have accompanied it; but it halted here a day, by which means I got a sort of night's rest, though I awoke twenty times to dip my burning hands in water." After a journey of about ten days, Mr Martyn at length reached Shiraz, the celebrated seat of Persian literature.[1]

Having, on his arrival in that city, ascertained the general correctness of the opinion expressed at Calcutta respecting the Persic translation, Mr Martyn immediately commenced a new version in that language, with the assistance of Mirzā Seid Ali Khan, a learned Persian. He also translated the Psalms into the same language. His version of the New Testament was afterwards presented to the King of Persia by Sir Gore Ousely, the British ambassador, and the Shah expressed high approbation of it. This translation, and also the Hindustani and Arabic versions, were afterwards printed and extensively circulated.

During his residence in Persia, Mr Martyn had frequent conversations, and even public disputations, on the subject of religion with learned Persians. A considerable spirit of inquiry was by this means excited in Shiraz. The preceptor of all the Mollahs published a defence of Mohammedanism in Arabic, to which Mr Martyn wrote a reply in Persic. The controversial tracts drawn up by them were afterwards edited in England by Professor Lee.

Previous to leaving Cawnpore, Mr Martyn had thoughts of returning to England, on account of the state of his health. After accomplishing the great object of his visit to Persia, he reverted to his original intention. He was confirmed in his design by a fever of near two months' continuance, which he suffered at Tabriz, whither he had gone to visit Sir Gore

[1] Martyn's Memoirs, pp. 336, 341, 355.

Ousely. With that ardour of mind which was characteristic of him, he set off from that place for Constantinople, a distance of 1300 miles, only ten days after recovering from his late severe illness. After a most fatiguing journey, in the course of which he suffered much from the unfeeling conduct of his Tartar guide, and from an attack of intermittent fever, he arrived at Tocat, in Asia Minor. Here he was obliged by illness to stop, and after a few days he breathed his last, October 16, 1812, in the thirty-second year of his age, either falling a sacrifice to the plague, which then raged in the town, or sinking under the fever which he had previously contracted. Thus died the truly admirable Henry Martyn, a man in whom there was a rare combination of splendid talents, of elevated piety, of ardent zeal, of deep humility, of inflexible faithfulness, and of entire devotedness to the cause of his divine Master.

No. III.

NOTICES OF PROPOSALS FOR THE CONVERSION OF THE HEATHEN.

THOUGH the propagation of Christianity among the heathen was long neglected by the Churches of the Reformation in general, yet there were individuals who, at different periods, turned their attention to this great and important object. Some notices of this kind may not be uninteresting to the reader.

1. In 1578, Frobisher sailed from England with a fleet of fifteen ships, and a number of settlers, who were to remain at least one year in *Meta Incognita—i. e.*, Greenland. On board one of the ships was a minister, who was not only to act as chaplain to the fleet, but to endeavour to convert to Christianity the natives of that country. "This Maister Wolfall," says Frobisher, "being well seated and settled at home in his own country, with a good and large living, having a good honest woman to wife, and very towardly children, being of good reputation among the best, refused not to take in hand this painful voyage for the only care he had to save souls, and to reform those infidels, if it were possible, to Christianity; and also partly for the great desire he had that this notable voyage, so well begun, might be brought to perfection; and therefore he was content to stay there the whole year, if occasion had served, being in every necessary action as forward as the resolutest man of all. Wherefore, in this respect, he may rightly be called a true pastor and minister of God's Word, which, for the profit of his flock, spared not to venture his own life." No settlement, however, was effected, and, of course, "Maister Wolfall" returned with the fleet.[1]

2. It appears that Cromwell, who, as is well known, exerted himself with much energy and success for the protection of the Protestants abroad, formed the design of organizing an institution for the support and extension of the Reformed religion in foreign countries; and that, had he assumed the royal authority, he intended to have made its establishment one of the first acts of his administration. "Stoupe told me," says Bishop Burnet, "of a great design Cromwell had intended to begin his kingship with, if he had assumed it. He resolved to set up a council for the Pro-

[1] Hakluyt's Voyages, vol. iii. pp. 104, 116.

testant religion, in opposition to the Congregation *de Propaganda fide* at Rome. He intended it should consist of seven counsellors, and four secretaries, for different provinces. These were the first, France, Switzerland, and the Valleys; the Palatinate, and the other Calvinists, were the second; Germany, the North, and Turkey, were the third; and the East and West Indies, were the fourth. The secretaries were to have £500 salary a-piece, and to keep a correspondence everywhere; to know the state of religion all over the world, that so all good designs might be by their means protected and assisted. They were to have a fund of £10,000 a-year at their disposal for ordinary emergencies, but to be further supplied as occasions should require it. Chelsea College was to be made up for them, which was then an old decayed building, that had been at first raised to be a college for writers of controversy."[1]

3. Mr John Oxenbridge, who was ejected from Berwick-upon-Tweed by the Bartholomew Act in 1662, proceeded to Surinam, in South America, and from thence, in 1667, to the island of Barbadoes. In 1669, he went to Boston, in New England, and published a small work recommending the settlement of colonies in that part of South America, with the view of extending Christianity among the natives. It was entitled, *A Proposition of Propagating the Gospel by Christian Colonies in the Continent of Guiana*, being some gleanings of a larger discourse, the MS. of which was preserved in New England.[2]

4. Mr Joseph Alleine, the author of that well-known work, *An Alarm to the Unconverted*, after he was ejected from his charge at Taunton, in Somersetshire, by the Bartholomew Act, and when he was no longer allowed to preach in England, resolved to go to China, or some other part of the world, there to plant the Christian faith.[3]

5. In 1664, Justinian Ernest, Baron of Weltz, made some proposals for the establishment of a society among his brethren of the Lutheran Church, for the propagation of Christianity among the heathen. To this object he himself devoted the sum of 12,000 rixdollars, and he erected seminaries for teaching such languages as might be useful in promoting their conversion. His plans, however, were misrepresented, and he himself was ridiculed as an enthusiast. Meeting with little encouragement in Germany, he proceeded, in 1666, to Holland; but there he experienced still greater opposition. Upon this he entered into the ministry, sailed to the West Indies, preached the gospel to the heathen, and at last died among the savages.[4]

6. In 1700, Frederick I. the King of Prussia, founded the Royal Academy of Sciences at Berlin. In 1710, a new set of regulations were framed for it, and it was divided into four classes, the last of which

[1] Burnet's History of his own Times, vol. i. p. 132; Ed. Oxford, 1823.

[2] Mather's Hist. New Eng. book iii. p. 221.—Palmer's Nonconformist's Memorial, vol. i. p. 209.

[3] Alleine's Works, p. 22.

[4] Bock Missions Geschicht, p. 91.

embraced Oriental learning, particularly as it related to the propagation of the gospel among infidels.[1]

7. With a view to the propagation of Christianity among the heathen, Dr Doddridge attempted to form a small society in his own congregation, the plan of which was truly excellent; and he strongly advised his brethren in the ministry to establish similar institutions in their congregations. He lamented that there were so few missionaries among the Indians in North America; and he was anxious to train up some young men of piety and zeal for this work. Two of his pupils were educated with this view; but their relations interfered, and would not allow them to proceed. "Such," says the doctor in his diary, "is the weakness of their faith and love! I hope I can truly say, that if God would put it into the heart of my only son to go under this character, I could willingly part with him, though I were never to see him more. What are views of a family and a name, when compared with a regard to extending my Redeemer's kingdom, and gaining souls to Christ?" As the propagation of Christianity in the world was the object which of all others lay nearest Dr Doddridge's heart in life, so he felt his ruling passion even in death. "I am now intent," says he, in a letter written after the commencement of his last illness, "upon having something done among the Dissenters in a more public manner for propagating the gospel abroad. I wish to live to see this design brought into execution, at least into some forwardness, and then I should die the more cheerfully."[2]

8. The Countess of Huntingdon, amongst her other labours for the advancement of the cause of the Redeemer, turned her attention to the state of the heathen, and was anxious to send missionaries to the North American Indians. In a letter written about twenty years before her death, she says, "My last letter from America informs me our way appears to be made to the Cherokee Indians; and in all the back settlements we are assured the people will joyfully build us churches at their own expense, and present them to us, to settle perpetually for our use. Some great, very great work is intended by the Lord among the heathen. Should this appear, I should be rejoiced to go myself to establish a college for the Indian nations. I cannot help thinking, before I die, the Lord will have me there, if only to make coats and garments for the poor Indians. I am looking when some from among us shall be called to the Jews; but the Gentiles by us will surely hear the Word of the Lord."—*Life and Times of the Countess of Huntingdon*, vol. ii. pp. 262, 501. Previous to her death, in 1791, she is said to have been contemplating a mission to the South Sea Islands. "I saw her," says the Rev. Mr Eyre, of Homerton, "a few days before her death. She was then contriving, amidst great lassitude and excruciating pains, to send missionaries to the islands lately discovered in the South Seas."—*The Order at the Opening of the Countess of Huntingdon's College, Cheshunt, London*, 1792.

[1] Edinburgh Encyclopædia, vol. i. p. 77.

[2] Orton's Memoirs of Dr Doddridge, pp. 126, 127.—Doddridge's Works, vol. iii. p. 232.

9. In November 1785, the Rev. David Brown sailed from England for Calcutta, with the view of taking the charge of a military orphan asylum, which had been established in that city. Soon after his arrival, he commenced the study of the Bengali language, with the view of translating the Holy Scriptures; and some years afterwards he began to learn the Sanskrit. He opened a native school for young Hindus, and purchased some land which he intended them to labour, that it might be partly supported by their own industry. He also, in conjunction with Mr Chambers, Mr Charles Grant, and Mr Udny, formed a plan for a mission to India, and drew up a memoir on the subject, entitled, *A Proposal for Establishing a Protestant Mission in Bengal and Bdhar*. This memoir was presented both to the East India Company, and to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, but nothing was done in consequence of it.[1] This truly estimable man continued through life the warm and active friend of every effort for the evangelization and moral improvement of India, by whomsoever it might be carried on, whether Churchmen or Dissenters. He at length died, June 14, 1812.

Here we must stop in our notices, as since the revival of the Missionary spirit throughout the Christian world, examples of zeal for the propagation of Christianity among the heathen have become so common, that they may be ranked among the ordinary occurrences of the day, and it is therefore unnecessary particularly to notice them.

[1] Memorial Sketches of the Rev. David Brown, pp. 142, 177, 217, 239, 248, 256, 288.—Memoirs of the Rev. C. Simeon, p. 75.

No. IV.

LIST OF TRANSLATIONS OF THE HOLY SCRIPTURES INTO THE LANGUAGES OF HEATHEN AND MAHOMMEDAN NATIONS.[1]

THOUGH the following catalogue is no doubt imperfect, yet the author believes it is by far the most complete which has ever been published. The importance of such a list is obvious from this circumstance, that more than one instance might be mentioned in which translations of the Scriptures have been undertaken, without its being known to the translators that versions already existed in the same languages, or at least without their being inquired after. He cannot, indeed, help thinking, that there is an undue fondness in the present age to make new translations of the sacred volume, and not a sufficient disposition to inquire after such as are already in existence. When a version of the Scriptures is undertaken into any language, it is obviously a matter of high importance that the translators should endeavour to possess themselves of every version which may previously have been made into it. Unless this is done, a thousand independent translations may be made, and yet the last of them be no better than the first. It is only by successive translators availing themselves of the labours of their predecessors, that we can expect a standard version to be produced in any language.

As there is an undue fondness in the present age to make new translations of the Scriptures, so we apprehend there is an undue eagerness to usher them into the world, without subjecting them to that rigid examination, and those successive revisals, which are essentially necessary to the production of even a tolerable translation. Some versions, and, in many instances, even single books, have scarcely been completed when they have been put to press.

Many of the translations of the present day labour also under a great disadvantage in not being made from the original, but from the English or some other version. Hence, besides their own imperfections, they must labour under the imperfections of the translations from which they are made. Without an assiduous use of those editions of the original Scrip-

[1] In the following list of translations of the Holy Scriptures, there are a few included in the languages of some of the Eastern Churches, with a view to whose benefit several missions were established. Though the arrangement is geographical, it is not strictly adhered to in a few instances.

tures which contain the various readings, of different versions both ancient and modern, and of an extensive apparatus of critical works on the sacred writings, it is vain to expect a good translation of the Bible.

We apprehend, too, that a due distinction has not always been made between dialects and languages; and that translations have often been proposed, and, in some instances, made into particular dialects, when a version in the general or common language should have sufficed. Of most languages it is not difficult to constitute different dialects; but, instead of making translations into each, the object should be to produce a version in the language which will be generally understood by the nations or tribes speaking it. In some cases, however, there may, strictly speaking, be no general or standard language, and the dialects of it may differ so much from each other, that it may be necessary to have distinct translations into them, as in our own country we have versions in Gaelic, Welsh, and Irish, though they are all dialects of the Celtic language. Great discrimination will often be necessary in determining when separate translations are required, and when it may be practicable to dispense with them. Special care should be taken not to multiply versions unnecessarily.

The British and Foreign Bible Society has, directly or indirectly, been a main instrument of producing or calling forth the numerous translations which have been made in the course of the present century, and it is of high importance that, in printing them, it should proceed on just and enlightened principles. We are happy to see the increased chariness which it manifests in printing translations; yet we cannot, at the same time, but think that it has of late years adopted a very false and unsound principle, in determining whether it shall publish a new version,—merely requiring the approbation of it by the Committee of the Society by whose missionaries it may have been made, together with the grounds of that approbation, with the view of restricting its own labours to the unpretending task of printing and distributing the Holy Scriptures.[1] We are well aware of the difficulty there must often be in determining whether a translation should be printed, and it may be very convenient, as saving the Committee of the Bible Society much trouble, to throw the responsibility of translations on the institutions by whose agents they have been made. But it appears to us, that the Bible Society ought to hold the chief responsibility of publication as resting with itself. It is its funds which are expended in the publication of versions of the Scriptures, and it is responsible for the way in which they are expended. By investigating the subject on its own behalf, it will be more certain of obtaining a fair and full view of the evidence, whether favourable or unfavourable; and by the great experience which it has, or might have, in matters of this kind, it should be far more capable of judging than another committee or body of men who have had little or no practice in such questions. Besides, it is much more likely to be impartial than

[1] Rep. Bib. Soc. 1843, p. 109.—Rep. Miss. United Ass. Synod, 1837, p. 18.

persons who have already expended much money, and perhaps also much labour, on the translations, and who, having done so, cannot but now feel interested in having them printed. We cannot help thinking that the British and Foreign Bible Society, in thus devolving the responsibility of translations on others, shews a timidity and a weakness quite unworthy of itself. That it may, in times past, have erred in printing translations which ought not to have been printed, is probably true; but this is just a reason why it should rise to the true dignity of its position, and make the utmost efforts to avoid errors of this kind for the future. It is assuredly not by throwing the responsibility of the versions on others that the evil is to be avoided. On the contrary, it is likely thereby to be increased. We know that the Bible Society has been subjected to much obloquy, often very undeservedly; but in the hope of escaping this, it should not pusillanimously seek to evade the responsibility which naturally and properly rests on it.

We cannot also but express our deep regret, that the British and Foreign Bible Society should require translators to make their versions in correspondence with the standard Protestant translations, as the English, German, &c., instead of requiring them to follow closely the Hebrew and Greek originals, and to avail themselves of all those critical lights which have been obtained since these versions were made, as regards both the improvement of the text, and the translation of multitudes of passages in the Old and New Testaments.[1] This is treading close in the footsteps of Rome, which allows of no translation unless made from the Vulgate. The man who is not capable of using with judgment and fidelity the great critical apparatus with which we are now so happily furnished, is not fit to be a translator, unless in cases of necessity where no better can be had.

We shall only add, that we are happy to see the great care and attention which has for some years past been shewn to the revision of translations, particularly in India and China. Many of the early versions, we doubt not, have in this way been greatly improved, though, in new translations

[1] It appears, that the principle adopted by the Society is to adhere to the *Textus Receptus*, except when the English version may allow of a departure from it, an extraordinary principle, certainly, and a still more extraordinary exception. To this principle the Rev. J. S. Wardlaw, the secretary of the Telugu committee, and the Rev. J. Hay, a leading member of it, both of the London Missionary Society, most properly objected, and intimated their intention to publish, by private means, the portions of the New Testament which they had prepared, and requested that these might not be reprinted by the Madras committee, with alterations in conformity with the rules of the Society, before they had time to present the subject again to the parent committee.—*Rep. Bib. Soc.* 1853, p. 92.

When Messrs Stallybrass and Swan, in translating Jeremiah into the Mongolian language, adopted the chronological arrangement of the chapters by Blayney, the committee superseded it, and directed the chapters to be printed in the usual order, though it is plain it is grossly incorrect.—*Rep. Bib. Soc.* 1834, p. 76. Why should 1 John v. 7, and many other readings, be retained in conformity with the English or other Protestant versions? Are the labours of Kennicott and De Rossi, of Mill, Wetstein, Griesbach, and others, to be set aside as of no value?

We trust the committee of the British and Foreign Bible Society will review and change this principle of its procedure. If it shall continue to adhere to it, it will proclaim to the world that it is unequal to its great mission.

of the Scriptures, and even in revising old, we doubt whether committees of translators are the best means of effecting this end. In their hands, points are too apt to be settled by compromise, and perhaps by the loudest, the longest, and the most determined speakers. Such committees may be very useful in making suggestions, and, if necessary, in arguing them, but we apprehend, that in general the suggestions made in them should be turned over to the main translator or editor to be adopted or rejected as he shall see fit, after calm and deliberate consideration of them.

We have also to regret that the unnatural and capricious division of the Scriptures into chapters and verses, should in so many instances be retained. A translation of the sacred volume into a new language unquestionably presents a fair opportunity of introducing a more rational division, according as the sense may require. Because there may in many instances be a diversity of sentiment among good men, with respect to a right division of the Sacred Oracles, should a translator be condemned to follow one which all must allow to be wrong, which often destroys the coherence, obscures the sense, and mars the beauty of divine revelation? If any advantages are supposed to result from retaining the divison of chapters and verses, in a new translation, they may all be obtained by simply marking them on the margin.

EUROPE.

LAPPONESE.

The Lapponese Manual, containing the Psalms of David, the Proverbs of Solomon, Ecclesiasticus, the Lessons from the Gospels and Epistles, with the history of the Passion of Christ, &c., by John Tornæus. Stockholm, 1648.

Lessons from the Gospels and Epistles, the history of Christ's Passion, &c., in Lapponese, by Olaus Stephan Graan. Stockholm, 1669.—Scheffer's History of Lapland, p. 69.

The New Testament in Lapponese. Stockholm, 1755.

The Bible in Lapponese. Hernosand, 1811.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1822, p. 129.

The New Testament in the Norway Lapponese dialect.

Selections from the Old Testament in the Norway Lapponese dialect.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1851, App. p. 58.

TURKISH.

The Old Testament in Turkish, written in the Hebrew character for the use of the Jews.

The Bible in the Turkish language, by John Ungnadius.

The Bible, in the Turkish language, MS.—*Fuit olim Bibl. Monachiensis. Bibl. Vinariensis.*

The Pentateuch, the books of Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Kings, translated from the Hebrew into Turkish, MS.—*Bibl. Leidensis. Codex*, p. 386. —*Warneriana*, p. 409.—*Catalogi in folio.*

The Gospels of Matthew and John, in Turkish, written at Ispahan in Roman characters, by M. de Lauziere, MS.—*In Bibl. Upsaliensi.*—Le Long, tom. i. p. 135.

The Gospels, in the Turkish language.

The version is into the peculiar and corrupt dialect of the Pashalik of Bagdad. It is said to be very carelessly executed.

The Gospels, in the Turkish language.

This is an old translation, and is better executed than the last.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1817; App. p. 23.

The Gospels, in the Turkish language, MS.

Mr Rich, the East India Company's Resident at Bagdad, mentions, that in the church of the Catholic Chaldean patriarch of Diarbekir, he heard a lesson read from the Gospels in Turkish, translated by a native of Kerkouk, which to the best of his knowledge existed only in this MS.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1816, App. p. 136.

The New Testament, in Turkish, by William Seaman, quarto. Oxford, 1666.

This work was published, chiefly at the expense of the English Turkey Company. It was sent into the East, and, it is said, proved a most acceptable present to the Christians in that part of the world.—Fabricii Lux Evangelii, p. 596.

The Old and New Testaments, in Turkish, by Hali Bey. Paris, 18—.

This version was made by desire of Levinus Warner, Dutch Ambassador at the Ottoman Court. The translator, whose original name was Albertus Bobovius or Bobovsky, was born of Christian parents in Poland early in the seventeenth century; but having been stolen or taken captive by the Tartars when a youth, he was sold by them to the Turks, who brought him up in their religion, and changed his name to Ali Bey or Beigh. He is said to have understood seventeen languages, and to have spoken English, French, and German like a native. In consequence of his knowledge of languages he was appointed dragoman or first translator to Mahomed IV. He composed several literary works, such as a Grammar of the Turkish Language, a Treatise concerning the Turkish Liturgy, Pilgrimages to Mecca, &c.; and besides the Old and New Testaments, he translated the English Church Catechism into Turkish. The celebrated Menimsky, who was well acquainted with him, says, that in appearance he was a Turk, but as to the reality, God only knew of what religion he was. He is said to have intended returning into the bosom of the Christian Church, and, with this view, wished to go to England; but he died at Constantinople in 1675 without accomplishing his design. The MS. of his translation of the Bible was sent by Warner to Holland, with the view of being printed: but this not having been done, it was eventually deposited in the library of the University of Leyden among its valuable collection of Oriental manuscripts, where it remained for near a century and a half, in a manner neglected and forgotten.

In January 1814, when Dr Pinkerton was on a visit to Edinburgh, the author of this work furnished him with a list of translations of the Sacred Writings into the Turkish language, including this of Hali Bey. On returning to the Continent, Dr Pinkerton made inquiry after it in Leyden, and was successful in procuring the

use of it for the British and Foreign Bible Society. His Excellency Baron von Diez, Counsellor of Legation to his Prussian Majesty, and formerly ambassador at the court of Constantinople, undertook to revise the translation, and to superintend the publication of it at Berlin. The MS. he found not without its defects; but yet, on the whole, he considered it as a most valuable translation: "I do not say too much," he said, "when I assert that it will rank among the very best versions of the Sacred Volume, and in many passages even excel them. I really begin to think that Hali Bey enjoyed peculiar assistance from God in this work. His style is truly classical, and will gain the hearts of men among all Turkish or Tartar tribes whom it may reach, for they are extremely partial to anything that exhibits the language in its perfection. Indeed, should the Turkish language ever be lost, it might be restored from this work in all its copiousness and ease."

Baron von Diez died while carrying the Pentateuch through the press; the books edited by him were suppressed, and the printing of the Old Testament was suspended. The New Testament, however, was proceeded with, and the editing of it was entrusted to Professor Kieffer, of Paris, with the counsel and assistance of Baron Silvestre de Sacy. Besides transcribing the text with his own hand, he collated it with the original Greek, the English, French, and German versions; the Turkish translation of Seaman, and the Tartar of Brunton; the Arabic, by the Propaganda, Erpenius, Sabat, and the London quarto; the Persic in the London Polyglott, and that by Martyn; availing himself at the same time of the critical labours of Griesbach, Rosenmuller, and Parkhurst.

In 1819 the New Testament was completed at press; but soon after its publication, the Rev. Dr Henderson, who had laboured for many years as an agent of the British and Foreign Bible Society in Russia and other parts of the Continent, addressed a communication to the Committee of that Society, in which he brought very serious charges against it of mis-translations, corruptions, omissions, epithetical additions to the names of God and of Christ, and other imperfections. The subject underwent much inquiry and consideration by the Committee during about three years and a half, the circulation of the version being in the meanwhile suspended. They received strong testimonies to the excellence of the version from distinguished Turkish scholars in France, and also in England; and they at length came to the resolution that they saw "no sufficient reason for longer suspending the circulation of it."

Dr Henderson's remonstrance, however, appears to have prevailed so far that long before this final decision was come to, the Committee instructed Professor Kieffer, in preparing the Old Testament for the press, to "purify the text of every thing extraneous or supplementary as far as the genius of the Turkish language will admit;" and such alterations were made on the translation that Dr Henderson afterwards expressed himself perfectly satisfied with it.—Le Long, tom. i. p. 136.—Encyclopædia Britannica, art. "Hali Beigh."—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1815, p. 28; App. pp. 4, 96.—Ibid. 1817, p. 94; App. p. 169.—Ibid. 1819, App. p. 5.—Ibid. 1824, App. p. 124.—Ibid. 1828, App. p. 161.—Henderson's Appeal on the subject of the Turkish New Testament printed at Paris in 1819, pp. 8, 15.—Lee's Remarks on Dr Henderson's Appeal, p. 4; App. pp. 3, 7, 11, 30, 39.—The Turkish New Testament incapable of Defence, by the author of the Appeal, pp. 90, 272, 292.

The Gospel of John, in Turkish, by the Rev. J. T. Wolters, of the Church Missionary Society.—Miss. Reg. 1846, p. 200.

MODERN GREEK.

Ancient and Modern Greek New Testament, 2 vols. quarto. Geneva, 1638. —Rep. Bib. Soc. 1825, App. p. 112.

Mention is also made of an edition of the New Testament in Modern Greek, printed in Holland in 1638. It appears to have been executed by Maximus the Galliopolitan. Perhaps it is the same as the above. An edition of it was printed in London in 1703. There was also an edition of the New Testament in Modern Greek, printed at Halle in 1710. Whether it was a different translation we do not know.—First five Reports of the British and Foreign Bible Society, pp. 249, 250, 251.

The New Testament, in Ancient and Modern Greek in parallel columns. London, 1810.

This edition was published by the British and Foreign Bible Society. The translation into Modern Greek appears to have been that of 1638.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1810, p. 11.

The Old Testament, in Modern Greek, translated from the Septuagint, by Hilarion, Archbishop of Ternovo. MS.

This translation was made for the British and Foreign Bible Society; but the Committee, after weighing the critical and other difficulties connected with the publication by them of an edition of the Septuagint, with a translation of it into Modern Greek, relinquished the design, and resolved to have a new version executed, on the basis of the original Hebrew.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1829, p. 50.—Ibid. 1839, App. p. 49.

The New Testament, in Ancient and Modern Greek, the latter by Hilarion, Archbishop of Ternovo. Printed, 182-.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1827, p. 45. —Ibid. 1829, p. 100.

The Old and New Testaments, in Modern Greek, by the Rev. Messrs Leeves and Lowndes, and Professors Bambas and Jipaldo. Printed 185-.

The translation of the Old Testament was from the original Hebrew, and an edition of it was printed in 1840; but in the present edition the version of the whole Bible had undergone a thorough revision by Mr Lowndes, Professor Bambas, and Mr Nicolaides.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1849, p. 99.—Ibid. 1850, p. 78.

GRÆCO-TURKISH.

The Psalms, in Græco-Turkish.

A copy of this work was presented by a Greek Archimandrite to Dr Pinkerton. It is said that the sultan, Soliman IV., being highly incensed against the Greeks, prohibited the use of the Greek language on pain of death, and ordered them all to speak Turkish. On this account, the Scriptures and other church books, were translated into Turkish, but written in the Greek character.—Relig. Mon. vol. xiv. p. 307.

The Psalms, in Græco-Turkish, by Seraphim, late Metropolitan of Karamania. Venice, 1782.

The Gospels read in the church during Passion Week, in Græco-Turkish. MS.

The Acts of the Apostles, and all the Epistles, in Græco-Turkish. Venice 1810.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1817, App. p. 76.

The New Testament, in Græco-Turkish, prepared by Theoctistus, Bishop of Aleppo, for the Greeks in Asia Minor, with the sanction of the Greek Synod. 1826.

This and the following translations were in the Turkish language, but in the Greek character, for the use of such Greeks as could speak only the Turkish language. The translation was taken, with slight alterations, from Hali Bey's New Testament.—Rep. Board For. Miss. 1844, p. 245.

The Psalms, in Græco-Turkish.

This version was the work of Theoctistus, and was founded on the old translation made by Seraphim, Bishop of Angora, and printed at Venice.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1827, App. p. 59.

The Old and New Testaments, in Græco-Turkish, translated by Christo Nicolaides, under the direction of the Rev. Mr Leeves. Athens, 1838.

This is a new translation, and it is stated that, for common readers, it is the best version in the Turkish language which has yet been made.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1839, App. p. 50.—Rep. Board For. Miss. 1844, p. 245.—Miss. Her. vol. xxxv. p. 407.

MODERN ARMENIAN.

The New Testament, in Modern Armenian, by —— Zohrab, a Papal Armenian Vartabed, long resident in Paris. Paris, 1823.

This version was made from the ancient Armenian.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1849, p. 102. —Rep. Board For. Miss. 1844, p. 246.

The New Testament, in modern Armenian. Smyrna, 1840.

This translation, the basis of which was Zohrab's, was made by Armenian scholars, under the superintendence of the Rev. Messrs Dwight and Adger, of the American Board of Foreign Missions.—Rep. Board For. Miss. 1844, pp. 109, 246.

The Old Testament, in modern Armenian. Smyrna, 185–.

This translation was also made by Armenian scholars, under the superintendence of the Rev. Messrs Adger and Riggs, American missionaries, Smyrna.—Rep. Board For. Miss. 1844, p. 109.

The Book of Psalms, in modern Armenian. Smyrna, 1840.

This translation was made from the Hebrew, under the superintendence of the Rev. Mr Dwight, one of the American missionaries.—Rep. Board For. Miss. 1844, p. 109.

The New Testament, in the Eastern modern Armenian, with the ancient Armenian in opposite columns, by A. Dittrich, one of the German missionaries, Shushi. Moscow, 183–.

This translation is into the language of that portion of the Armenian nation which inhabit ancient Armenia, between the shores of the Black Sea and the sources of the Euphrates, and thence through Persia and part of Mesopotamia, down as far as the Persian Gulf. It is a different dialect from the Western Arme-

nian, as spoken at Constantinople, and is intimately connected with the Persic. It is also called the Ararat Armenian.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1830, p. 59.—Ibid. 1834, p. 65.

The Psalms, in the Eastern modern Armenian, by the German missionaries, Shushi. Smyrna, 18–.—Rep. Board For. Miss. 1844, p. 246.

The New Testament, in the Eastern modern Armenian. Constantinople, 18–.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1850, p. 81.

Whether this is a different version from the Shushi translation, we do not know.

ARMENO-TURKISH.

The Psalms, in the Turkish language, and the Armenian character. Printed at Constantinople.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1817, App. p. 98.

The New Testament, in Armeno-Turkish, translated from the Armenian by Markor. Petersburg, 1819.—Rep. Board For. Miss. 1844, p. 245.

This and the following versions are also in the Turkish language, but in the Armenian character.

The New Testament, in Armeno-Turkish. Malta, 1831.

We have some difficulty in determining the parentage of this version. There was one translation of the New Testament into Armeno-Turkish from the original Greek, executed at Beirut by Dionysius, an Armenian bishop, under the superintendence of the Rev. W. Goodell, one of the American missionaries. There was another which was made from the Armenian version, by an Armenian priest at Constantinople, which was procured by the Rev. Mr Leeves, one of the agents of the British and Foreign Bible Society. The edition printed at Malta, under the superintendence of Mr Goodell, was founded on both these translations, but in what degree on the one, or on the other, does not exactly appear. In 1843, a second and vastly improved edition, was printed by the American missionaries at Smyrna.—Miss. Her. vol. xxvi. p. 17; vol. xxvii. p. 21; vol. xxxix. p. 202.—Rep. Board For. Miss. 1830, p. 46.—Ibid. 1831, p. 36.—Ibid. 1844, p. 245.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1829, p. 50.

The Old Testament, in Armeno-Turkish. Smyrna, 1842.

A translation of the Old Testament into Armeno-Turkish was made by Bishop Dionysius, but as he was not acquainted with the Hebrew language, he made use of the Arabic, Armenian, and Turkish versions. Mr Goodell afterwards proceeded to revise it, and to conform it to the Hebrew original, but instead of this, he made an entirely new translation from the Hebrew, with the assistance of Mr Panayotes.—Rep. Board For. Miss. 1833, p. 38.—Ibid. 1844, p. 245.—Miss. Her. vol. xxxi. p. 391; vol. xxxviii. pp. 135, 276.

ASIA.

TARTAR AND TARTAR-TURKISH.

The Old Testament, in the Tartar language, written in the Hebrew character, MS.

In June 1816, Dr Pinkerton discovered this version among the Karaite Jews resident near Baktchiserai, the ancient capital of the Crimea. It was made, they

said, by their forefathers several centuries before, and was constantly read by them to the present day, along with the Hebrew text. It is in the Jagatai Tartar, but it is not properly a translation; it consists merely of Tartar words corresponding to those of the original Hebrew, and arranged in the same order in the manner of Arias Montanus, and is valuable chiefly as shewing the readings of the Hebrew MS. used in making it. The copy which Dr Pinkerton procured, was a most beautiful work; it was written on fine vellum paper, in four volumes quarto, was elegantly bound in red goat's leather, and ornamented with gold. The book of Genesis was printed by the Scottish missionaries at Astrachan.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1817, App. p. 75.—Rep. Scot. Miss. Soc. 1820, p. 48.—Henderson's Turkish New Testament Incapable of Defence, p. 4.

The New Testament, in the Tartar language, by Henry Brunton. Karass, 1813.

This translation was into a kind of medium between the Tartar and the Turkish. It was into the Nogay dialect, which is nearly the same with the Kazan, Trukman, and Bucharian. Seaman's Turkish New Testament was the groundwork of it; the language indeed was in many places the same. A second edition, corrected, was printed at Astrachan in 1818.—Relig. Mon. vol. xiii. p. 308; vol. xv. p. 146.

The New Testament, in the Tartar language, by Charles Fraser, missionary, Orenburg. Astrachan, 1820.

This is nothing more than Mr Brunton's translation revised by Mr Fraser, and accommodated to the orthography and idiom of the Kirghisian Tartars. The language of the Kirghisians is radically the same as the Nogay Tartar, but there is a considerable diversity in the dialect, particularly in the terminations.—Rep. Edin. Miss. Soc. 1816, p. 13.—Ibid. 1817, p. 60.—Scottish Miss. Reg. vol. i.

The New Testament, in the Tartar-Turkish language, by John Dickson, missionary, Astrachan. Astrachan, 182–.

The Pentateuch and the Book of Joshua, in the Tartar-Turkish language, by John Dickson, missionary, Astrachan, quarto. Astrachan, 182–.

The groundwork of the Tartar-Turkish New Testament was Hali Bey's Turkish translation, edited by Professor Kieffer at Paris, as being the best guide to the construction and idiom of the language; a point in which Mr Brunton's translation was exceedingly defective. This version may therefore be considered as a revision of Hali Bey's translation compared with the original text, and with the versions in Walton's Polyglott, and with those of Beza, Doddridge, Campbell, and Macknight, and in difficult cases, with the Arabic, Persic, and German translations.—Rep. Scot. Miss. Soc. 1824, p. 15. Mr Dickson having returned to Scotland on the breaking up of the mission at Astrachan, was employed by the Edinburgh Bible Society in completing the translation of the Old Testament.

The New Testament, in the Tartar language, by F. Zaremba, one of the German missionaries at Shushi, in conjunction with Mirza Faruch, a converted Munshi.

The language into which this translation is made, is mentioned under different names, as the "Transcaucasian Tartar," the "Turco-Tartar," the "Georgian or eastern Turkish." It is spoken in the Russian provinces beyond the Caucasus, and in the north-western provinces of Persia. It was never before reduced to writing; it was now written in the Persian character. The Gospel of Matthew was printed.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1831, p. 47.—Ibid. 1832, p. 60.—Ibid. 1834, p. 66.—Ibid. 1843, p. 86.—Orient. Christ. Spect. vol. ix. p. 245.

The Book of Psalms, in Tartar and Persian, by a Georgian prince.

This translation was intended for the Persian provinces bordering on Georgia.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1819, App. p. 89.

OSSATINIAN.

The Four Gospels, in the Ossatinian language, by Mr Jalgusidse, an Ossatinian nobleman.

The Ossatinians are one of the tribes which inhabit the Caucasus mountains. This translation was printed, but never circulated.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1823, App. p. 90.—Ibid. 1825, p. 94.—Ibid. 1850, App. p. 45.

MORDVINIAN.

The New Testament, in the Mordvinian language. Printed.

TSCHERMISSIAN.

The New Testament, in the Tschermissian language. Printed.

TSCHUWASCHIAN.

The Four Gospels, in the Tschuwaschian language. Printed.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1825, App. p. 82.—Ibid. 1850, App. p. 45.

WOTJAKIAN.

The Four Gospels, in the Wotjakian language.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1825, App. p. 93.

VOGULIAN.

The Gospels of Matthew and Mark, in the Vogulian language.

OSTIAK.

The Gospel of Matthew, in the Ostiak language.

The last six translations were for different branches of the Finnish Stock. Some of the tribes were partly heathens and partly Christians, though in little more than the name. While the Russian Bible Society was flourishing, portions of the Holy Scriptures, particularly the Gospels, were translated into the languages of several other tribes; but we do not think it necessary to notice them particularly. —Rep. Bib. Soc. 1821, App. p. 42.—Ibid. 1825, App. pp. 82, 96.—Ibid. 1850, App. p. 40.

KALMUCK.

The First Epistle of John, in Kalmuck, by the Rev. Cornelius Rhamn, missionary, Sarepta. MS.—Rep. Miss. Soc. 1822, p. 102.

The New Testament, in Kalmuck, by Isaac J. Schmidt. St Petersburg, 182–.

A great part of the Gospels, in Kalmuck, by J. Maltsch, one of the United Brethren at Sarepta; but as his acquaintance with the language was imperfect, the work is probably of no great value.—Period. Accounts, vol. ii. pp. 192, 193.

Some parts of the Gospels, &c., in Kalmuck, chiefly by Conrad Neitz, another of the Brethren. These are represented as very correct.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1808, p. 29.

The Kalmuck is a dialect of the Mongolian language.

MONGOLIAN.

The first eighteen chapters of Genesis, translated into the Mongolian language from the Mandjur translation of the Jesuit missionaries in China.—Quart Chron. vol. ii. p. 318.

The New Testament, in the Mongolian language, by Isaac J. Schmidt. St Petersburg, 1826.—Brown's First Fruits of a Mission to Siberia, p. 104.

The Old and New Testaments, in the Mongolian language, by Edward Stallybrass and William Swan, missionaries of the London Society in Siberia. Old Testament, Khodon, 1840. New Testament, London, 1846.

Both this and the former translation were made for the Buriats, who speak the Mongolian language. That language is spoken very extensively, both in Russian and Chinese Tartary.

MANCHOU, OR MANJHUR.

The first eighteen chapters of Genesis (at least), in the Manjhur language, by the Jesuit missionaries in China.—Quart. Chron. vol. ii. p. 318.

The Old Testament, almost entire, in the Manchou language. MS.

This translation was brought to St Petersburg by a gentleman who had lately been in China, and who granted permission to the Rev. William Swan, of the Siberian mission, to take a copy of it for the British and Foreign Bible Society.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1834, p. 82.—Brown's First Fruits, p. 104.

The New Testament, in the Manchou language, by Mr Lipoffzoof. Petersburg, 183–.

This version was printed under the superintendence of Mr George Borrow, well known afterwards as the author of the *Bible in Spain*, who had made himself to a

certain extent master of the Manchou language.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1823, p. 51.—Ibid. 1834, p. 83.—Ibid. 1836, p. 64.

The New Testament and the Book of Psalms in the Tartar language, by John de Monte Corvino.

John de Monte Corvino, a Franciscan monk, was sent by Pope Nicholas IV., towards the close of the 13th century, on an embassy to Koblai, the Great Khan of the Tartars, and who was also now emperor of China. Having arrived in China, he finally settled at Kambalu (Pekin), the residence of the Khan. He translated the New Testament and the Psalms into the Tartar language, and had copies of his version executed with a high degree of caligraphic perfection, and made use of it in his preaching. He erected two churches in Kambalu, and baptized between five and six thousand, and was of opinion that he could have baptized as many as 30,000, had it not been for the machinations of the Nestorians.—Mosheim's Eccles. Hist. vol. iii. pp. 2, 138.—Neander's General Church Hist. vol. vii. p. 78. Corvino's translation is supposed by some to have been into the Mongolian dialect.—Rep. Amer. and For. Bib. Soc. 1844, p. 33. The Rev. William Swan, who was many years a missionary among the Buriats, a tribe of Mongolian Tartars, and was one of the translators of the Bible into the Mongolian language, says, "The language was perhaps the Mongolian, but more probably the Manchou. These are cognate languages, but not dialects of the same language." From the preceding statement, it appears that the Romish faith was introduced into China long before the Jesuits commenced missionary operations in that country in the 16th century. Some interesting notices of Corvino's labours may be found in Neander's History. The Pope appointed him Archbishop of Kambalu, and despatched seven other Franciscans to his assistance. This mission, however, was unable to maintain its ground longer than 1369, when the revolution, by which the ruling Moguls were expelled, led also to the expulsion of all foreigners, and especially of all Christians.

ARABIC.

In a paper read before the Royal Asiatic Society, 15th April 1837, Baron Hammer Purgstall gives us the following curious notice:—"Within the last sixteen years, the presses of Tehran and Cairo have sent forth four works on the biography of Mahommed, which contain a mass of new facts hitherto unknown to all European biographers of the prophet, and which furnish ample materials for a more characteristic biography than those of Gagnier, Boulainvilliers, Turpin, Savary, Mill, and the Encyclopædias." The Commentary of Ibrahim of Haleb, is by far the most important of the four works mentioned, and from it the following notice of the first Arabic translation of the gospel is extracted:—

"Three years after Mahommed having set up his claim to prophecy, and ten years before his emigration from Mecca to Medina, in the year 612, died Warka, the son of Naufel, the cousin of Khadija, a Christian priest, of whose momentous influence on Mahommed's mind and knowledge nothing has been recorded by the European biographers of the prophet. He translated the Gospels (or rather the Bible) into Arabic, and this accounts at once for Mahommed's deep acquaintance with it, proved by so many

passages of the Koran. Mahommed held in the highest esteem this cousin of his most respected wife, and sanctioned his high esteem to all future times, by the following tradition: 'I have seen a priest in paradise, dressed in green silk, and he was no other than Warka, the son of Naufel.' The passage which records him to have translated the Gospel into Arabic is the following, p. 53, 'Warka, the Son of Naufel, the cousin of Khadija, had become a Christian, at the time of ignorance (before Mahommed), and translated the Gospels from the *Hebrew* into Arabic.'

"By the Gospels the Bible must here be understood, not only on account of the Hebrew, but also because the Koran evinces, in a great many passages, a greater acquaintance with the books of the Old Testament, particularly with the Psalms, than with the Gospels. At any rate, the son of Naufel, the cousin of Khadija, is the first Arabic translator of a part of the Bible."—Orient. Christ. Spect. vol. ix. p. 87. Baron Purgstall would have been more correct if he had merely said, he was the first Arabic translator of the Scriptures of whom anything is known.

The Bible, in Arabic, in the Paris Polyglott, 1645.

The Bible, in Arabic, in the London Polyglott, 1657.—Le Long, Bibliotheca Sacra, tom. i. p. 122.

"The barbarous style," says the late Mr Carlyle, Professor of Arabic in the University of Cambridge, "the barbarous style in which some Eastern versions of the New Testament are written, has been known to operate very materially against their reception; but the Arabic version of the Polyglott is distinguished for the purity of its language. It was composed probably by some of the most learned men of Syria and Egypt, certainly at a time when Arabic literature was at its zenith; and it was used at Alexandria and Cairo both by Jews and Christians—by men perfectly acquainted with all the niceties of the language—as a faithful and elegant representation of their respective books of faith. It has obtained the same character amongst the most learned Orientalists in Europe. Erpenius calls it 'Versio elegans quidem et antiqua.' Gabriel Sionita designs it 'Nobilissimum totius Testamenti exemplar.' This admirable scholar collated the Pentateuch (which is the work of Saadias of Fireme) with two MSS. in the Bodleian library, and has given the various readings in the sixth volume of the Polyglott. It is uncertain by whom the historical books were rendered into Arabic. Undoubtedly it was done by different persons, as some are translated from the original Hebrew, some from the Greek of the Septuagint, and some from the ancient Syriac version. It is probable that these last were the production of Asiatics, and the former of Egyptians."—Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. vol. i. p. 91.

By others, however, the version of the Polyglott is represented as inelegant and incorrect.—Owen, Hist. Bib. Soc. vol. i. p. 304.

The Bible, in Arabic, without the vowel points, published by order of the Congregation *de Propaganda fide*, for the use of the Churches in the East; to which is added, the Vulgate translation. Rome, 1671, 3 vols. folio.

This version was originally made by Sergius Risius, Archbishop of the Maronites at Damascus, during the pontificate of Urban VIII. Before it was published, however, it was revised by order of the Propaganda, and it is said to have been modelled entirely after the Vulgate. When copies of the first volume were sent

into the East, they could scarcely be understood, and the missionaries were accused of corrupting the Word of God. This excited so much disturbance, that the work was suppressed, by authority of the Pope, for many years. The whole, however, was afterwards printed (Bibliographical Dictionary, vol. i. p. 277), and it is now held in the highest estimation not only by the Catholics, but by the other sects of Christians in Asiatic Turkey (Rep. Bib. Soc. 1818, App. p. 126). The American missionaries in Syria speak very unfavourably of it.—Rep. Board For. Miss. 1844, p. 254.

The Bible, in Arabic, by the Patriarch of Antioch. Bucharest in Wallachia, folio, 1700.—Le Long, tom. i. p. 125.

The Holy Scriptures, in Arabic, edited by Raphael Tuki, Bishop of Erzerum, under the patronage of the Congregation *de Propaganda fide*, vol. i. 1752–1753, 4to.—Bib. Dict. vol. i. p. 277.—Marsh's History of the Translations of the Holy Scriptures, p. 79.

The Bible, in Arabic, from the text of the Polyglott. Newcastle, 1811.

This work was originally undertaken by Professor Carlyle, but he died while engaged in preparing it for the press. It was afterwards, however, completed under the patronage of the Bishop of Durham.—Owen's Hist. Bib. Soc. vol. i. pp. 300, 306.

The Pentateuch, in Arabic, MS.

This MS. was in the possession of the Rev. Dr Adam Clarke. He represented it as a very ancient copy, and as translated with great simplicity and purity from the Hebrew, and as worth more than its weight in gold—an assertion of which we are somewhat doubtful.—Letter from Dr Clarke, in the possession of the Scottish Missionary Society.

The Pentateuch, in Arabic and Persic, MS.

A copy of this in folio was in the possession of an Armenian Christian, whom Mr Thompson, one of the Baptist missionaries, visited at Patna. By a memorandum at the end of the volume, it appears to have been transcribed from an Ispahan copy, which was itself a transcript of a very ancient translation made from the Hebrew at Bagdad, A.D. 827, for Abdoola Mamoo Rusheed Badshaw, of Bagdad.—Circular Letters relative to the Baptist Mission, vol. x. p. 203.

The Pentateuch, the Book of Psalms, and the Prophecy of Isaiah, in Arabic, MS.

It is a curious fact, that copies of these are to be found among the negroes in Africa. "I discovered," says Mr Park, "that the negroes are in possession of an Arabic version of the Pentateuch of Moses, which is so highly esteemed, that it is often sold for the price of one prime slave. They have likewise a version of the Psalms of David; and lastly, the Book of Isaiah, which is in very high esteem."—Park's Travels, p. 467.[1]

The Pentateuch, in Arabic, printed in Hebrew characters, from the version of Rabbi Saadias, folio. Constantinople, 1546.

This was printed in a Polyglott edition of the Pentateuch, which was published at Constantinople in 1546; and, besides the Arabic, contained the five books of Moses in Hebrew and Persic, with the Chaldee paraphrase of Onkelos.—Le Long, tom. i. pp. 41, 125.

[1] For a further list of MS. copies of the sacred writings in Arabic, see Le Long, Bibliotheca Sacra, tom. i. pp. 111–122.

The Pentateuch, in Arabic, edited by Thomas Erpenius, 4to. Leyden, 1622.—Le Long, tom. i. p. 125.

The Psalms in Arabic, translated from the Greek. Genoa, 1516.

This appeared in a Polyglott edition of the Psalms, which was printed at Genoa in 1516, and besides the Arabic, contained the Hebrew, Greek, and Chaldee text, and three Latin versions.—Ibid. tom. i. pp. 42, 125.

The Psalms of David, with the Songs of the Old and New Testaments, in Syriac and Arabic. Printed in the small Syriac character, on Mount Libanus, in the monastery of St Anthony and St John the Evangelist, by Joseph F. Amima, 1610.—Ibid. tom. i. p. 103.

The Psalms of David, Arabic and Latin, from the version of Gabriel Sionita, 4to. Rome, 1614.—Ibid. tom. i. pp. 122, 125.

The Psalms of David, in Coptic, Arabic, and Latin, edited by Thomas Petræus, 4to. Leyden, 1663.—Ibid. tom. i. p. 43.

The Psalms of David, in Arabic, printed at the expense of Athanasius, the Antiochan Patriarch of the Greeks, 4to. Aleppo, 1706.—Ibid. tom. i. p. 125.

The Psalms of David, the Decalogue, and the Lord's Prayer, in Arabic, with parallel passages of Scripture from the Old and New Testaments. London, 1725.

This work was published by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge; and the whole impression, consisting of upwards of six thousand copies, was sent abroad, so that a copy of it is now rarely to be seen. The Arabic text differs from that in the Paris and London Polyglotts. Solomon Negri, a native of Damascus, was brought from Halle, in Saxony, to London, to superintend the printing of it. —Bib. Dict. vol. i. p. 277.

The Psalms of David, in Arabic, 8vo. Aleppo, 1735.

The Psalms of David, in Arabic, printed at the monastery of St John the Baptist, on Mount Kesrvan, 8vo, 1735.

The Psalms of David, in Arabic, by the monks of St Basil, in the monastery of St John the Baptist, on Mount Chaswán, 8vo, 1764.—Le Long, edit. Maschii, tom. i. part ii. p. 124.

The Psalter, Coptic and Arabic, 4to. Rome, 1744.

The Alexandrian Psalter, Coptic and Arabic, 4to. Rome, 1749.

Both these Psalters were published by the Congregation *de Propaganda fide*, with the view of being sent to Egypt.—Le Long, edit. Maschii, tom. i. part ii. p. 186.

Arabic Psalter, Indian paper, small folio, MS. In the library of the British and Foreign Bible Society.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1822, p. 135.

The Song of Songs, in Ethiopic, Arabic, and Latin, with Notes by John George Nisselius. Leyden, 1656.—Le Long, tom. i. p. 44.

The Book of Obadiah, in Hebrew, Chaldee, Syriac, Arabic, and Latin. Bremen, 1673.—Le Long, edit. Maschii, tom. i. part i. p. 399.

The New Testament, in Arabic, edited by Thomas Erpenius, from the Scaliger MS. Leyden, 1616.—Le Long, tom. i. p. 125.

The New Testament, in Syriac and Arabic, folio. Rome, 1703. Printed by the Congregation *de Propaganda fide*.—Ibid. edit. Maschii, tom. i. part ii. p. 92.

The New Testament, in Arabic. London, 1727, quarto.

This edition, consisting of 10,000 copies, was printed at the expense of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, under the superintendence of Solomon Negri; and copies of it were sent, from time to time, for distribution in the East, particularly to the Danish missionaries in India.—Bib. Dict. vol. vi. p. 204.

The Gospels, in Coptic and Arabic, Egyptian paper, MS. In the library of the British and Foreign Bible Society.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1822, p. 135.

The Four Gospels, in Arabic, without points, beautifully printed, and adorned with woodcuts, folio. Rome, 1591.—Bib. Dict. vol. vi. p. 205.

The Four Gospels, in Arabic, printed at the expense of Athanasius, the Antiochan Patriarch of the Greeks, folio. Aleppo, 1706.—Le Long, tom. i. p. 126.

The Epistle to the Galatians, in Arabic, from a MS. in the Heidelberg library, quarto. Heidelberg, 1583.

The Epistle to Titus, in Arabic, MS., written by Joseph Jon Abu Dahan, an Egyptian of the sect of the Jacobites, in the city of Oxford, in the month Swan, 1611, quarto. In the library of the British and Foreign Bible Society.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1817, App. p. 328.

The Epistle to Titus, in Arabic, with an interlinear Latin version, by John Antonidas, quarto, 1612.—Le Long, tom. i. p. 126.

The Epistles of James, John, and Jude, in Arabic and Ethiopic, with a Latin translation of both versions, and notes, by John George Nisselius, and Theodorus Betræus, quarto. Leyden, 1654.

The Epistle of James, in Arabic, with the Latin translation of Nisselius, and a Glossary of the roots, by Nicolas Panecius, quarto. Wittemberg, 1694.

The Epistles of John, in Arabic, printed from an ancient MS., with a Latin translation, by William Bedwell, 1612.

The Epistles of John, in Arabic and Latin, by Jonas Hambræus. 16mo. Paris, 1630.

The Epistle of Jude, edited from a Heidelberg MS. by Peter Kirsten, folio. Breslau, 1611.

The Apocalypse of John, in Arabic. A printed copy among the codices in the Bodleian library, cod. 3485.—Le Long, edit. Maschii, tom. i. part ii. p. 135.

The New Testament, in Arabic, translated by Nathaniel Sabat. Calcutta, 1816.

The first draft of this translation was made by Sabat, under the inspection of the Rev. Henry Martyn; and after the death of that admirable man, the revision of it

was undertaken by the Rev. Mr Thomason, of Calcutta.—Asiatic Journal, vol. ii. p. 13; vol. iii. p. 250. After finishing the New Testament, Sabat began a translation of the Old, and completed at least the Pentateuch, and a great part of the Psalms. Mr Thomason revised also the translation of the Old Testament.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1813, App. p. 328.—Thomason's Life, p. 268.

The New Testament, to the end of the Hebrews, in Arabic, translated from the Original Greek, by Ysa Petros.

Ysa Petros was an Arabic Christian of the Greek rite, whom the Rev. Pliny Fisk met at Jerusalem, and employed, at the request of the Rev. William Jowett, on account of the Church Missionary Society, in making this version, and also in translating various tracts into Arabic. He is represented as a man of very considerable learning. The basis of this translation was that of the Propaganda, which Ysa Petros followed, making everywhere alterations in conformity with the Greek text.—Jowett's Christ. Res. vol. ii. p. 409.—Miss. Her. vol. xxi. p. 10.

The Scriptures, in Arabic, revised by the Rev. C. F. Schlienz.

In the preparation of this work, the greatest care, it is said, was taken to obtain the correction of skilful Arabic scholars.—Miss. Reg. 1841, pp. 332, 361.

The New Testament, in Arabic, by ——— Fares, Professor of Arabic in the Government College, Malta.

Mr Fares carried on this translation under the superintendence of Professor Lee. —Miss. Reg. 1848, p. 414.—Ibid. 1850, p. 465.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1853, App. p. 66.

The Old and New Testaments, translated into Arabic, by Eli Smith, one of the missionaries of the American Board, Beirut.—(Amer.) Miss. Her. vol. xlix. p. 195.

The New Testament, in Coptic and Arabic.

This edition was prepared and carried through the press under the superintendence chiefly of Archdeacon Tattam.—Miss Reg. 1850, p. 465.

PERSIC.

The Hebrew Pentateuch, with a Persic Translation in the Hebrew character, in alternate verses, in two volumes, folio, MS.—*Bibl. Colbertina, cod.* 2468, 2469.—Le Long, tom. i. p. 58.

The Pentateuch, in Arabic and Persic, MS.

This was transcribed from an Ispahan copy, which was itself a transcript of a very ancient translation made from the Hebrew at Bagdad, A.D. 827.—Circular Letters, vol. x. p. 203. For a further account of this MS. see Arabic.

The Pentateuch, in Persic, in the Persian character, with vowel points, taken from the Constantinople edition, MS.

The same version of the Pentateuch, in Hebrew characters, MS.—*Bibl. Bodleiana, cod.* 8639.

The books of Joshua, Judges, Ruth, Ezra, and Nehemiah, in Persic, in the Hebrew character, MS.—*Bibl. Colbertina, cod.* 4602.

The four books of Kings, in Persic, in the Hebrew character, MS.—*Ibid. cod.* 4601.

The book of Job, in Persic, in the Hebrew character, MS.—*Ibid. cod.* 4606, 4607, 4608.

The books of Solomon, Esther, and Ruth, in Persic, MS.—*Ibid. cod.* 4605.

The books of Isaiah and Jeremiah, in Persic, MS.—*Ibid. cod.* 4609, 4610.

The book of Daniel, in Persic, MS.—*Ibid. cod.* 4603, 4604.

The twelve Minor Prophets, in Persic, MS.—*Ibid. cod.* 4610.

The Psalms, in Persic, MS.—*Bibl. Bodleiana, cod.* 437, 3928.

The Psalms, in Persic, MS.—*Bibl. Vindob. cod.* 49, *de Nissel.*

The Psalms, in Persic, from the Latin MS.—*Oxonii in Bibl.—Collegii. S. Joannis, cod.* 15, 16.—*Num.* 1753, 1754.

The Psalms, in Persic, from the Vulgate, MS.—*Bibl. Bodleiana, cod.* 3776.

The Psalms, in Persic, from the Latin, by some Jesuits, MS.—*Bibl. Bodleiana, cod.* 3044.

The Psalms, in Persic, with various readings from two other copies, by John Baptist Vecchietti, a Florentine, in the year 1601, MS.

The books of Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Barûch, in Persic, MS.

The Proverbs of Solomon, Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Songs, in Persic, MS.

The Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Songs, in Persic, written in the Hebrew character, MS.

The book of Esther, in Persic, written in the Hebrew character, MS.

The Four Gospels, in Persic, MS. beautifully written.

The last six manuscripts were formerly in the library of the learned Renaudot.

The New Testament, in Persic, MS.—*Bibl. Lambethana.*

The Gospel according to Matthew, in Persic, MS.—*Biblioth. Medicæa Palatina, cod.* 17, *D'Herbelot.*

The Gospel of Christ, in Persic, MS.—*Bibliotheca Vindobonensis, cod.* 49, *de Nissel.*

The Gospels, in Persic, MS.

The Four Gospels, in Persic, from the Syriac, by Simon, a Persian Christian, according to Dr Hyde, MS.—*Bibl. Bodleiana, cod.* 5453, A.

The Four Gospels, in Persic, with a Latin Exposition, MS.

The Four Gospels, in Persic, MS.—*Cantabrigiæ Bibl. Collegii Emanuelis, cod.* 64. B.

The Four Gospels, in Persic, MS.—*Bibl. Bodleiana, cod.* 395.

The Four Gospels, in Persic, MS.—*Bibl. Leidensis cod.—Warneriana,* 291, 675, 701, p. 410.—*Catalogi in folio.*

The Four Gospels, in Persic, MS.—Le Long, tom. i. p. 132.

The Four Gospels, in Persic, MS., presented to the British and Foreign Bible Society, by James Brown, Esq., St Alban's.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1817, App. p. 328.

The Four Gospels, in Persic, MS. Presented to the British and Foreign Bible Society, by Mr Benjamin Barker, Smyrna.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1832 App. p. 113.

The Four Gospels, in Persic, translated by order of Nadir Shah. MS.

It is a curious fact, that in the year 1740, Nadir Shah, the usurper of the throne of Persia, who was so notorious for his cruelties, ordered a translation of the Four Gospels to be made into the Persic language; but the work was completely bungled through the negligence and unfaithfulness of those who were employed in it. They were only six months in completing the translation, and transcribing several fair copies of it; and they dressed it up with all the foolish glosses which the fables of the Koran could warrant. Their chief guide was an ancient Arabic and Persian version.—Hanway's Travels, vol. ii. p. 404. Of this singular fact, Fra. Leandro de Santa Cecilia, a Carmelite friar, who at that time resided in Persia under the combined character of a physician and monk, gives us some further particulars, some of which, however, there can be little doubt, are unfounded. Nadir Shah, he informs us, "gave orders for four translations: one of the Gospels, by European Christians; of the Epistles, by Armenians; of the Old Testament, by Jews; and of the Koran, by Persian Mollahs. He was conjectured as having it in contemplation to make a selection from each, and set himself forth as the founder of a new religion. Such was the zeal of the persons employed, each imagining that the Shah would embrace his own faith, that in eight months all the tasks were completed. They came, therefore, at the same time to present them, and were admitted together into the royal garden. They found here a number of persons in waiting; who being successively introduced, each came out with a rope round his neck, was immediately strangled, and carried away to be thrown to wild beasts. In the course of an hour, eighteen were thus disposed of. It is easy to conceive the horror and dismay of the hapless translators. It is boasted, however, that their minds soon regained their serenity; and that, anticipating an immediate crown of martyrdom, they disputed with each other on whom it should be first conferred. At length they were all admitted; but the glory so eagerly contended for, was not destined for them. The king received them well, asked if they were comfortably lodged, and made them a present of 200 tomans. The books he received without ever looking at them, being probably diverted by other plans and occupations from the original object."—Murray's Historical Account of Discoveries in Asia, vol. iii. p. 70.

Translation of the Pentateuch into Persic, by the Jews of Meshid, by order of Nadir Shah, MS. Presented to the British and Foreign Bible Society, by the Rev. Joseph Wolff, the Jewish missionary.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1834, App. p. 115.

This is probably the translation of the Old Testament referred to in the preceding note.

The Acts of the Apostles, in Persic, by a Roman Catholic missionary, who lived in the reign of Akber. MS.

A copy of this MS. was presented by an Armenian to Mr Thompson, one of the Baptist missionaries in India.—Circular Letters, vol. x. p. 203.

The Pentateuch, in Persic, in the Hebrew character, translated by Rabbi Jacob, and published for the use of the Jews residing in Persia. Constantinople, 1546.

This was printed in a Polyglott edition of the Pentateuch, which was published at Constantinople in 1546; and which, besides the Persic version, contained the

five books of Moses, in Hebrew and Arabic, with the Chaldee Paraphrase of Onkelos.—Le Long, edit. Masc. tom. i. part i. p. 30; part ii. p. 159.

The Pentateuch and the Four Gospels, in Persic, in the London Polyglott. London, 1657.

The Pentateuch, as printed in the London Polyglott, is a copy of Rabbi Jacob's version, but it is printed in Persic, not in Hebrew characters. The Four Gospels are taken from the MS. of Simon in the Bodleian Library, which we have marked above, A. This version, according to Walton, is the most ancient and the best we possess. Dr Adam Clarke also speaks highly of it; but by others it is said to be very incorrect, and of little use.—Le Long, tom. i. pp, 132, 133, 134.—Encyclopædia Britannica, Art. Bible.

The Four Gospels, in Persic, folio. London, 1657.

This edition, according to some, was printed from the Cambridge MS. which we have marked above, B, and which is a translation, not from the Greek, but the Syriac; according to others, it was formed from a collation of three different MSS. The style is said to be rude and unpolished; it is often not only ambiguous, but sometimes absolutely unintelligible to a modern Persian. The publication of it was begun by Abraham Wheelock, Professor of Arabic in the University of Cambridge, but he did not live to finish it. It was completed, however, by Mr Pierson. —Le Long, tom. i. p. 134.—Bib. Dict. vol. vi. p. 226.—Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. vol. i. p. 147.

The Gospel of Matthew, to the twenty-second chapter, translated into Persic, by Robert Gunnesam Doss.

The author of this translation was born in Bengal, and was brought up in all the darkness of Paganism; but, having come to England, he acquired during his residence in this country some knowledge of the Christian religion. In 1774, he returned to Calcutta, and was employed in the chief court of justice as Persic interpreter and translator. Having now embraced the Christian faith, he began to translate the Gospel of Matthew into the Persic language; but whether he proceeded any further than the twenty-second chapter we do not know.—Neue Geschichte der Missions in Ostindien, tom. ii. pp. 461, 466.

Twenty chapters of the Gospel of Matthew, in Persic, by William Chambers, Esq., of Calcutta.

The part of this translation which contains our Lord's Sermon on the Mount, was printed.—Proceed. Church Miss. Soc. vol. i. p. 147.—Bib. Dict. vol. vi. p. 227.

The Gospels, in Persic, by Lieutenant Colonel Colebrook, Surveyor-general of Bengal. Calcutta, 1804.—Marsh's History, pp. 39, 77.

A great part of the New Testament, the Book of Psalms and some other portions of the Old, in Persic, translated by the Baptist missionaries, Serampur.

This work the missionaries relinquished, on the Rev. Henry Martyn engaging to superintend a translation into Persic. Only a small part of it was printed.—Memoir relative to the Translations, 1808, p. 13.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1807, App. p. 37.

Part of the New Testament, in Persic, translated by Nathaniel Sabat, under the superintendence of the Rev. Henry Martyn.

In December 1809, Sabat had advanced to the end of the First Epistle to the Corinthians; whether he afterwards proceeded further, we are uncertain. On the

completion of the Four Gospels, they were sent to Calcutta, and two of them were printed; but, on further examination, the version was considered as requiring so many amendments, that it was returned to the translator, who, under the superintendence of Mr Martyn, bestowed so much pains upon it, as to render it a new, and it was hoped, an accurate translation. By those, however, who were considered as competent judges, it was deemed unfit for general circulation, as it abounded with Arabic idioms, and was written in a style which, though pleasing to the learned, was not level to common readers.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1811, App. p. 24.—Memoir of the Rev. H. Martyn, pp. 313, 333.

The New Testament, in Persic, by Mirza Seid Ali Khan, and the Rev. Henry Martyn. St Petersburg, 1815.—Memoir of the Rev. H. Martyn, pp. 364, 411, 464.

The edition published at Petersburg was extremely incorrect; other editions were printed in India.

The Book of Psalms, in Persic, by Mirza Seid Ali Khan, and the Rev. H. Martyn. Calcutta, 1816.—Memoir of the Rev. H. Martyn, p. 433.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1822, App. p. 131.

The Psalms, in Persic, by the Rev. Thomas T. Thomason, Calcutta.—Thomason's Life, p. 268.

The New Testament, in Persic, by the Rev. Leopoldo Sebastiani, a Roman Catholic Priest.

This version was intended for the use of the Christians dispersed through Persia. Sebastiani was many years resident at the court of Persia, and made his translation immediately from the Greek. The four Gospels at least were printed.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1812, p. 13, App. p. 71.—Ibid. 1815, App. p. 38.—Bapt. Mag. vol. v. p. 67.

The New Testament, in Persic, by Giovanni Guriel, Catholic Chaldean Archbishop of Salmast.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1817, App. p. 25.

The New Testament, in Persic, MS.

This MS. belonged to the Gymnasium in Astrachan. It was beautifully written in a neat hand, on a very fine polished paper, and elegantly bound. On the first page of the book there was an advertisement written by the Rector of the Gymnasium, stating that the person who made the translation, and the time when it was executed, were unknown.—Quart. Chron. vol. ii. p. 141.

The Old Testament, in Persic, by the Rev. —— Robinson, Archdeacon of Madras. Calcutta, 183–.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1838, pp. 56, 59.

The Psalms, in Persic, translated by Mir Abu Taleb, and the Rev. William Glen, Astrachan.—Rep. Scot. Miss. Soc. 1822, p. 19.

The Old Testament, in Persic, by the Rev. William Glen, D.D. 4 vols. royal 8vo. Edinburgh, 1846.

The Rev. William Glen, then one of the missionaries of the Scottish Missionary Society at Astrachan, having, with the assistance of Mir Abu Taleb, a native of the province of Mazanderan, translated the book of Psalms into Persic, the British and Foreign Bible Society printed it on the high recommendation of Professor Lee; and they also engaged him to proceed with a version of the whole of the poetical and prophetical books of the Old Testament. The book of Proverbs, when executed, was also printed; but they declined printing the other poetical and prophetical books, the whole of which were ultimately completed, on the alleged ground,

that the translation violated the simplicity of the sacred original, by forms of expression which were at once uncalled for, paraphrastic, enfeebling, and prosaic. Whether this opinion was well or ill-founded, we are not competent to judge.

In August 1837, Mr Glen proceeded to Persia, under the auspices of the United Associate Synod, for the purpose of completing a translation of the whole of the Old Testament into the Persic language, by the revision of his version of the poetical and prophetical books, and by the translation into it of the historical books; and, having accomplished these objects, he returned to Scotland, when the whole work was printed at the expense of the United Associate Synod, assisted by a grant of £500 from the British and Foreign Bible Society. This was an interesting fact in the history of printing in Scotland. While numerous works in the Oriental languages had been printed in England and on the continent of Europe, we are not aware of a single work in any Oriental language, ancient or modern, not even an edition of the Hebrew Bible, ever being printed in this country. But this reproach on our national press now began to be wiped away. The first effort in this department of printing was eminently successful, and reflected great honour on Mr Thomas Constable, Her Majesty's printer, Edinburgh, by whom it was made. Dr Glen's translation of the Old Testament was followed by an edition of Martyn's Persic New Testament, and by a translation of Dr Keith's work on the prophecies into Persic, by the Rev. J. L. Merrick, one of the missionaries of the American Board for Foreign Missions, all of them very beautiful specimens of Oriental printing.—Rep. Miss. of Unit. Ass. Synod, 1837, p. 16.—Ibid. 1840, p. 28.—Scot. Miss. Reg. 1846, p. 55.

In February 1847, Dr Glen proceeded again to Persia, accompanied by his son, Mr Andrew Glen, for the purpose of circulating these works in that country. Among others to whom they were presented, was not only the prime minister, but the King of Persia himself, from whom the doctor had an audience for this purpose. Dr Glen died while engaged in this service.—Miss. Record Unit. Presb. Church, vol. ii. pp. 31, 58; vol. iii. p. 74.

Historical Books of the Old Testament, in Persic, translated by Mirza Jaffier, at St Petersburg.

Mirza Jaffier translated the historical books of the Old Testament to 1 Samuel. Genesis was printed, revised by Professor Lee.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1828, p. 63.—Ibid. 1829, p. 55.

Isaiah, in Persic, translated by Mirza Ibrahim, of Hayleybury College. Printed, 183-.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1833, p. 57.

MODERN SYRIAC OR NESTORIAN.

The Old and New Testaments, in Modern Syriac, with the Ancient Syriac in parallel columns, by Justin Perkins, D.D., one of the American missionaries, Urumiah.

The Old Testament was translated from the original Hebrew; the New Testament from the Ancient Syriac version called the Pechito, and the variations from the Greek original were noted in the margin.—Rep. Board For. Miss. 1846, pp. 131, 132.—Ibid. 1847, p. 125.

This translation was into Modern Syriac as spoken by the Nestorian Christians, whose language is a dialect of the Ancient Syriac, much barbarized by inversions, contractions, and abbreviations, and by the introduction into it of a great number of Turkish, Persian, and Kurdish words, each class prevailing

respectively in particular districts, according as they are near to the people using either of these languages. But, though thus corrupted, the body of the language comes directly from the venerable, ancient Syriac, as clearly as the modern Greek comes from the ancient Greek.—Perkins' Residence among the Nestorians, p. 12.

KURDISH.

The Four Gospels and the Book of Revelation, in Kurdish, MS.

This translation was received by the Rev. Mr Leeves from Persia.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1828, App. p. 93.

MOSUL.

The Gospels, in the modern dialect of Mosul.—Miss. Her. vol. xxxiii. p. 59.

TURKI.

The Gospels of Luke and John, in the Turki language, as spoken in Bokhara, in Arabic characters.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1841, p. 64.

AFGHAN, OR PUSHTOO.

The Gospels of Matthew and Mark, in the Afghan language, translated by learned natives, under the superintendence of John Leyden, M.D., Professor of Hindustani in the College of Fort-William, MS.

In 1810, Dr Leyden, who had a number of learned natives, from various parts of the East, employed under him in preparing grammars and vocabularies of the languages of their respective countries, offered to procure, by their means, versions of the Four Gospels in the following languages—the Afghan, Siamese, Macassar, Bugis, Rakheng, Maldivian, and Jaghatai, most of which had never yet been cultivated by Europeans. As he died, however, soon after, the following only were executed, the Gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, part second, in Maldivian; Matthew and Mark, in Afghan; Mark, in Belochee, Bugis, and Macassar. None of them were printed, as it was not deemed expedient to commit them to the press without being revised by a European scholar.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1811, App. p. 76.—Ibid. 1812, p. 13; App. p. 75.*

The New Testament, in Afghan, translated under the superintendence of William Carey, D.D., one of the Baptist missionaries, Serampur, and Professor of Sanskrit, Bengali, and Marathi, in the College of Fort-William. Serampur, 1818.

The Old Testament, in Afghan, to nearly the end of the 2d Book of Kings, translated under the superintendence of William Carey, D.D. Printed.—Rep. Bapt. Miss. Soc. 1819, p. 38.—Tenth Memoir of Translations, p. 9.

* Afghanistan, where this language is spoken, is on the west side of the Indus, and forms the eastern part of Modern Khorazan. The inhabitants call themselves Pushtoons; but by others they are termed Afghans. This is the people whom Sir William Jones, and others on his authority, conjectured to be the descendants of

the ten tribes whom Shalmanezer carried captive. By the advocates of this opinion, the language of the Afghans was said to contain a greater number of Hebrew words than that of any other nation in India. By others, their Jewish origin was represented as completely disproved by the radical dissimilarity of the two languages. The alphabet is the Arabic, with the addition of such letters as enable it to express the sounds of the Sanskrit. The Afghans are now Mahommedans.—Bapt. Period. Accounts, vol. v. pp. 305, 322.—Edinburgh Review, vol. xxv. p. 424.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1850, p. 95.

BELOCHEE.

The Gospel of Mark, in Belochee, translated under the superintendence of John Leyden, M.D. See Afghan.

Three of the Gospels, in Belochee, translated under the superintendence of William Carey, D.D. Serampur, 1815.

This language is spoken on the western side of the Indus.—Tenth Memoir of Translations, p. 61.

INDIA.

SANSKRIT.

The Old and New Testaments, in the Sanskrit language, by William Carey, D.D., assisted by learned natives. Serampur, (N. T.) 1809, (O. T.) 1818.—Bapt. Per. Acc. vol. iv. pp. 54, 58; vol. vi. p. 321.

H. H. Wilson, Esq., Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Oxford, states that, when Dr Carey undertook his version, the Sanskrit language had been little studied, and no standard compositions in it had been printed. His translation is therefore necessarily defective in point of style; and, though generally faithful, is such as no native scholar can read with pleasure.—Miss. Reg. 1835, p. 404.

The New Testament, in Sanskrit, translated by an intelligent Pundit, under the superintendence of William Yates, D.D., one of the Baptist Missionaries, Calcutta. Calcutta, 1841.

This translation was founded on Dr Yates' Bengali version as its basis, and, consequently, must labour under the imperfections of a translation from a translation. In a subsequent edition which appeared in 1851, the version was revised by Mr Wenger, another of the missionaries, and was much altered by him.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1842, App. 90.—Rep. Bapt. Miss. Soc. 1838, p. 12.—Ibid. 1851, p. 12.—Ibid. 1852, p. 16.

The Old Testament, in Sanskrit, vols. i. and ii. Calcutta.

This was an entirely new translation. It was begun by Dr Yates, and was afterwards carried on by Mr Wenger.—Rep. Bapt. Miss. Soc. 1846, p. 5.—Ibid. 1853, p. 13.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1849, p. 110.

The Psalms, in Sanskrit Verse, by William Yates, D.D. Calcutta, 1839.

An advertisement is prefixed to this translation, "showing that the structure of the Sanskrit language is such as to admit of a metrical version as close and faithful

to the original as any prose version can be; and, at the same time, much more easily understood."—Rep. Bapt. Miss. Soc. 1840, p. 14.—Yates' Mem. p. 328.

HINDUSTANI, OR URDU.

The four first chapters of Genesis, in Hindostanee, by Benjamin Schultze, one of the Danish missionaries in India. Halle, 1745, octavo.

The Psalms of David, in Hindostanee, by Benjamin Schultze. Halle, 1747 octavo.

The Book of Daniel, in Hindostanee, by Benjamin Schultze. Halle, 1749, octavo.

The New Testament, in Hindostanee, by Benjamin Schultze. Halle, 1758, octavo.

This work was completed in 1758, but most of the books were published separately some years before.—Le Long, edit. Maschii, tom. i. part ii. p. 207.

The New Testament, in Hindostanee, by Father Anthony, a Roman Catholic missionary in Hindostan, MS.

This translation Father Anthony made, with the assistance of a learned Christian native, for the use of his congregation at Bettiah, in the province of Behar.

The Psalms of David, in Hindostanee, by a Roman Catholic missionary.—Circular Letters, vol. x. pp. 50, 203, 204.

The Four Gospels, in Hindostanee, translated by learned natives; revised and collated with the original Greek, by William Hunter, Esq., Calcutta, 1804.—Primitiæ Orientales, vol. iii. p. 31.

The Old and New Testaments, in Hindostanee, by William Carey, D.D. Serampur, 1811 (O. T.), 1818 (N. T.)—Bapt. Period. Accounts, vol. iv. p. 384; vol. vi. p. 322.

The New Testament, in Hindostanee, translated by Mirza Fitrut, under the superintendence of the Rev. Henry Martyn. Serampur, 1814.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1812, p. 13; App. p. 75.—Ibid. 1815, App. p. 145.

Martyn's Hindustani translation was very highly spoken of. A revision of it by a committee at Benares was published many years afterwards, which, however, was as much entitled as some others to be considered an independent translation. Another revision was made of it by Mr Shurman, one of the missionaries of the London Society at Benares, which, as we shall immediately state, was printed along with the Old Testament, by the Calcutta Bible Society.—Cal. Christ. Obs. vol. xv. p. 671.

The Old Testament, in Hindostanee, translated by Mirza Fitrut.

Mirza Fitrut appears to have translated the whole, or nearly the whole, of the Old Testament into Hindustani.—Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. vol. v. p. 476.—Ibid. 1820–1, p. 220.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1820, p. 71. He translated from the English version.—Corrie's Memoir, p. 254. Of this translation, the Book of Genesis was re-revised by Mr Martyn, and printed in London. From Genesis to 2d Kings, Psalms, Proverbs, and Isaiah, it was revised, or rather recast, by the Rev. Mr Thomason of Calcutta. His translation is also highly spoken of; but it is stated to be sadly marred by a great amount of paraphrase, an evil which exists to an extraordinary

extent in Indian translations.—Life of the Rev. T. T. Thomason, p. 273.—Cal. Christ. Observ. vol. xiii. p. 243; vol. xv. p. 834.

The New Testament, in Hindostanee, translating by Meer Hassan Aly, assistant to the Oriental Professor at the East India Company's Military Seminary, Croydon.—Asiatic Journal, vol. i. p. 178.

The New Testament, in Hindustani, by William Buyers and J. A. Shurman, of the London Missionary Society, Benares. 1839.

This translation, or rather revision, of the New Testament in Hindustani, was in a style designed for the lower orders. It was printed both in the Persic and the Roman characters.—Rep. Miss. Soc. 1839, p. 46.—Orient. Christ. Spect. vol. x. p. 111.

The New Testament, in Hindustani, by William Yates, D.D. Calcutta, 1839.

In making this translation, Dr Yates was assisted by Mr J. Thomas, another of the missionaries. Martyn's translation is stated to be the basis of this version.—Rep. Bapt. Miss. Soc. 1839, p. 16.—Ibid. 1844, p. 90.—Calcutta Review, vol. x. p. 170.

The Old and New Testaments, in Hindustani, by William Buyers, J. A. Shurman, and James Kennedy, of the London Missionary Society. Benares, 1843.

This work was partly a revision of former translations, and partly an origina version.—Rep. Miss. Soc. 1844, p. 12. The books of the Old Testament, prepared by Mr Thomason, were slightly revised, and the remaining books were translated in a similar style. J. A. F. Hawkins, Esq., of Calcutta, who is spoken of as a distinguished Hindustani scholar, not only carefully examined and revised the versions and revisions of the missionaries, but he himself translated the minor prophets, Lamentations, the greater part of Daniel, and a number of chapters of Ezekiel. In the course of the revision of the New Testament, Mr Shurman saw reason to revert, in a great measure, to Martyn's translation, especially in the latter half of the work. Editions of the whole Bible were printed both in the Arabic and the Roman characters, and of particular books in the Persic character.—Cal. Christian Obser. vol. xv. p. 835; vol. xvi. p. 8.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1834, p. 96.

In Mr Buyers' excellent letters on India, published in 1840, before the last mentioned version was made, we have some explanation of the imperfection of the early translations into Hindustani and others of the languages of India. The first missionaries—such as the Serampur brethren and Henry Martyn—found the vernacular languages in a rude, unformed state, without any literature of sufficient consequence to form a standard of writing. The learning of the Hindus was monopolized by the Brahmans, and placed beyond vulgar reach, in the impenetrable recesses of the Sanskrit; while that of the Mussulmans, though not in the hands of a separate class, was almost equally inaccessible to the mass of the people, by being confined to the Arabic and Persian. The vernacular languages were scarcely reduced to writing, as all the business, and even the correspondence of the country, was carried on in one or other of these learned languages. The only books were merely popular songs, and a few poems; but even these could scarcely be said to be in the vernacular languages, as they were always in a sort of poetic dialect, or rather a mixture of all the dialects. In the Urdu, or Hindustani, or, it may be called the Indo-Persian, which is used by the Mussulmans, and forms, in fact, the *lingua franca* of all India, there are scarcely any works but those prepared under the patronage of Europeans. The earlier students of the language had nothing to guide them in forming a style adapted to the people; and, as the whole was in a state of transition, it was ex-

ceedingly difficult to find out what words were, or were not, admissible into the languages.

The natural consequence of these difficulties was, that the first attempts at translation were made very much in the dark. Their authors took either the learned languages, Arabic, Persic, or Sanskrit, as their standard, and hence they composed in a style much above the comprehension of the body of the people; or they aimed at no standard but the common conversation of those around them, and hence fell into a low and vulgar style, peculiar, perhaps, to one district. Such a style the educated classes, who could scarcely be brought to read anything in the vernacular dialect under any circumstances, very naturally looked upon with perfect contempt. Martyn's Hindustani New Testament, and most of the Old, by Thomason, are the chief of the high style school; and Dr Carey's may be ranked as the head of the low or vulgar class. Dr Carey did not know much of the language himself, as far as appears from any of his attempts in it; and his native assistants, in translating, seem only to have known Hindustani as spoken by the lower orders, and that in a particular district. In fact, his translation is below mediocrity, being as to language, a mere bazaar jargon, of which no educated man could read a chapter without disgust.

Martyn's work is of a far higher order than Carey's, and will no doubt be regarded as the basis of all future Hindustani versions. Considering the time at which it was made, and the difficulties which the author had to overcome, perhaps his translation may be thought quite as good as could have reasonably been expected. Still, however, it is intelligible only to those who understand Persic. If read to any mere Hindustani congregation, they could not understand it without note or comment. Even the construction of the sentences is often not Indian, but Persic or Arabic. With all its faults, however, it is the only version that has hitherto been in considerable use, and it also forms, to a great extent, the groundwork of the new versions.

"The translation of a considerable part of the Old Testament made by, or under the superintendence of, the Rev. Mr Thomason, has all the defects of Martyn's New Testament, without some of its redeeming qualities. In short, the Old Testament requires a complete revision in those parts which are purely historical. The Psalms are but miserably executed, and so are the Proverbs, and one or two more books; but of nearly all the prophets a complete new version is necessary."—Buyers' Letters on India, p. 88.

With respect to the Hindustani translations by Dr Yates of Calcutta, and by the missionaries of the London Society at Benares, we are only able to state that both were made on the medium principle as to language, being neither so high as some of the preceding attempts, nor so low as others.—Ibid. p. 92.

HINDI, OR HINDUI.

The New Testament, in Hindi, by John Chamberlain, one of the Baptist Missionaries.

This version was printed in the Kaithi character to Acts xxii., and in a different character (we presume the Nagri), to 1 Cor. ii. 7.—Tenth Memoir of the Translations by the Serampur Brethren, p. 26.

The Old and New Testaments, in Hindi, by the Rev. W. Bowley, of the Church Missionary Society, Chunar.

"The Rev. W. Bowley," says Mr Buyers, "has done for the Hindi, by his translations and writings, more than any other man. This indefatigable labourer,

though placed under every disadvantage, has succeeded in making a translation of the whole Scriptures, and has, in some degree, formed a standard of writing in a language where there was scarcely any prose writing before his time. Mr Bowley's version, however, though it will be, on the whole, a good basis for others, can only be considered as a first attempt; and though no one who knows anything of the difficulties he had to encounter will be disposed to put small value on his labours, yet it will be conceded that it was impossible his version could be anything like a critical work, as he was unacquainted with the originals, and could only translate from English with what helps he could get from the Urdu or Persic versions."—Buyers' Letters on India, p. 96.

The New Testament, in Hindui, by William Yates, D.D.

"In attempting," says Mr Buyers, "to improve the Hindui translation, Dr Yates has entirely failed, and, like his predecessors, has shown that he was meddling with a language with which he was mostly acquainted, indirectly, through cognate dialects, but had never spoken it himself. His version is merely a jumble of Sanskrit, Bengali, and Hindui, such as is not to be found in any books written in Hindustani, or in any dialect of Hindui where that language is vernacular."—Buyers' Recollections of Northern India *in* Cal. Christ. Obser. vol. xix. p. 467.

The New Testament, in Hindi, by J. T. Thompson, Baptist missionary, Delhi.—Miss. Her. 1850, p. 167.

The Serampur missionaries produced translations into a number of dialects of the Hindi language. They were executed by learned natives, under the superintendence of Dr Carey, with the exception of the Bruj, which was made by Mr Chamberlain. The following table contains a list of them:—

Versions.	What Printed.	Where Spoken.
Bruj.	New Testament.	Province of Agra.
Bhogulkund.	Do.	District between Bundelcund and the Nerbudda rivor.
Kanoja.	Do.	In the Doab, between the Ganges and the Jumna.
Kusoli.	Matthew and Mark.	Western part of Oude.
Rajpoot States.		
Haroti.	New Testament.	Province west of Bundelcund.
Oojein.	Do.	Province of Malwah.
Oodeypur.	Matthew.	Province of Oodeypur, or Mewar
Juyapur.	Do.	Province of Juypur, west of Agra.
Marwar.	New Testament.	Province of Marwar, north of Oodeypur.
Bikaneer.	Do.	Province of Bikaneer, north of Marwar.
Bhutneer.	Do.	Province of Bhutneer, west of Delhi.[1]

In these versions we have a striking example of the error which we noticed in our preliminary remarks, of not duly distinguishing between languages and dialects. "Everywhere," says Mr Burton, one of the Baptist missionaries, "the Hindu *modern* books and translations are written in Hindi; the Mussulman in [Hindustani, or] Urdu. With these two languages one might travel and preach, and be well understood by nearly all the millions inhabiting the numerous districts between Rajmal and Lodiana, since the many dialects (which, I think, have been wrongly termed languages) prevailing in this immense plain differ no more widely from these and each other than the dialects of Somerset and Yorkshire do from each other, and from what is called English."—Miss. Her. 1829, p. 23. Mr Buyers gives an equally

[1] Rep. Bapt. Miss. Soc. 1844, p. 90.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1851, App. p. 46.

strong testimony on this subject; and, while he would reject translations into mere dialects, he considers a good version in Hindi as of the first importance, on account of the great extent of country over which it is spoken and understood. —Buyers' Let. p. 94. It is stated to be the most extensively spoken language in India. In writing, it takes two forms, the Nagri, which is its proper character, and the Kaithi or writer's character, which is very extensively used. Large editions of the Scriptures were printed in both these characters.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1836, p. 33.—Ibid. 1850, p. 89.—Ibid. 1851, p. 77.

BENGALI.

The Book of Genesis, the Psalms, the Gospels of Matthew and Mark, the Epistle of James, and select portions from the Prophecies, in Bengali. By John Thomas, the first of the Baptist missionaries in India.

Mr Thomas's translations were very imperfect and incorrect.—Period. Accounts, vol. i. pp. 20, 21.—Carey's Memoir, p. 323.

The Old and New Testaments, in Bengali, by William Carey, D.D.

Mr Wenger, one of the later Baptist missionaries, says: "Dr Carey's version was unsatisfactory, chiefly on account of its style, which was very unequal and inelegant. It passed through a number of editions, and was greatly improved in the last edition, which appeared in 1832."—Cal. Christ. Obser. vol. xvii. p. 557.

The New Testament, in Bengali, by John Ellerton, Esq., Malda.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1818, App. p. 24.—Ibid. 1819, App. p. 214.

Mr Ellerton's translation was greatly valued on account of the simplicity of its style.—Calcutta Review, vol. xiii. p. 136. Mr Wenger says: "Mr Ellerton was not acquainted with the original, and on this ground, as well as some others, his version was not generally deemed satisfactory, although it displayed great familiarity with the vernacular idiom."—Cal. Christ. Obser. vol. xvii. p. 557.

The Old and New Testaments, in Bengali, by William Yates, D.D. Calcutta, 1833.

In the last edition, published in 1852, the translation was revised by Mr Wenger, assisted by Mr Lewis, another of the missionaries. The alterations made were very numerous.—Rep. Bapt. Miss. Soc. 1851, p. 13.—Ibid. 1853, p. 14. Mr Sutton, of the General Baptist Mission in Orissa, says: "On the comparative merits of Dr Carey's and Mr Yates' version, I may remark, that Dr Carey's is the most literal, but Yates' by far the most idiomatical. He is often too paraphrastic, and, I think, too bold in his conjectural emendations, or in adopting new renderings. But, as a whole, his version is very superior to anything India has yet seen, and will, doubtless, supersede Dr Carey's; yet this cannot be any detraction from Dr Carey's preparatory labour. Yates' would not have been what it is, had not the Doctor prepared the way."—Report General Baptist Miss. Soc. 1841, p. 34.

The New Testament, in Bengali, translating by the Church Missionaries, Krishnagur.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1852, p. 89.

The New Testament, in Bengali, by the Rev. Dr Hæberlin.

The Gospel of Mark and Ephesians were printed.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1846, p. 84.—Ibid. 1847, p. 90.

The Proverbs, in Bengali, by the Rev. W. Morton, of the London Missionary Society. Calcutta, 184-.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1843, p. 89.

The Gospel of Luke, in Mussulman Bengali, prepared by the Rev. J. Paterson.

This is in a dialect of Bengali, in which are largely mingled Persian and other foreign words.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1853, p. 80.

ORISSA, OR OOREA.

The Old and New Testaments, in Orissa, translated under the superintendence of William Carey, D.D. Serampur, (N. T.) 1809, (O. T.) 1815.—Period. Accounts, vol. iv. pp. 52, 58; vol. vi.; Supp. to N. 31, p. 2.

The Old and New Testaments, in Oorea, by the missionaries of the General Baptist Mission in Orissa. In four vols. Cuttack, (N. T.) 1840, (O. T.) 1844.

The Old Testament is stated to be a new version, and was executed by Mr Sutton. Whether the New Testament was a new version, or simply a revision of Dr Carey's translation, and was also executed by him, we are not certain.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1845, p. 110.—Peggs Hist. 318.

MUGUDH.

The New Testament, translated into Mugudh under the superintendence of William Carey, D.D. Serampur, 1826.

This is the language of South Behar, now part of Bengal. It begins where the Mahratta ends, and extends nearly to the banks of the Ganges.—Period. Accounts of Serampore Mission, p. 39.—Bapt. Period. Accounts, vol. vi.—Supp. to No. 31, p. 12.—Tenth Memoir of Translations, p. 60.

KHASEE, OR KASSIA.

The New Testament, in Khasee, translated under the superintendence of William Carey, D.D. Serampur, 1827.—Tenth Memoir of Translations, p. 60.

The Gospel of Matthew, in the Kassia language, by the Rev. J. Jones, one of the Welsh Calvinistic Methodist missionaries, Cherraponji. Printed in the Roman character, 1846.

The Four Gospels, and the Acts of the Apostles, in the Kassia language, by the Rev. W. Lewis, one of the Welsh Calvinistic missionaries, Cherraponji.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1847, p. 90.—Ibid. 1853, p. 80.

This language is spoken by an independent tribe, who inhabit the mountains extending from the eastern boundaries of Bengal to near the borders of China.—Bapt. Period. Accounts, vol. v. p. 400; vol. vi.; Supp. to No. 31, p. 15.

MUNIPURA.

The New Testament, in Munipura, translated under the superintendence of William Carey, D.D. Serampur, 1827.—Tenth Memoir of Translations, p. 60. Munipura lies east of Assam.

ASSAMESE.

The Old and New Testaments, in Assamese, translated by learned natives, under the superintendence of William Carey, D.D. Serampore, (N. T.) 1819, (O. T.) 183–.—Rep. Bapt. Miss. Soc. 1819, p. 38.

The New Testament in Assamese, translating by Nathan Brown, of the American Baptist Missionary Union.—Rep. Bapt. Miss. Union, 1846, p. 45.

PALPA.

The New Testament, in Palpa, translated under the superintendence of William Carey, D.D. Serampore, 1827.—Tenth Mem. p. 60.

This language is spoken in the small states at the foot of the Himalayas.—Rep. Bapt. Miss. Soc. 1844, p. 91.

LEPCHA.

The Gospel of Matthew, in the Lepcha language. 184–.

The Rev. W. Start was at the expense of printing this translation.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1847, p. 90. The Lepchas are a tribe who inhabit the hills in and near Darjeeling, eighty or ninety miles from Dinajpur.—Miss. Her. 1849, p. 22.

NEPALESE.

The Gospel of Luke and the Acts of the Apostles, in Nepalese, by the Rev. W. Start of Darjeeling.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1851, p. 77.—Ibid. 1853, p. 80.

The New Testament, in Nepalese, translated under the superintendence of William Carey, D.D. Serampur, 1821.—Per. Acc. of Serampore Mission, p. 39.

KUMAOON.

The New Testament translated into Kumaoon, under the superintendence of William Carey, D.D. Printed to Colossians.—Tenth Mem. p. 18.

SHRINAGUR, OR GURWHALI.

The New Testament translated into Shrinagur, under the superintendence of William Carey, D.D. Serampur, 1827.—Tenth Mem. p. 60.

KASHMIRE.

The New Testament, in the Kashmire language, translated under the superintendence of William Carey, D.D. Serampur, 1820.

The Old Testament to the second book of Kings, translated into the Kashmire language, by the same.—Ninth Mem. of Trans. p. 4.—Tenth Mem. p. 9.

SIKH, PUNJABI, OR GURMUKHI.

The New Testament, in the Sikh language, translated under the superintendence of William Carey, D.D. Serampur, 1815.

The Old Testament, in the Sikh language, to the end of the book of Ezekiel, by the same.—Period. Accounts, vol. v. p. 627.—Ninth Mem. of Trans. p. 3.

The New Testament, in the Sikh language, by J. Newton, one of the missionaries of the American Presbyterian Board, Lodiana.—Amer. Miss. Chron. 1845, p. 82.

The New Testament appears to have been printed, but it was destroyed by a disastrous fire in 1845. Individual books were afterwards printed, but not, so far as we know, any edition of the New Testament.—Rep. Board For. Miss. Amer. Presb. Ch. 1846, p. 19.

The Old Testament translating into the Gurmukhi language, by the missionaries of the American Presbyterian Board.—Rep. Board For. Miss. Amer. Presb. Ch. 1851, p. 24.

JUMBU.

The New Testament, in Jumbu, or Dugrah (Mountain Sikh), translated under the superintendence of William Carey, D.D. Serampur, 1824.—Rep. Bapt. Miss. Soc. 1844, p. 91.

MULTANI, OR WUCH.

The New Testament, in Multani, translated under the superintendence of William Carey, D.D. Serampur, 1819.—Miss. Her. 1820, p. 6.

SINDHI.

The Gospel of Matthew, in Sindhi, translated under the superintendence of William Carey, D.D. Serampur, 18–.—Tenth Mem. of Trans. p. 61.

The Gospel of Matthew, in Sindhi, by Capt. George Stack, deputy-collector of Hydrabad. Lithographed. Bombay, 1850.—Sum. Orient. Christ. Spec. vol. ii. pp. 217, 274.

KUCHI.

The Gospel of Mark, in Kuchi, by the Rev. James Gray, one of the chaplains of the East India Company, and formerly one of the teachers in the High School, Edinburgh. Lithographed. Bombay, 1834.

Kuchi is the Patois of the province of Kutch.—Mrs Wilson's Mem. p. 239.

GUZERATTEE, OR GUJARATI.

The Gospel of Matthew, in Guzerattee, translated under the superintendence of John Taylor, M.D., Bombay.—Miss. Reg. vol. iv. p. 448.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1818, App. p. 228.

The New Testament, in Guzerattee, translated under the superintendence of William Carey, D.D. Serampur, 1820.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1822, App. p. 127.

The Old and New Testaments, in Guzerattee, translated by James Skinner and William Fyvie, missionaries. Surat, (N. T.) 1821, (O. T.) 1824.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1821, p. lxii.—Miss. Reg. vol. vii. p. 38.—Evan. Mag. 1825, p. 167.

The New Testament, in Gujarati, by William Clarkson and William Flower, missionaries, Baroda.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1848, p. 95.

MAHRATTÀ, OR MARATHI.

The Gospel of Matthew, in Mahratta, translated under the superintendence of John Taylor, M.D. Bombay.—Miss. Reg. vol. iv. p. 448.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1818, App. p. 228.

The Old and New Testaments, in Mahratta, translated by learned natives, under the superintendence of William Carey, D.D. Serampore, (N. T.) 1811, (O. T.) 1819.—Bapt. Period. Accounts, vol. iv. p. 384.—Rep. Bapt. Miss. Soc. 1819, p. 38.

The New Testament, in Mahratta, translated from the original Greek by the American missionaries, Bombay. Bombay, 1826.

The Old Testament, in Mahratta. Bombay, 1847.—Miss. Her. vol. xliii. p. 274.

Mr Graves, one of the American missionaries, translated a considerable part of the Old Testament. The translation of Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, Ruth, 1st and 2d Kings, 1st Chronicles, and the Psalms, published by the Bombay Bible Society, was entirely made by him. The poetical and prophetical books, from Job to Malachi, translated by the Rev. J. B. Dixon, one of the Church missionaries at Nasik, were afterwards printed by the Society; and in 1847, the historical books, from 1st Chronicles to Esther, translated also by him, were printed, making together a complete version of the Old Testament. These translations were revised, at least partially, by the translation committee of the

Bombay Bible Society, before being sent to press. Mr Dixon had also translated the Pentateuch.—Sum. Orient. Christ. Spect. vol. i. pp. 250, 341, 472.—Miss. Her. vol. xliii. p. 274.

The New Testament, in Marathi. Bombay, 184–.

This appears to be to a great extent a new version. The several books of the New Testament were executed, in the first instance, by various individuals, chiefly members of a committee appointed by the Bombay Bible Society, consisting of missionaries of different denominations, and other gentlemen acquainted with the Marathi language, for preparing and revising versions of the Scriptures, and they were afterwards subjected to the revision of the committee. A similar revision of the Old Testament is in the press.—Orient. Christ. Spect. vol. vi. p. 194; vol. vii. p. 170; vol. x. p. 110; vol. xi. p. 237; vol. xii. p. 134.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1849, p. 125. —Rep. Board For. Miss. 1852, p. 93.

The New Testament, translating into Marathi from the original Greek, by the Rev. C. C. Menge, of the Church mission, Junir.—Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. 1847, p. 56.

GONDI.

The Gospels of Matthew, Mark, and part of Luke, in Gondi, translated by two natives.

This is the language of the Gonds, the ancient inhabitants of the Mahratta country, who have retired from the open country, and now live in the hills and jungles. This translation was procured by Lieutenant Moxon, an officer at Nagpur, who was connected with the Baptist missionaries.—Bapt. Period. Accounts, vol. iv. pp. 464, 593; vol. vi. pp. 41, 43.

GUDWAL.

The Gospel of Matthew, translated into Gudwal, under the superintendence of William Carey, D.D.—Seventh Mem. of Trans. p. 8.

KUNKUNA.

The New Testament, in Kunkuna, translated under the superintendence of William Carey, D.D. Serampur, 1819.

The Pentateuch, in Kunkuna, translated under the superintendence of William Carey, D.D.

This language is the ordinary medium of communication in Goa, and is in common use both to the north and the south of that city.—Orient. Christ. Spect. vol. vii. p. 72.

TULU.

The New Testament, in Tulu, by the German missionaries.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1851, p. 58.

This is the language of the lower castes in Mangalore, and the neighbouring country.—Orient. Christ. Spect. vol. ix. p. 544.

MALAYALIM.

The Four Gospels in Malayalim, translated by three learned Syrian Christians under the superintendence of the Metran Dionysius. Bombay, 180–.

Malayalim is the vernacular language of the Syrian churches on the coast of Malabar. This translation was set on foot by the Rev. Dr Buchanan, when he visited these churches in 1806, but it proved, according to Colonel Munro, so very bad in every respect—in fidelity, in meaning, and in language—as to be unfit for use.—Buchanan's Mem. vol. ii. pp. 67, 95, 163.—Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. 1820, p. 170.

The Rev. Mr Norton, one of the Church missionaries, found among the Syrian Christians the Four Gospels in Malayalim.—Miss. Reg. 1818, p. 107. Whether they were copies of this edition, or MS. copies, we are not able to determine. Mr Norton made a translation of the Psalms, and the subsequent books of the Old Testament to the Lamentations inclusive.—Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. 1835, p. 32.

The Old and New Testaments, in Malayalim, translated by Catanars of the Syrian Church, under the superintendence of the Rev. Mr Bailey, one of the Church missionaries.

This translation was made from the Syriac; but it is stated, that the Malayalim spoken by the Syrians differs much both in words and idioms from that which is considered in the northern part of Malabar as the pure dialect of the language; and that though this version might be acceptable in Travancore, it would not be understood in Malabar, properly so called, that is, from Cochin northward to Canara. The amount of this statement we suppose to be, that this translation, according to a too common error, was made, not into the Malayalim language, but into a mere dialect of it. Colonel Munro says it is equally bad as the preceding translation of the Four Gospels. Indeed it was made in so short a time, it was impossible it could be good.—Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. 1820, p. 170.

The Old and New Testaments, in Malayalim, by the Rev. Benjamin Bailey, one of the Church missionaries, Travancore. Cottayam, (N. T.) 1829, (O. T.) 18—.—Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. 1843, p. 70.

CANARESE, OR KURNATA.

The New Testament, in Kurnata, translated by learned natives under the superintendence of William Carey, D.D. Serampur, 1822.—Ninth Memoir of Translations, p. 3.

The Old and New Testaments, in Canarese, by John Hands and William Reeve, missionaries, Bellary.—Miss. Trans. vol. v. p. 384.—Evan. Mag. vol. xxviii. p. 123.

This translation was executed chiefly by Mr Hands. The parts executed by Mr Reeve were the Pentateuch, Joshua, Judges, and part of 1st Samuel. This version was afterwards carefully revised in part by the Rev. John Reid of Bellary, and printed under his superintendence.—Mem. of the Rev. John Reid, pp. 135, 340.

The Old and New Testaments, in Canarese, revised by the Rev. G. H. Weigle, of the German Mission.

This was a thoroughly revised edition of the Canarese version.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1850, p. 98.

TELINGA, OR TELUGU.

The Old and New Testaments, with the Apocrypha, in Telinga, by Benjamin Schultze.—Niecampii Hist. pp. 296, 365.

This work was never printed. No trace of it was found in India.—Miss. Reg. 1816, p. 37. It is probable the manuscript was carried by the author to Halle, and deposited in the Orphan House library.

Several books of the New Testament, in the Telinga language, by Captain James Dodds.

Capt. Dodds, nephew of the late Dr Caverhill, a physician in London, began a translation of the New Testament into the Telinga language; but he died in September 1795, before completing the work.—Miss. Mag. vol. i. p. 284.

The Gospels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke, in Telinga, by Augustus des Granges, Vizagapatam. Serampur, 1812.

Besides translating these three Gospels, Mr des Granges completed, previous to his death, a first copy of the Gospel of John, the Acts of the Apostles, the Epistle to the Romans, and the first Epistle to the Corinthians.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1811, pp. 114, 116.—Ibid. 1812, p. 13.

The New Testament, in Telinga, by Edward Pritchett, Vizagapatam. Madras, 1819.—Miss. Trans. vol. iv. pp. 70, 97, 298, 336, 406.—Quart. Chron. vol. i. p. 416.

The Old Testament, in Telinga, translated (in part) by Edward Pritchett, Vizagapatam.

Mr Pritchett died while engaged in this work; but previous to his death he had proceeded more than half way in his version.—Rep. Miss. Soc. 1821, p. 50.

The New Testament and the Pentateuch, in Telinga, translated under the superintendence of William Carey, D.D. Serampore, 1818.—Rep. Bapt. Miss. Soc. 1819, p. 38.

The Old and New Testaments, in Telinga, by John Gordon, missionary, Vizagapatam.—Evan. Mag. 1828, p. 322.

Of this version only Luke, and Genesis, and Exodus to chapter 20th, were printed. The Rev. Mr Reid of Bellary commenced a revision of Pritchett and Gordon's translations; and he appears to have executed a new version of several books.—Memoir of the Rev. John Reid, pp. 338, 340, 426.

The book of Genesis, in Telinga, by William Lee, missionary, Ganjam. —Miss. Trans. vol. iv. p. 239.

The Gospel of Luke, in Telinga, by C. P. Brown, Esq. (son of the Rev. David Brown of Calcutta). Printed 183-.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1840, p. 51.

The Gospel of Luke, in Telugu.

This translation was made, we presume, by the Rev. John Hay, one of the London Society's missionaries, Vizagapatam. It is stated to be the first portion of the Scriptures "printed in the really popular language of the country." Mr Hay translated the Acts of the Apostles, and the Epistles to the Romans, Galatians, and Ephesians, in the same style.—Rep. Miss. Soc. 1847, p. 65.—Ibid. 1849, p. 64.

A revision of the Telugu version has been carrying on for some years past under

the auspices of the Madras Auxiliary Society; but various circumstances have prevented the completion of the New Testament.

The Old Testament, as translated by Pritchett, with deficient portions supplied from Gordon's version, is passing through the press in a small edition, for circulation among Telugu missionaries and other Telugu scholars.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1853, p. 92.

TAMUL, OR TAMIL.

The Gospel of Matthew, translated from the Portuguese into Tamul, by Francis de Fonseca.—Baldæus' Description of Malabar, *in* Churchhill's Voyages, vol. iii. p. 719.

The New Testament, in Tamul, by Bartholomew Ziegenbalg. Tranquebar, 1715, quarto.—Niecampii Hist. p. 183.

The Old Testament, in Tamul, by Bartholomew Ziegenbalg, and Benjamin Schultze. Tranquebar, 1727, quarto.

This work was originally printed in three parts; the first of which, containing the five books of Moses, Joshua and Judges, was published in 1720; the second, containing from Ruth to the prophetical books, in 1726; the third, containing the prophetical books, in 1727; and in the following year these were succeeded by the Apocryphal books.—Ibid. pp. 224, 272, 287, 311.

The New Testament, in Tamul. Colombo, 1743, quarto.

This translation was printed in Ceylon, under the auspices of the Dutch governor. It was into the Tamul language as spoken in Jaffnapatnam, which is considerably different from that spoken on the coast of Coromandel.—Le Long, edit. Maschii, tom. i. part ii. p. 201.—Neue Geschichte der Missions in Ostindien, tom. iii. p. 745.

The Old Testament, in Tamul, by Philip de Melho.

This translation was undertaken by desire of M. Falk, the governor of Ceylon. It was completed in the year 1782. The five books of Moses were printed.—Neue Geschichte der Missions in Ostindien, tom. iii. p. 745.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1828, p. 74.

The New Testament, in Tamul, by John Philip Fabricius, one of the Danish missionaries in India. Madras, 1773.

Fabricius, the author of this work, is described as an unparalleled Tamul scholar; and his translation is represented as much more classical and elegant than that of Ziegenbalg, though it also is faithful enough.—Hough's Hist. vol. iii. p. 445.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1811, App. p. 23.

The New Testament, in Tamil, by C. T. E. Rhenius, missionary, Tinnevelly. Printed.

The Old Testament, in Tamil (in part), by the same.—Rhenius' Mem. p. 308.

The Old and New Testaments, in Tamil. Madras, 1850.

This was called the Union version, from its being effected by the Committees of the Madras and Jaffna Bible Societies. The Rev. P. Percival, one of the Methodist missionaries in Ceylon, the reviser, was fourteen years engaged in the work; and the Rev. Messrs Spaulding, Winslow, and Brotherton, American missionaries, were members of the revising committee by which the work was brought to a completion. It was hoped that it might be taken in future as the basis of a standard

version; but on this subject there are different opinions among missionaries skilled in the Tamil language.—Miss. Her. vol. xlvii. p. 139.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1851, p. 83.—Ibid. 1852, p. 100.

CINGALESE.

The Four Gospels, in Cingalese, by the Rev. Mr Konge, one of the Dutch ministers. Colombo, 1739. Quarto.

The Psalms of David, in Cingalese. Colombo, 1755. Octavo.

The Psalms of David, with musical notes, and the Cingalese text interlined. Colombo, 1768.

The New Testament in Cingalese, by the Rev. Messrs Fybrants and Philipsz. Colombo, 1788.

The books of Genesis, Exodus, and part of Leviticus, in Cingalese, by the Rev. Messrs Fybrants and Philipsz. Colombo, 1783.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1810, App. p. 86.—Ibid. 1822, App. p. 115.—Ibid. 1827, p. 59.

The Old Testament to the book of Job, in Cingalese, by a native clergyman of the name of Philips. MS.

This is probably a continuation of the preceding work. The manuscript is deposited among the archives of the Dutch church at Colombo, but on examination, it was found to be deficient in many places.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1813, p. 18.

The Old and New Testaments, in Cingalese, 4 vols. quarto, translated and published under the authority of the Colombo Bible Society. Colombo, (N. T.) 1817, (O. T.) 1823.

This version was made under the authority of the Colombo Bible Society. The translation of the New Testament was originally commenced by learned natives, under the superintendence of William Tolfrey, Esq., who, before his death, had proceeded in the revision of it to the Second Epistle to Timothy. It was afterwards completed under the superintendence of Mr Armour, a preacher to the natives appointed by government, Mr Clough, one of the Wesleyan missionaries, and Mr Chater, one of the Baptist missionaries. The Old Testament was executed by the united labours of Messrs Armour, Chater, and Clough, Mr Fox, another of the Wesleyan missionaries, and C. Laird, Esq., assisted by some learned natives. A new and revised edition of the whole Bible, in one volume octavo, was published in 1830.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1815, App. p. 23.—Ibid. 1816, App. p. 228.—Ibid. 1818, App. pp. 19, 232.—Ibid. 1819, App. p. 219.—Ibid. 1824, p. 54, App. p. 110.—Ibid. 1831, p. 55.

The Old and New Testaments, in Cingalese, by Samuel Lambrick and James Selkirk, of the Church Missionary Society. Cotta, 1834.—Selkirk's Recollections of Ceylon, pp. 345, 422.

The Colombo Bible Society's version was into what is called the high style. The translators employed a variety of honorific pronouns, particularly of the second person; ceremonial expletives or affixes to the names of the persons of the Godhead; obsolete, or, at least, uncommon inflexions of verbs when applied to these persons; and high words from the Pali and Sanskrit languages in place of low ones in common use.

In the Cotta version, as that of the Church missionaries was called, the honorific terms were rejected; only one pronoun was used throughout for the second person;

words in common use were adopted in all places where this could be done, with due regard to the sense of the original; and the style was altogether such as to entitle it to the appellation which was usually given to it,—namely, the colloquial version.

Of the merits of the two versions, we are not competent to judge, but we would be apprehensive, from the account here given, that if the style of the one was too high, that of the other was perhaps too low. The points in which they differed, were discussed at some length by the advocates of each, and these discussions having led to a revision of the version published by the Colombo Bible Society, the language employed in it was brought nearer to that in common use, but the honorific terminations and the variety of pronouns were still retained.—Miss. Reg. 1838, p. 371.

The differences which for so many years divided the Colombo Bible Society and the Church missionaries, have lately been in a great degree adjusted.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1853, pp. 102, 103.

PALI.

The New Testament, in Pali, translated by Don Abraham de Thomas, under the superintendence of William Tolfrey, Esq. Colombo, 183–.

The Pali, like the Sanskrit, is not the vernacular language of any country at the present day; it is, however, the sacred language of the Budhists, as Sanskrit is of the Hindus, and is the great depository of religion, law, and general science, in Ceylon, in Burmah, in Siam, and other countries where Budhism prevails. Don Abraham de Thomas, the translator, was a man of learning, and a Budhist priest, but had embraced Christianity. The translation was made from Dr Carey's Sanskrit version, and was carefully corrected by Petrus Panditta Sekarra, another Budhist priest who had renounced the faith of his ancestors. When Mr Tolfrey died, the work had proceeded to the Epistle to Philemon, but it was afterwards completed.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1816, App. p. 229.—Ibid. 1818, App. p. 19.—Ibid. 1825, p. 47.—Ibid. 1836, p. 60.—Bapt. Period. Accounts, vol. v. p. 309.—Miss. Notices, vol. i. p. 135.

INDO-PORTUGUESE.

The New Testament, in Portuguese, translated at Batavia by some Dutch ministers.

As the first edition of this translation was very incorrect, it was sent to Amsterdam, where, after being revised, it was again printed in 1681.—Propagation of the Gospel in the East, part ii. p. 14.

The New Testament, in Portuguese, by John Ferreira d'Almeida, preacher of the holy gospel. Amsterdam, 1712.—Kennet's Bibliothecæ Americanæ Primordia, p. 272.

The Old Testament, in Portuguese, begun by John Ferreira d'Almeida, and completed by James op Den Akker, one of the Dutch ministers of Batavia.—Niecampii Hist. pp. 273, 275, 360.

The Old Testament, in Portuguese, published by the Danish missionaries, Tranquebar.—Ibid. p. 172.

The Danish missionaries obtained in India, MS. translations of the whole of the Old Testament, with the exception of Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther, and the Song of Solomon. The author of these translations had followed the Spanish version al-

most word for word, and in many instances even its phraseology. The missionaries also obtained a MS. copy of Ferreira's version from Batavia. These different translations they revised and compared with the Hebrew originals, before they committed any of them to the press. Some books they appear to have supplied themselves.—Propagation of the Gospel, part iii. pp. 55, 69, 117.—Niecampii Hist. pp. 172, 207, 211, 230, 326, 360, 397, 438.

The New Testament, in Portuguese, by Antonio Pereira. Lisbon, 1781.

The Bible, in Portuguese, by Antonio Pereira. Lisbon, 1783.

Though it is rather foreign to the object we have in view, yet it is worthy of notice, that this was the first Portuguese translation of the whole Bible published in Portugal.—Thomson and Orme's Sketch of the Translation of the Scriptures, pp. 45, 47. It is accompanied with a commentary, and the edition of 1802 consisted of no fewer than twenty-three volumes, so that it can scarcely be accessible to the common people.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1807, p. 40.

The New Testament, in Indo-Portuguese as spoken in Ceylon, by Robert Newstead, one of the Methodist missionaries, Ceylon. London, 182–. —Rep. Bib. Soc. 1825, p. 47.—Ibid. 1826, p. 46.

The book of Psalms, in Indo-Portuguese, as spoken in Ceylon, by Robert Newstead.—Rep. Meth. Miss. Soc. 1821, p. 30.

The New Testament, in Indo-Portuguese, as spoken in Ceylon, by Benjamin Clough, one of the Methodist missionaries, Ceylon. Colombo, 18—. —Rep. Bib. Soc. 1833, p. 63.

It appears that a third version of the New Testament in Indo-Portuguese was made and printed by the Methodist missionaries in Ceylon, but we have not ascertained the name of the translator.

The Old Testament, in Indo-Portuguese.

This version was begun many years ago by Mr Clough; the printing was advanced a considerable way, but it does not appear to have been completed.—Orient. Christ. Spec. vol. iv. p. 434.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1851, p. 47.

MALDIVIAN.

The Gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, part ii., in Maldivian, translated under the superintendence of John Leyden, M.D. MS. See AFGHAN.

The Maldivian language is spoken in the large archipelago of the Maldive islands to the south-west of Ceylon. The nation which inhabits them is numerous and enterprising; the rulers are generally Moslems, the subjects pagans. The character is original, but the language has a distant relation to the Cingalese.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1811, App. p. 77.

BURMAN, OR BURMESE.

The Collects, Gospels, and Epistles, according to the Ritual of the Church of Rome, in Burman.—Miss. Trans. vol. iii. p. 372.

"The Portuguese missionaries," says Mr Judson, "have left a version of some Extracts of Scripture, not badly executed in respect of language, but full of Romish errors."—Bapt. Period. Accounts, vol. vi. p. 226. It is perhaps this work to which he refers.

The Gospel of Matthew, in Burman. *MS.

This, Mr Judson supposes, must have been the work of some Roman Catholic missionary. He accidentally met with a copy of it written on palm leaves.—Bapt. Mag. vol. x. p. 75.

The Old and New Testaments, in Burmese, by Adoniram Judson, of the American Baptist Board. Four vols. octavo. Maulmein, (N. T.) 1832, (O. T.) 1835.—Rep. Amer. Bap. Board of For. Miss, 1834, p. 12.—Ibid. 1837, p. 16.

A revised and improved edition was printed in 1840.

KAREN.

The New Testament, in Karen (Sgau dialect), by Francis Mason, and other missionaries of the American Baptist Board. Tavoy, 1843.—Rep. Bapt. Board, 1844, pp. 58, 89.

The two epistles to the Corinthians were translated by Mr Wade; the two to Timothy by Mr Abbot; and the Epistle to the Hebrews, Peter, Jude, and the last two of John, by Mr Vinton.—Cal. Christ. Observ. vol. xiii. p. 99. The rest of the New Testament, we presume, was executed by Mr Mason. A considerable part of the Old Testament was also completed.—Bapt. Miss. Her. 1852, p. 27.

The New Testament, in Karen (Pgho dialect), translating by missionaries of the American Baptist Board.—Bapt. Miss. Her. 1852, p. 27.

PEGUAN, OR TALING.

The New Testament, in Peguan, by J. M. Haswell, of the American Baptist Board. Maulmein, 184–.—Rep. Amer. and For. Bib. Soc. 1848, p. 17.

SIAMESE.

The New Testament, in Siamese, by Charles Gutzlaff and Jacob Tomlin. —Rep. Bib. Soc. 1830, p. 75.

The books of Genesis and Daniel, the Four Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, the Epistle to the Colossians, and the Epistles of John, in Siamese, by Charles Robinson, of the American Board for Foreign Missions.—Rep. Board For. Miss. 1842, p. 159.

The Gospel of John, in Siamese, by Messrs Caswell and Hemenway, of the American Board for Foreign Missions. Bankok, 1849.—Rep. Board For. Miss. 1850, p. 155.

The New Testament, in Siamese, by John T. Jones, of the American Baptist Board. Bankok, 1844.—Rep. Amer. Bapt. Board, 1845, p. 35.

MALAY.

The book of Genesis, the first fifty Psalms, and the Four Gospels, by Jan van Hazel.

Jan van Hazel was in the civil service of the East India Company, and bore the title of Director of Patani, on the eastern coast of the peninsula of Malacca. His translations were left in MS., but they were afterwards, in one way or other, turned to considerable account.—Cal. Christ. Obser. vol. xvi. p. 376.

The Gospels of Matthew and Mark, in Malay, in Arabic characters, with the Dutch version, by Albert Cornelius Ruyl, quarto. Enchusa, 1629.

Van Hazel's translation was the groundwork of this version.

The Gospels of Luke and John, in Malay, with the Dutch version, by Jan van Hazel. Quarto. Amsterdam, 1646.

The Four Gospels, in Malay, according to the Dutch translation of the year 1637, and the Acts of the Apostles, by Justus Heurnius, with the Dutch version. Quarto. Amsterdam, 1651.

This is a corrected edition of the translations of the Gospels, by Hazel and Ruyl, with the addition of Heurnius's own version of the Acts of the Apostles.

The Psalms, in Malay, by Jan van Hazel, and Justus Heurnius. 1652.

The first fifty Psalms were originally translated by Hazel, but were thoroughly revised and corrected by Heurnius; the last hundred were executed by the latter.

The book of Genesis, in Malay, by Daniel Brouerius, with the Dutch version according to the translation of the year 1637. Quarto. Amsterdam, 1662.

Brouerius also translated the prophecy of Hosea, but it was never printed.

The New Testament, in Malay, by Daniel Brouerius. Amsterdam, 1668.

The whole of the expenses connected with these various editions of the Holy Scriptures, were defrayed by the Dutch East India Company.

The Four Gospels, and the Acts of the Apostles, in Malay. Quarto. Oxford, 1677.

This was taken from Heurnius's edition, and was printed at the expense of the Honourable Mr Boyle. It was in the Roman character, which had been introduced by the Dutch into their possessions in the East.

There were other individuals whose labours contributed in a preparatory way to the final translation of the whole Bible into Malay, though their versions were never printed. Josias Spiljardus made a translation of the last eleven prophets, and Simon de Large executed a version of the whole Bible, partly from the translations of his predecessors, and partly original. His manuscript eventually fell into the hands of Valentyn, of whom we shall afterwards have occasion to speak as a translator.

The preceding translations appear to have been made into low, and even into colloquial Malay. When ideas had to be expressed for which no words were found in Malay, the deficiency was supplied from the Portuguese, and even occasionally from the Latin language. It was therefore considered a matter of great importance to obtain a version of the Scriptures in pure and classical Malay. This was the object of the next translation which we have to mention.

The Old and New Testaments, in Malay, by Melchior Leidekker and Peter

Vander Vorm. Published by order of the Dutch East India Company. Quarto. Amsterdam, 1733.

This version was chiefly the work of Dr Melchior Leidekker, the whole of the Old Testament having been translated by him, together with the Four Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, and the Epistles to the Romans, Corinthians, Galatians, and Ephesians. The other epistles were completed by Dr Peter Vander Vorm, and the whole was afterwards revised by him and several other of the Dutch ministers in the East. From the high qualifications of the individuals employed on this work, and from the great pains they appear to have employed, both in the original translation and in the revision of it, there is reason to conclude that it is an excellent version.

This translation by Leidekker and Vorm, was completed by them in 1701, but it encountered such opposition from the Dutch ministers, who had been in the habit of using the vulgar Malay dialect, both in their oral instructions and in their writings, that the printing of it was delayed for thirty years. The New Testament did not appear till 1731, and the whole Bible not till two years afterwards. Both were in the Roman character, Leidekker being also the author of a system of spelling the Malay language in the Roman character, far superior to the extremely imperfect one previously in use. But though this translation is ably executed, it abounds too much in Arabic words, even when good Malay words were available, and in consequence of this, it is not so easily understood by ordinary readers.

The Bible, in Malay, by François Valentyn. MS.

This translation was into low Malay. Valentyn was one of the most violent champions of the low Malay, in opposition to the high Malay of Leidekker's translation, but he failed in getting his own version printed, either by the authorities in Holland or Batavia.

The Psalter, in Malay, with musical notes. Quarto. Amsterdam, 1735.

The Old and New Testaments, in Malay, in five volumes, octavo. Batavia, 1758.

This was the version of 1733, in Arabic characters, with the addition of the peculiar Malay letters. It was published by the direction of Jacob Mossel, governor-general of the Dutch possessions in the East, and was superintended by John Mauritz Mohr and Herman Peter Van de Werk.—Le Long, edit. Masch. tom. i. part ii. p. 193.—Cal. Christ. Obser. vol. xvi. p. 376.—Asiatic Researches, vol. x. p. 188.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1815, App. pp. 47, 50.

The Gospels, in Malay, by Thomas Jarret, Esq.—Marsh's History, p. 39.

The preceding version by the Dutch, we are informed by Dr Buchanan, is in the Eastern Malay, which is materially different from the Western, or that of Sumatra. Soon after the institution of the College of Fort William, Mr Jarret was employed in preparing a version of the Holy Scriptures into the Western Malay, an undertaking for which he was well qualified, having resided twelve years in Sumatra. When the college was reduced, he continued to prosecute the work at Madras, and he had, as an assistant, a learned Malay of high rank, who came from Sumatra for the purpose. But to what extent he carried the work, we do not know.—Buchanan's Researches, p. 91.—Buchanan's Apology for Promoting Christianity in India, p. 71.

The Gospel of Matthew, in Malay, by Mr Kool, translator to the government of Batavia.

The New Testament, in Malay, by C. H. Thomsen, of the London Missionary Society. Printed.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1848, p. 102.

The New Testament, in Malay, by B. P. Keasberry, and other missionaries. Singapore, 185-.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1848, p. 102.—Ibid. 1853, p. 106.

This version is in the Roman character.

The New Testament, in Malay, as spoken in Sumatra, by Nathaniel Ward, Padang. MS.—Bapt. Miss. Her. 1844, p. 361.

The book of Genesis, in Malay, by N. Ward.—Ibid. p. 362.

It thus appears that there has been a great variety of translations into the Malay language. Every new translator seems to have been dissatisfied with the versions of his predecessors. This, probably, arises from the great diversity of dialect in the various countries and islands in which the language is spoken. Even in the same country or island, those who are proficient in one dialect, are often not able to understand another.—Hough's Hist. Christ. in India, vol. iii. p. 64.

BATTAK.

The Gospel of John, in Battak, one of the languages of Sumatra, by R. Burton, of the Baptist Missionary Society.—Rep. Bapt. Miss. Soc. 1844, p. 91.

JAVANESE.

The New Testament, in Javanese, by Gottlieb Bruckner, of the Baptist Missionary Society, Java. Serampur, 1831.—Miss. Her. 1832, p. 11.

The New Testament, in Javanese, by the Rev. Mr Gericke.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1849, App. 59.

A small volume of extracts from the Old Testament in Javanese.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1842, App. p. 90.

BUGIS.

The Gospel of Mark, in Bugis, translated under the superintendence of John Leyden, M.D. MS.

MACASSAR.

The Gospel of Mark, in Macassar, translated under the superintendence of John Leyden, M.D. MS.

The Bugis and Macassar are the languages of two of the most noble and enterprising nations of the East, though they are far from being equally numerous. They are the original languages of the island of Celebes; but are spoken in the Bugis and Macassar settlements in Borneo, and several other islands, which are generally comprehended under the name of the Malay Archipelago.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1811, App. p. 77.

DYAK.

The New Testament, in Dyak, the language of the aboriginal inhabitants of Borneo, by the Rhenish missionaries, 184-.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1851, p. 91.

The book of Genesis, in Dyak, by the Rev. A. Hardeland, agent of the Netherlands Bible Society.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1852, p. 54.

CHINESE.

The Five Books of Moses, in Chinese.

We give this translation on the authority of Le Compte, who says that the copies are very ancient.—Le Compte's Memoirs of China, Letter viii. Christianity, according to the Syrian writers, and the Indian traditions, was originally planted in China by the apostle Thomas. There is, at any rate, little doubt that Christian missionaries arrived in China about the year 636, and had considerable success in spreading the gospel through that vast empire.—Yeates's Indian Church History, pp. 72, 86.

Sentences from the Holy Scriptures and the writings of the Fathers, for each day of the year, in Chinese, by James Rho.

The Psalter, in Chinese, as part of the Romish Breviary, translated by Louis Buglio.

The Gospels and Epistles for the whole year, in Chinese, forming part of the Romish Missal, translated by Louis Buglio.

The Dominical Gospels for the whole year, in Chinese, by Emmanuel Dias, with his Commentaries, 14 volumes.—Le Long, tom. i. p. 145.

The Four Gospels, in Chinese, with notes, by a Roman Catholic missionary living at Pekin in 1816.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1817, App. p. 15.

Harmony of the Four Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, the Epistles of Paul, and the first chapter of the Hebrews, in Chinese, MS.

We are acquainted with three copies of this manuscript. One is in the British Museum in folio, lettered by mistake *Evangelica Quatuor Sinice*. A second is in the library of Greenwich Observatory, which, in respect of beauty of paper and writing, is much inferior to the copy in the British Museum; but it has the points used in China, which the other wants. A third was transcribed by Yong Saam Tak, a native of China, and was carried by Dr Morrison to that country, with the view of assisting him in translating the Holy Scriptures into the Chinese language.

This, according to Sir George Staunton, is one of the most accurate and elegant translations he ever met with, from any European language into Chinese. From the style, he supposed that it was made from the Vulgate, under the direction of the Jesuits.—Owen's Hist. Bib. Soc. vol. i. p. 92. Dr Morrison also bears testimony to the high value of this translation; and one of his assistants informed him, that it must have been the work of a native Chinese, as the style was better than he supposed any foreigner could have written.—Rep. Miss. Soc. 1810, p. 22.—Miss. Trans. vol. iii. p. 340.

The New Testament, in Chinese, by Robert Morrison, D.D. Canton, 1814.

In this edition of the New Testament, the Gospels, the closing Epistles, and the book of Revelation, were translated by Dr Morrison. The Acts of the Apostles, and the Epistles of Paul, were founded on the preceding MS., which he carried out with him. He corrected it, however, in such places as he thought necessary.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1815, App. p. 27.—Ibid. 1817, App. p. 16.

The Old Testament, in Chinese, by Robert Morrison, D.D., Macao, and William Mylne, D.D. Malacca, 1823.

In this translation the books of Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Ruth, Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Canticles, and the whole of the prophetical books, were executed by Dr Morrison. The other historical books and Job were executed by Dr Mylne.—Morrison's Life, vol. ii. p. 2.

The Old and New Testaments, in Chinese, by John Lassar, from Macao, and Joshua Marshman, D.D., one of the Baptist missionaries, Serampur. Serampur, (N. T.) 1819, (O. T.) 1822.

The New Testament, in Chinese, by Charles Gutzlaff. Singapore, 183–.

The Pentateuch, in Chinese, by Charles Gutzlaff. Ningpo, 184–.—Rep. Board For. Miss. Amer. Presbyter. Ch. 1847, p. 33.

The New Testament, in Chinese, by W. H. Medhurst, D.D.

The New Testament, in Chinese, by the English part of the Committee of Missionaries in China. Shanghai, 1851.

This was printed with moveable metal types. For convenience, economy, and beauty, the work surpassed all former publications in Chinese. The cost of each copy did not exceed fourpence.—Rep. Miss. Soc. 1852, p. 18.

The Old Testament, in Chinese, preparing by the missionaries of the London Society.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1853, p. 111.

The book of Genesis, in Chinese, revised by J. Goddard, one of the Baptist missionaries in Siam. Printed.

The Gospel of Mark, in Chinese, with a Map of Palestine, explanations, &c., by I. J. Roberts, one of the Baptist missionaries in China. Printed.

The Gospels of Mark and John, and the Acts of the Apostles, in Chinese, by William Deans, one of the Baptist missionaries in China.

These books by Mr Deans appear to be rather new versions, than a mere revision of any preceding translation.—Rep. Am. and For. Bib. Soc. 1845, pp. 24, 25.—Ibid. 1848, pp. 22, 72.

The Gospel of John, in the Colloquial Dialect of Amoy.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1853, App. p. 54.

JAPANESE.

The Gospel and Epistles of John, in Japanese, by Charles Gutzlaff. Singapore, 1837.

The book of Genesis, and part of the Gospel of Matthew, by S. W. Williams, of the American Board of Foreign Missions.

There is no reason to suppose either of these translations to be of any value. The authors of them had no adequate means of acquiring a knowledge of the language of Japan.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1839, p. 72.—Miss. Her. vol. xxxiv. p. 419.—Rep. Board For. Miss. 1843, p. 137.

LOOCHOOAN-JAPANESE.

The Gospel of Luke, and the Acts of the Apostles, in the Loochooan-Japanese language, by Dr Bettelheim, of the Loochoo Naval Mission. MS.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1849, p. 133.

FORMOSAN.

The Gospels of Matthew and John, in the Formosan language, with a Dutch version, by Daniel Gravius. Amsterdam, 1661, quarto.—Le Long, tom. i. p. 145.

AFRICA.

NORTHERN AFRICA.

BERBER.

The Book of Genesis and the Four Gospels, in the Berber language.

The Berber language is spoken very extensively by the Kabyles, a name generally given to the tribes inhabiting the chain of mountains south of Algiers. The translation was effected by W. B. Hodgson, Esq., consul of the United States at Algiers, in conjunction with a learned native, and was purchased from him by the British and Foreign Bible Society. A small edition of the first twelve chapters of Luke was printed.—Miss. Reg. 1831, p. 5.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1831, p. 50.—Ibid. 1833, p. 74.

EASTERN AFRICA.

AMHARIC.

The Old and New Testaments, in Amharic. 1839.

TIGRÉ.

The New Testament, in Tigré, by Deftera Matteos.

This translation was made at Adowah, the capital of Tigré; but it was so hastily executed, that it could scarcely fail to be very imperfect.—Miss. Reg. 1837, p. 57. We are not certain that the translation was completed.

GALLA.

The book of Genesis, the Four Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, and the Epistle to the Romans, in the Galla language, by J. L. Krapf, D.D., of the Church Missionary Society.

Matthew and Luke were printed.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1843, p. 77.

KISUAHELI.

The New Testament, in the Kisuaheli language. By the same.—Miss. Reg. 1847, p. 106.

We are not certain whether Dr Krapf completed the New Testament.

WONIKA, OR KINIKA.

The Gospels of Luke and John, and the Epistles to the Romans and the Ephesians, in the Wonika language. By the same.

The Gospel of Luke was printed at Bombay. The Wonika language is stated to be a mere corruption of the Kisuaheli.—Miss. Reg. 1846, p. 197.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1851, App. p. 48.

KIKAMBA.

The Gospel of Mark, in the Kikamba language. By the same.—Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. 1853, p. xix.

MALAGASH.

The Old and New Testaments, in the Malagash language, by David Griffith and David Jones, of the London Missionary Society, Madagascar. (N. T.) 1830, (O. T.) 1835.—Evan. Mag. 1830, p. 542.—Rep. Miss. Soc. 1836, p. 105.

SOUTHERN AFRICA.

KAFIR.

The New Testament, in the Kafir language, by the Methodist missionaries, Kafraria. Graham's Town, 184-.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1841, p. 86.

An improved edition appeared in 1846, the whole of which was the work of the Wesleyan missionaries, excepting 1st and 2d Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians, and Hebrews, which were contributed by the Rev. Mr Doehne, of the Berlin Missionary Society.—Rep. Wesleyan Miss. Soc. 1846, p. 182.

The Old Testament, in the Kafir language, translating by the Methodist missionaries, Kafraria.

Several books of the New Testament, in the Kafir language, were also translated and printed by the missionaries sent out by the Glasgow Missionary Society.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1845, p. 142.

ZULU.

The book of Psalms (or part of them), in the Zulu language, by the missionaries of the American Board.—Rep. Amer. Board, 1852, p. 49.

SICHUANA, OR SESUTO.

The New Testament in the Sichuana language, by Robert Moffat, of the London Missionary Society, Kuruman. London, 184–.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1841, p. 87.

The Old Testament, translating into the Sichuana language, by the same. —Rep. Bib. Soc. 1852, p. 129.

The New Testament, in the Sesuto language, translating by the French Protestant missionaries, South Africa.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1849, p. 140.

The Sichuana and Sesuto are the same language, but probably differ in dialect. It is a sister dialect of the Kafir, differing from it just as the Dutch differs from the German.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1845, p. 141.

NAMAQUA.

The Four Gospels, in the Namaqua language, by J. H. Schmelin, of the London Missionary Society. Capetown, 1831.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1832, p. 74.

The Gospel of Luke, in the Namaqua language, by —— Knudsen, one of the Rhenish missionaries. Printed.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1847, p. 121.

DAMARA.

Selections from the Old and New Testaments, in the Damara language.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1851, App. p. 59.

WESTERN AFRICA.

MPONGWE.

The Gospels of Matthew and John, and the book of Proverbs, in Mpongwe, by missionaries of the American Board.

Mpongwe is the language of the Negroes at the mouth of the Gaboon river, and the neighbouring coast. Matthew and Proverbs were translated by Mr Walker; John, by Mr Bushnell. The two Gospels were printed.—Miss. Her. vol. xlvi. p. 38.—Rep. Board For. Miss. 1850, p. 96.—Ibid. 1852, p. 53.—Ibid. 1853, p. 54.

BAKELE.

The book of Genesis, in the Bakele language, by J. Best, missionary of the American Board.—Rep. Board For. Miss. 1853, p. 54.

FERNANDIAN.

The Gospel of Matthew, in the language of Fernando Po, by John Clarke, of the Baptist Missionary Society.—Rep. Bapt. Miss. Soc. 1849, p. 5.

Mark appears also to have been translated, and John nearly so.—Ibid. 1850, p. 27.

DUALLA.

The New Testament translating into the Dualla language, by a missionary of the Baptist Missionary Society.

This is the language spoken at Cameroons, on the continent of Africa, opposite to Fernando Po.—Rep. Bapt. Miss. Soc. 1852, p. 52.

ISUBU, OR JUBU.

The book of Genesis, and the Gospels of Matthew and John, part of Acts and of Romans, and some other portions of the Old Testament, and also Scripture extracts, in the Isubu language, by Joseph Merrick, of the Baptist Missionary Society.

Isubu is the language of the Negroes on the coast of Africa, opposite to Fernando Po. Mr Merrick, the translator, was from Jamaica, and was of African descent. The greater part of his translations were printed.—Miss. Her. 1848, p. 101.—Ibid. 1849, p. 2.—Ibid. 1851, p. 109.—Rep. Bapt. Miss. Soc. 1850, p. 27.—Ibid. 1851, p. 52.

EFIK.

The Gospel of John, in Efik, the language of Old Calabar, by William Anderson, of the United Presbyterian Mission.—Miss. Rec. Unit. Presby. Church, vol. vii. p. 216.

YORUBA.

The book of Genesis, the Gospel of Luke, the Acts of the Apostles, the Epistle to the Romans, the Epistle of James, and the 1st and 2d of Peter, in the Yoruba language, by the Rev. Samuel Crowther, a native of the country, and a missionary of the Church Society. Printed, 185-.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1850, p. 117.—Ibid. 1851, p. 10.—Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. 1853, p. 51.

The Gospel of Matthew, in the Yoruba language, by Thomas King, of the Church Missionary Society.—Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. 1853, p. 51.

The book of Exodus was also ready for the press.—Church Missionary Intelligencer, Nov. 1853.

HAUSSA.

The Gospels of Matthew, Luke, and John, and the Acts of the Apostles, in the Haussa language, by J. F. Schon, of the Church Missionary Society, Sierra Leone.—Miss. Reg. 1846, p. 396.—Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. 1847, p. 30.

ACRA.

The Gospels of Matthew and John, in the Acra language, by the Rev. W. A. Hanson. Printed, 184–.

Mr Hanson was a native of the Gold Coast, and, after being ordained by the Bishop of London, went out as Government Chaplain to Cape Coast Castle.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1843, p. 116.—Ibid. 1804, p. 124.

GREBO.

The Gospels of Matthew, Mark, and John, in the Grebo language, and also some other portions of the Scriptures; by the mission of the American Board, Cape Palmas. Printed.—Miss. Her. vol. xxxv. p. 350.

The book of Genesis, and the Gospel of Luke, in the Grebo language, by the Rev. J. Payne, of the American Episcopal Board of Missions. Printed.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1850, p. 129.—Ibid. 1851, p. 110.

BASSA.

The Gospels of Matthew and John, and the Acts of the Apostles, in the Bassa language, by William G. Crocker, of the American Baptist Board, Liberia. Printed, 184–.

Romans and Corinthians were nearly ready for the press.—Rep. Amer. Bapt. Board, 1840, p. 15.—Ibid. 1845, p. 29.—Ibid. 1846, p. 42.

BULLOM.

The Four Gospels, and the three Epistles of John, in Bullom, translated by G. R. Nylander, of the Church Missionary Society.

Matthew was printed with the English text in parallel columns.—Miss. Reg. vol. iv. p. 194; vol. v. p. 389.

TIMMANEE.

The Gospels of Matthew and Luke, the Acts of the Apostles, and the Epistle to the Romans, in the Timmanee language, by C. F. Schlenker (and, perhaps, other missionaries), of the Church Society.—Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. 1844, p. 33.—Ibid. 1853, p. 33.

SUSOO.

The New Testament (a considerable part of), translated into Susoo, by John G. Wilhelm, and Jonathan S. Klein, of the Church Missionary Society.—Miss. Reg. vol. v. p. 389; vol. vi. p. 234.—Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. 1821, p. 73.

MANDINGO.

The Four Gospels, in the Mandingo language, by R. M. Macbrair, of the Wesleyan Missionary Society.

Matthew, printed.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1838, p. 91.—Ibid. 1839, App. p. 110.

NORTH AMERICA.

GREENLAND.

The books of Genesis, Exodus, and Leviticus, in the Greenland language, by Paul Egede, one of the Danish missionaries in Greenland.—P. Egede, Nachrichten von Gronland, pp. 146, 166, 180, 196.

The Pentateuch, in the Greenland language, by Bishop Fabricius, and the Rev. Mr Wolff, chaplain of the citadel of Copenhagen, both of whom had been missionaries in Greenland.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1823, p. 45.

Some passages of the Old Testament, in the Greenland language, by John Beck, MS.—Fortsetzung, Brud. Hist. tom. i. p. 328. Other parts of the Old Testament were translated by Jasper Broderson, another of the missionaries.—Ibid. tom. ii. p. 47.

Isaiah, in the Greenland language, by Bishop Fabricius.—Morav. Period. Accounts, vol. xii. p. 66.

The Psalms, in the Greenland language, by Valentine Muller, one of the Moravian missionaries. Printed, 184–.—Ibid. vol. xvi. pp. 40, 456.

A version of Genesis, the Psalms, and Isaiah was made by the Moravian missionaries many years ago, but it is so defective as to be of very little use, and is altogether unfit for printing. Within the last few years a version of the same books has made its appearance in print, for the use of the Danish mission; but all competent judges of the language, both Europeans and Greenlanders, agree in pronouncing it equally incorrect and useless as the other.—Morav. Per. Acc. vol. xv. p. 99.

The Old Testament, in the Greenland language, translating by Pastor Kragh, formerly a Danish missionary in Greenland.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1834, p. 54.

The New Testament, in the Greenland language, by Paul Egede.

The New Testament, in the Greenland language, by Otto Fabricius, one of the Danish missionaries. Copenhagen, 1799.

Both these translations were printed, but they are so imperfect that they are not understood by the people.—MS. Accounts in the author's possession. By another account, they were not distinct versions: Fabricius merely published a new and much improved edition of Egede's translation.—Edin. Encyclop. vol. x. p. 502.

Harmony of the Four Gospels, in the Greenland language, by the Moravian missionaries.—Morav. Period. Accounts, vol. vii. p. 23.

The New Testament, in the Greenland language, by John Beck, one of the Moravian missionaries, MS.

The New Testament, in the Greenland language, by John C. Kleinschmidt, one of the Moravian missionaries. London, 1822.—Morav. Period. Accounts, vol. vii. p. 25; vol. viii. p. 81.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1822, App. p. 125.

ESQUIMAUX.

The Old Testament (a large part of), in Esquimaux, chiefly by the Moravian missionaries, Labrador.

The Pentateuch, Psalms, Proverbs, Isaiah, and other prophets, in Esquimaux, by the same. Printed.

Harmony of the Four Gospels, in Esquimaux, by the same. Printed.

The New Testament, in Esquimaux, by J. L. Morhardt, one of the Moravian missionaries. London, 182–.—Morav. Per. Acc. vol. v. p. 23; vol. x. p. 60; vol. xvii. p. 102.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1849, p. 164.

CREE.

The Gospel of Matthew, in the Cree language, by one of the missionaries of the Church Society.—Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. 1851, p. 229.

The Gospel of John, in the Cree language.

This was printed in the Syllabic alphabet, formed for the Cree language, by the Rev. James Evans, one of the Methodist missionaries in the Hudson's Bay Company's territory.—Church Miss. Intelligencer, 1853, p. 68.

ABENAQUIS.

The Gospel of Mark, in the Abenaquis language, by P. P. Osunkhirhine, a native preacher at St Francis, in Lower Canada. Montreal, 184–.—Rep. Amer. Board For. Miss. 1845, p. 205.

MOHEGAN.

The New Testament, in the Indian language, by John Eliot. Cambridge, New England, 4to, 1661.

The Old Testament, in the Indian language, by John Eliot. Cambridge, New England, 4to, 1663.—Holmes' American Annals, vol. i. pp. 318, 327.

In 1680, a second edition of the New Testament was published; and in 1685, a second edition of the Old Testament. In preparing them for the press, Eliot received valuable assistance from Mr John Cotton, of Plymouth, who had paid much attention to the Indian language. "It is a thought," says Francis, "full of melancholy interest, that the people for whom the Indian Bible was designed may be considered as no longer on the roll of living men, and that probably not an individual in the wide world can now read it." "The Indian Bible has become

one of those rare books which the antiquarian deems it a triumph to possess. The copies, in private or public libraries, are very few. It has acquired the venerable appearance of an ancient and sealed book; and when we turn over its pages, those long and hard words seem like the mysterious hieroglyphics in some time-hallowed temple of old Egypt. It has failed to answer the pious purpose for which the translator laboured in preparing it. But it has answered another purpose, which was, perhaps, never in his mind, or, if it were, was doubtless regarded as an inferior consideration. In connexion with his Indian grammar, it has afforded important aid as a valuable document in the study of comparative philology. Though the language in which it is printed is no longer read, yet this book is prized as one of the means of gaining an insight into the structure and character of 'unwritten dialects of barbarous nations,' a subject which has of late years attracted the attention of learned men, and the study of which, it is believed, will furnish new facts to modify the hitherto received principles of Universal grammar.

"On this account, scholars of the highest name in modern times have had reason to thank Eliot for labours which the Indians are not left to thank him for. While the cause of religion missed in a great degree the benefit designed for it, the science of language acknowledges a contribution to its stores."—Francis' Life of John Eliot, in Spark's Library of American Biography, vol. v. pp. 228, 231, 234, 237.

The Book of Psalms, and the Gospel of John, in English and Indian, by Experience Mayhew. Boston, 1709.—Mayhew's Indian Converts, p. 307.

The New Testament, in the Mohegan language, with many parts of the Old Testament, by John Sergeant, sen., missionary at Stockbridge. MS.—Hopkins' Memoirs of the Housatunnuk Indians, p. 156.

The Mohegan language, we are informed by Dr Jonathan Edwards, who, by living at Stockbridge while his venerable father was missionary at that place, acquired it in his early years, is spoken by all the Indians throughout New England. Every tribe, indeed, has a different dialect, but the language is radically the same. Mr Eliot's translation of the Bible was into a dialect of this language. The Mohegan, indeed, appears to be spoken much more extensively than any other language in North America. The languages of the Delawares in Pennsylvania, of the Penobscots on the borders of Nova Scotia, of the Indians of St Francis in Canada, of the Shawanoes on the Ohio, and of the Chippeways to the westward of Lake Huron, are all radically the same with the Mohegan. This is likewise said to be the case with the language of the Ottawas, the Nantikoks, the Munsys, the Menomonees, the Messisangas, the Saukies, the Ottagaumies, the Killistinoes, the Nipegons, the Algonkins, the Winnebagoes, &c.—Edwards' Observations on the Language of the Muhhekaneew Indians, p. 5.

DELAWARE.

Harmony of the Four Gospels, in the Delaware language, by David Zeisberger, one of the Moravian missionaries. MS.—Period. Accounts, vol. viii. p. 34.

The Gospel of Matthew, in the Delaware language, translating by C. F. Denke, one of the Moravian missionaries among the Indians.

The Gospel of John, in the Delaware language, by C. F. Denke.

The Epistles of John, in the Delaware language, by C. F. Denke. New York, 1818.—Report of the American Bible Society, 1818, p. 18.—New York Christian Herald, vol. v. p. 352.

The Moravian missionaries in North America translated various passages of the Holy Scriptures both into the Mohegan and Delaware languages; but whether they are still in existence we do not know, as in 1781, all the books and writings which they had compiled for the instruction of the Indian youth, are said to have been destroyed by the savages.—Loskiel's History, part ii. pp. 151, 182; part iii. pp. 80, 161.

MOHAWK.

The book of Genesis, in the Mohawk language.

We give this translation on the authority of Mr Bromley, the benevolent advocate of Indian civilization, who says he had it in his possession.—Bromley's Second Address on the Deplorable State of the Indians, 1814, p. 45.

The Gospel of Matthew, with many chapters, both from the Old and New Testaments, in the Mohawk language, by the Rev. Mr Freeman, Schenectady.

This translation was made about the beginning of the eighteenth century. Some passages of it were printed at New York.—Humphrey's Account of Soc. for Propagation of Gospel in For. Parts, pp. 286, 302.

The Gospel of Mark, in Mohawk and English, by Colonel Brandt, an Indian chief, 1787.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1805, pp. 17, 56.—Holmes' Sermon before the Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Indians, p. 43.

The Gospel of John, in the Mohawk language, by Captain Norton, an Indian Chief. London, 1804. — Rep. Bib. Soc. 1805, p. 16. — Ibid. 1807, p. 41.

Captain Norton was a chief of the Six Nations, a well-known confederacy among the Indian tribes. He was a man of great natural acuteness, was acquainted with the English language from his infancy, and had been two years at his education in Scotland.—Owen's History of the Bible Society, vol. i. p. 126.

The Gospel of Luke, in Mohawk, 12mo. New York, 1827.

Isaiah, in Mohawk.—Rep. Am. and For. Bib. Soc. 1842, p. 9.

ONEIDA.

Mr Kirkland, missionary among the Oneidas, also made considerable progress in translating the Scriptures into the language of the Indians (Balfour's Sermon before the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge, p. 61), but no part of this version, so far as we know, was ever printed.

SENECA.

The Gospel of Luke, in the Seneca language, translated by T. S. Harris, of the American Board for Foreign Missions, assisted by James Young, a Seneca young man, with the English on the opposite page. Printed, 18—.—Rep. Board For. Miss. 1830, p. 97.

The Gospels of Matthew and Mark, in the Seneca language; and also the History of Joseph, from the Book of Genesis.—Rep. Board For. Miss. 1853, p. 170.

OTTAWA.

The Gospels of Matthew and John, in the Ottawa language, by J. Meeker, of the American Baptist Board. Printed in 184-.—Rep. Bapt. Board, 1842, p. 27.—Ibid. 1844, p. 39.

OJIBWAY, OR CHIPPEWAY.

The book of Genesis and the Gospels of Matthew and John, in the Ojibway language. Printed.

Matthew was translated by Peter Jones, an Indian preacher; John was translated by his brother.—Meth. Miss. Not. vol. ix. p. 92.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1832, p. 84.

The New Testament, in the Ojibway language, by Edwin James, surgeon in the United States army. Albany, 183-.

Part of the Old Testament, in the Ojibway language, by the same.

Mr James was surgeon and botanist to the expedition which visited the Rocky Mountains, under Major Long, in 1820, and wrote the narrative of that undertaking.

The Gospels of Mark and Luke, in the Ojibway language, by J. D. Cameron, of the American Baptist Board.—Rep. Bapt. Board, 1840, p. 5.

The book of Genesis and the Gospel of John, in the Ojibway language, by the Presbyterian mission on Grand Traverse Bay, Lake Huron.—Rep. Presb. Board For. Miss. 1844, p. 12.

The New Testament, in the Ojibway language, by the Mission of the American Board. Printed.—Rep. Board For. Miss. 1844, p. 224.

The Gospels, in the Ojibway language, by the Rev. Dr O'Meara.—Miss. Reg. 1850, p. 465.

The Ojibway, or Chippeway language, it is stated, is understood by fifteen distinct tribes, and indeed is the common language of the north-west and north, being used by the traders in their intercourse with the Indians more generally than any other. It is understood by the various tribes around Lake Superior, at the sources of the Mississippi, at Athabasca Lake, around Hudson's Bay, and probably, by a very little change, the clans which visit Bear Lake, the Coppermine River, and even the Icy Cape.—Miss. Her. vol. xxix. p. 76.

SIOUX, OR DAKOTA.

Genesis, part of the Psalms, and nearly the whole of the New Testament, in the Dakota language, in two volumes, by the Missionaries of the American Board.—Rep. Board For. Miss. 1843, p. 173.

PUTAWATOMIE.

The Gospel of Matthew and the Acts of the Apostles, in the Putawatomie language, by the Mission of the American Baptist Board.—Rep. Bapt. Board, 1843, p. 21.—Rep. Amer. and For. Bib. Soc. 1845, p. 27.

PAWNEE.

The Gospel of Mark, in the Pawnee language, by the Mission of the American Board.—Rep. Board For. Miss. 1846, p. 197.

IOWA.

The Gospel of Matthew and the first eleven chapters of Genesis, and other portions of Scripture, in the Iowa language, by W. Hamilton.—Report Presbyterian Board for Foreign Missions, 1843, p. 6.

SHAWANOE.

The Gospels of Matthew and John, in the Shawanoe language, by the Mission of the American Baptist Board. Printed.—Rep. Bapt. Board, 1842, p. 27.—Ibid. 1846, p. 48.

CHEROKEE.

The New Testament, in the Cherokee language, translated from the original Greek, by David Brown, a Cherokee Indian.

This translation was completed in 1825. It was in the Cherokee character. It was probably an imperfect translation (Tracy's Hist. Board For. Miss. p. 167), but, all circumstances considered, it was a great curiosity. We are not aware that any part of it was ever printed.

The Gospels of Matthew, Luke, and John, the Acts of the Apostles, the Epistles to Timothy, and the Epistles of James, Peter, and John, part of Revelation, and also portions of the Old Testament, in the Cherokee language, by Missionaries of the American Board. Printed 1829—1852.—Rep. Board For. Miss. 1848, p. 287.—Ibid. 1849, p. 212.—Ibid. 1850, p. 189.—Ibid. 1852, p. 149.

The New Testament, in the Cherokee language, by Evan Jones and Son, of the American Baptist Board.—Rep. Amer. and For. Bib. Soc. 1848, p. 23.

The book of Genesis, in the Cherokee language, by Jesse Bushyhead.—Rep. Amer. Bapt. Board, 1845, p. 23.

CREEK.

The Gospel of John, with extracts from Matthew and Mark, in the Creek language, by J. Lykins, of the American Baptist Board, assisted by John Davis, a native Creek preacher. Printed.—Rep. Amer. Bapt. Board, 1836, p. 9.

CHOCTAW.

The New Testament, in the Choctaw language, by missionaries of the American Board for Foreign Missions. Printed, 1848.—Rep. Board For. Miss. 1849, p. 208.

Some books of the Old Testament were also translated and printed.—Rep. Board For. Miss. 1850, p. 185.—Ibid. 1852, p. 146.

NEZ PERCÉS.

The Gospel of Matthew, in the Nez Percés language, by the Mission of the American Board for Foreign Missions. Printed in 184–.—Rep. Board For. Miss. 1846, p. 196.

MEXICAN.

The Proverbs of Solomon, and many other fragments of Holy Writ, in the Mexican language, by Louis Rodrigues.

The Epistles and Gospels, in the Mexican language, by one of the Order of St Mary, who died in 1579.—Le Long, tom. i. p. 448.

The Gospel of Luke, in the Mexican language. Printed in 183–.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1834, p. 91.

Lessons of the Day taken from the Gospels, in the Mexican language, a beautiful MS. in the possession of the British and Foreign Bible Society. —Rep. Bib. Soc. 1831, p. 127.

MIXTECAN.

The Epistles and Gospels, in Mixtecan, the vulgar language of New Spain, by Benedict Ferdinand, who flourished about 1568.

The Epistles and Gospels, in the idiom which is spoken by the Western Indians, translated by Arnold a Bosaccio.—Le Long, tom. i. p. 448.

MISTECO AND TERASCO.

The Gospel of Luke, nearly completed, in the Misteco and Terasco languages.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1832, p. 80.

CARRIBEAN.

The Gospel of Matthew, in the Caribbean language, by Alexander Henderson, Baptist missionary, Belize. Edinburgh, 1847.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1848, App. p. 58.

MAYA.

The Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles, in Maya, by John Kingdon, of the Baptist Missionary Society.

Maya is the language of the Indians in or near Honduras.—Rep. Bapt. Miss. Soc. 1850, p. 55.

SOUTH AMERICA.

CREOLE.

The New Testament, in Creole. Copenhagen, 1781.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1811, App. p. 131.

Parts of the Bible, in Creole, by the Rev. Mr Volkerson. MS.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1818, App. p. 244.

Harmony of the Four Gospels, in Creole, by John Bohner, one of the Moravian missionaries. Printed.—Holmes' Historical Sketches, p. 296.—Rizler Erzahlungen, aus der Geschichte der Bruder Kirche, tom. iii. p. 76.

Besides the Harmony of the Gospels, Bohner translated into Creole some other passages of Scripture. All these versions, we suppose, were into the Creole dialect of the Danish West India islands, St Thomas, St Croix, and St Jan, which is a corruption of the Dutch and Low German, with a mixture of French, English, Spanish, and Danish words. The Creole dialect of other islands is different, according to the nation to which they belong.—Oldendorp Geschichte der Mission auf St Thomas, St Croix, St Jan, tom. i. p. 424.

Harmony of the Four Gospels, in Negro-English, by the Moravian missionaries.—Holmes' Sketches, p. 296.

The Gospel of Matthew, in the Negro dialect of Curazoa, by Mr Lauffer. Printed.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1846, App. p. 68.

The New Testament, in the Negro dialect of Surinam. Printed in 1829.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1830, p. 80.

The Psalms, in the Negro dialect of Surinam.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1849, p. 145.

Harmony of the Four Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, and the Apostolical Epistles, in the language of the Free Negroes on the river Sarameca, Surinam, by Rudolph Stoll and John Lewis Wietz, Moravian missionaries at Bambey.—Risler Erzahlungen, tom. iv. pp. 196, 202.—Fortsetzung, Brud. Hist. tom. iii. p. 79.

ARAWACK.

Harmony of the Four Gospels, in Arawack, by —— Schumann, one of the Moravian missionaries at Hope, on the river Corentyn, in South America. MS.

The New Testament, in Arawack, with the exception of the book of Revelation, by —— Schumann. MS.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1823, p. 131.

History of the Passion and Resurrection of Christ, in Arawack. Philadelphia, 1799.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1822, p. 140.

The whole of the Apostolic Epistles, in the Arawack language, by Theodore Schultz, one of the Moravian missionaries.—Period. Acc. vol. xx. p. 231.

Most of the New Testament, in the Arawack language, MS., sent to the American and Foreign Bible Society.

The Acts of the Apostles, in the Arawack language. Printed from the preceding MS., 18–.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1850, p. 129.—Ibid. 1851, p. 110.

The Gospels of Matthew and John, in Arawack, by W. H. Brett, missionary on the Pomeroon River, from the Propagation Society. Printed.—Miss. Reg. 1850, p. 465.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1851, App. p. 59.

BRAZILIAN.

The Old and New Testaments, in the Brazilian language, translated by an English minister.—Le Long, tom. i. p. 448.

QUICHUA.

The New Testament, in the Quichua language. MS.

This translation was made on account of the British and Foreign Bible Society; but whether the MS. was ever received by it appears doubtful. The Quichua, though called the ancient language of Peru, is still very extensively spoken by the aborigines.

The Psalms, in Quichua, by Dr Pazos Kanki.

Dr Pazos Kanki was professor of this language in the university of Cuzco, the ancient metropolis of the Incas or Peruvian kings, and the largest town in Peru, next to Lima.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1824, p. 65.—Ibid. 1825, p. 55.—Ibid. 1826, p. 55, App. p. 91.—Ibid. 1830, p. 81.—Ibid. 1831, p. 63.

AIMARA.

The Gospel of Luke, in Aimara and Spanish, by Dr Pazos Kanki. Printed 182–.

The New Testament is spoken of as translated.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1827, p. 68.—Ibid. 1829, p. 72.—Ibid. 1832, p. 80.

POLYNESIA.

TAHITIAN.

The Old and New Testaments, in the Tahitian language. London, 1838.

This translation was the united work of Messrs John Davies and John Williams, but chiefly of Henry Nott, who not only translated a considerable portion of it himself, but revised the versions of his brethren. He was, in fact, considered as the translator of the Tahitian Bible. A new and revised edition was printed in London in 1847.—Rep. Miss. Soc. 1825, p. 158.—Ibid. 1838, p. 4.—Prout's Memoir of John Williams, pp. 210, 230.—Evan. Mag. 1844, p. 651.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1848, p. 106.

RAROTONGA.

The Old and New Testaments, in the Rarotonga language, by John Williams, Charles Pitman, and Aaron Buzacott, of the London Missionary Society. London, 1851.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1851, p. 110.—Ibid. 1852, p. 122.

This version is in the language of the Hervey Islands. The first edition of the New Testament was printed in 1836.

SAMOA.

The New Testament, in the Samoa language, by the missionaries of the London Society in the Navigators' Islands. Upolu, 1846.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1848, p. 109.

In 1849, a new and revised edition of the Samoa New Testament, consisting of 15,000 copies, was printed in London by the British and Foreign Bible Society.

The Old Testament, in the Samoa language, translating by the missionaries of the London Society.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1852, p. 121.

TONGA.

The New Testament in the Tonga language, by the Wesleyan Methodist missionaries in the Friendly Islands. Vavau, 184–.

The Old Testament, in the Tonga language, translating by the same.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1853, App. p. 48.

The translation of the New Testament into Tonga was not originally a good idiomatic translation. It was full of English words and English idioms.—Miss. Not. vol. v. (N. S.), p. 65. It was revised for subsequent editions.

FIJI.

The New Testament in the Fiji language, by the Wesleyan Methodist missionaries in the Fiji Island, 184–.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1850, p. 113.

This was chiefly the work of the Rev. John Hunt.—Miss. Not. vol. v. (N. S.), p. 158.

The Old Testament, in the Fiji language, translated by the Wesleyan Methodist missionaries.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1852, p. 125.

HAWAIIAN.

The Old and New Testaments, in the Hawaiian language, by the missionaries of the American Board, in the Sandwich Islands. Honolulu, (N.T.) 1832, (O. T.) 1839.—Dibble's Hist. Sandwich Islands, p. 435.

NEW ZEALAND.

The New Testament, in the language of New Zealand, by William Yates, and William Williams, of the Church Missionary Society.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1835, App. p. 120.

The Old Testament, translating into the language of New Zealand, by R. Maunsell, of the Church Missionary Society.—Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. 1851, p. 215.

NEW SOUTH WALES.

The Gospel of Luke, in the language of the natives of New South Wales, by L. E. Threlkeld, Government missionary at Lake Macquarrie.—Cal. Christ. Obser. vol. vi. p. 527.

The Gospels of Matthew, Luke, and John, and part of Genesis and Acts, in the language of the natives of New South Wales, by the missionaries of the Church Society, in the Wellington district.—Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. 1837, p. 87.—Ibid. 1839, p. 94.

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No V.

OF POLYGAMY.

THE question of polygamy, as regards converts from heathenism, has commonly been considered simple and easy. It has, for the most part, been taken for granted, that it is a plain and undoubted principle, that a heathen, on embracing Christianity, should be required, if he has a plurality of wives, to separate from all of them but one only, though which one it has not always been found easy to determine.

In considering this question, we think we cannot do better than lay before the reader some extracts from "*Thelyphthora*, a treatise on female ruin," which, though published anonymously, was well understood to be by the Rev. Martin Madan, of the Lock Hospital Chapel, London; and, though the work called forth great indignation at the time, in consequence of its object being to revive in this country the laws of the Mosaic economy in reference to cases of seduction, with a view to the protection and preservation from ruin of the female sex, yet its reasonings in regard to the lawfulness of polygamy—in other words, that intrinsically there is no moral evil in it—are, we apprehend, very clear and conclusive.

"The best and fairest, and indeed the only way," says he, "to get at the truth on this, as on every other occasion where religion is concerned, is to lay aside prejudice, from whatever quarter it may be derived, and to let the Bible speak for itself. Then we shall see that polygamy, notwithstanding the seventh commandment, was allowed by God himself, who, however others might mistake it, must infallibly know his own mind, be perfectly acquainted with his own will, and thoroughly understand his own law. If he did not intend to allow polygamy, but to prevent or condemn it, either by the seventh commandment, or by some other law, how is it possible that he should make laws for its *regulation*, any more than he should make laws for the regulation of *theft* or *murder?* How is it conceivable that he should give the least *countenance* to it, or so express his *approbation* as even to *work miracles* in support of it? For the making a woman *fruitful* who was naturally *barren*, must have been the effect of *supernatural* power. He *blessed*, and in a distinguished manner *owned*, the issue, and declared it legitimate to all intents and purposes. If this be not allowance, what is?

"As to the *first*, namely, his making laws for the regulation of polygamy, let us consider what is written, Exod. xxi. 10. *If he* (*i. e.*, the husband) *take him another wife* (not, in so doing, he sins against the seventh com-

mandment, recorded in the *preceding* chapter, but), *her food, her raiment* (*i. e.*, of the first wife), *and her duty of marriage, he shall not diminish.* Here God positively forbids a *neglect*, much more the *divorcing* or *putting away* the *first* wife, but charges no *sin* in taking the *second.*

"2*dly*, When Jacob married Rachel she was barren, and so continued for many years; but God did not leave this as a punishment upon her for marrying a man who had *another wife.* It is said, Gen. xxx. 22, that *God remembered Rachel; and God hearkened unto her, and opened her womb, and she conceived and bare a son, and said, God hath taken away my reproach.* Surely this passage of Scripture ought to afford a complete answer to those who bring the words of the marriage bond, as cited by Christ, Matt. xix. 5—*They twain shall be one flesh*—to prove polygamy sinful, and should lead us to construe them, as by this instance and many others the Lawgiver himself appears to have done; that is to say, where a woman, not betrothed to another man, unites herself in *personal knowledge* with the man of her choice, let that man's *situation* be what it may, *they twain shall be one flesh.* How, otherwise, do we find such a woman as Rachel united to Jacob, *who had a wife then living*, praying to God for a *blessing* on her intercourse with Jacob, and *God hearkening unto her, opening her womb*, removing her barrenness, and thus by miracle *taking away her reproach?* We also find the offspring legitimate, and inheritors of the land of Canaan; a plain proof that Joseph and Benjamin were no *bastards*, or born *out of lawful* marriage.[1] See a like palpable instance of God's miraculous blessing on polygamy in the case of Hannah, 1 Sam. i. and ii.[2] These instances serve also to prove that, in God's account, the *second* marriage is just as valid as the *first*, and as obligatory; and that our making it less so, is contradictory to the Divine wisdom.

"3*dly*, God blessed and owned the issue. How eminently this was the case with regard to Joseph, see Gen. xlix. 22–26; to Samuel, see 1 Sam. iii. 19. It was expressly commanded that a *bastard*, or son of a woman who was with child by *whoredom* (εκ πορνης, LXX.), should *not enter into the congregation of the Lord, even to his tenth generation* (Deut. xxiii. 2). But we find Samuel, the offspring of polygamy, ministering to the Lord in the tabernacle at Shiloh even in his *very childhood, clothed with a linen ephod, before Eli the priest.* See this whole history, 1 Sam. i. and ii. Who, then, can doubt of Samuel's legitimacy, and consequently of God's *allowance* of, and *blessing* on, polygamy? If such second marriage was, in

[1] In fact, if polygamy was unlawful, Leah was the *only* wife of Jacob, and none but her children were *legitimate.* Bilhah and Zilpah, as well as Rachel, were merely *mistresses*, and their children, six in number, were *bastards*, the offspring of *adulterous* intercourse. Yet did God honour them *equally* as the sons of Leah, and made them the fathers of *seven* of the tribes of the children of Israel, and gave them a corresponding inheritance in the land of Canaan. Surely this is evidence enough that polygamy was then allowed by God, and that, consequently, it is not unlawful or sinful in its own nature.—W. B.

[2] It is not certain, however, that Hannah was Elkanah's *second* wife; but yet there are circumstances in the case which go to shew that his polygamy was not sinful.—See *Thelyphthora*, vol. ii. pp. 393, 399.—W. B.

God's account, null and void, as a sin against the *original* law of marriage, the *seventh* commandment, or *any other* law of God, no mark of legitimacy could have been found on the issue; for a null and void marriage is tantamount to *no* marriage at all; and if no marriage, no legitimacy of the issue can possibly be. Instead of such a blessing as Hannah obtained, we should have found her and her husband Elkanah charged with adultery, dragged forth, and *stoned to death*; for so was adultery to be punished. All this furnishes us with a conclusive proof, that the having more than one wife with which a man cohabited, was not adultery in the sight of God; or, in other words, that it never was reckoned by him any sin against the *seventh* commandment, the *original* marriage institution, or *any other law whatsoever.*

"*4thly*, But there is a passage (Deut. xxi. 15) which is express to the point, and amounts to a demonstration of God's *allowance* of polygamy. *If a man have* TWO WIVES, *one* beloved *and another* hated, *and they have borne him children, both the* beloved *and the* hated; *and if the first-born be hers that was hated, then it shall be, when he maketh his sons to inherit that which he hath, that he may not make the son of the* beloved *first-born before the son of the* hated, *which is, indeed, the first-born, by giving him a double portion of all that he hath; for he is the beginning of his strength, and the right of the first-born is his.* On the footing of this law, the marriage of *both* women is *equally* lawful. God calls them both *wives* (for so the word נשים must be rendered in this place, as the context plainly shews), and he cannot be mistaken; if he *calls* them so, they certainly *were* so. If the *second* wife bore the *first* son, that son was to inherit before a son born *afterwards* of the *first* wife. Here the issue is expressly deemed *legitimate*, and inheritable to the *double portion of the first-born;* which could not be if the *second* marriage were not deemed as lawful and valid as the *first.*

"*5thly*, To say that polygamy is sinful, is to make God the *author of sin;* for, not to forbid that which is evil, but even to countenance and promote it, is being so far the author of it, and accessory to it in the highest degree. And shall we dare to *say*, or even to *think*, that this is chargeable on Him who *is of purer eyes than to behold evil, and who cannot look on iniquity?* (Hab. i. 13.) God forbid.

"When he is upbraiding David, by the prophet Nathan, for his ingratitude toward his Almighty benefactor (2 Sam. xii.), he does it in the following terms:—ver. 8,—*I gave thee thy master's house, and* THY MASTER'S WIVES *unto thy bosom, and I gave thee the house of Israel and Judah, and if that had been too little, I would moreover have given thee such and such things.*

"Can we suppose God giving *more wives* than *one* into David's bosom, who already had *more than one*, if it was *sin* in David to *take* them? Can we imagine that God should thus *transgress* (as it were) *his own commandment* in *one* instance, and yet so severely *reprove* and *chastise* David for breaking it in *another?* Is it not rather plain, from the whole transaction, that David committed *mortal sin* in taking another *living* man's wife,

but not in taking the widows of the *deceased* Saul; and this, therefore, though the law of God condemned the *first*, yet it did not condemn the *second*?

"6*thly*, When David took the wife of Uriah, he was severely reprimanded by the prophet Nathan; but after Uriah's death, *he takes the same woman*, though he had other *wives* before, and no fault is found with him; nor is he charged with the least flaw or insincerity in his repentance on that account. The child which was the fruit of his intercourse with Bathsheba, during her husband Uriah's life, *God struck to death* with his own hand (2 Sam. xii. 15). Solomon, *born of the same woman, begotten by the same man*, in a state of *polygamy*, is acknowledged by God himself as David's lawful issue (1 Kings v. 5), and as such set upon his throne. The law which positively excluded *bastards*, or those born out of lawful wedlock, *from the congregation of the Lord, even unto the tenth generation* (Deut. xxiii. 2), is wholly inconsistent with Solomon being employed *to build God's temple*—being *the mouth of the people to God in prayer*—and *offering sacrifices* in the *temple* at its *dedication*—unless David's marriage with Bathsheba was a *lawful marriage*—Solomon, the *lawful issue* of that marriage—consequently polygamy *no* sin, either against the primary institution of marriage, or against the seventh commandment. But so far from Solomon being under any disqualification from the *law* above mentioned, he is *appointed* by God himself *to build the temple* (1 Kings viii. 19). *His prayer is heard—and the house is hallowed* (chap. ix. 3), and *filled with such glory, that the priests could not stand to minister* (chap. viii. 11). Solomon, therefore, as well as Samuel, stands as a demonstrable proof, that a child born under the circumstances of *polygamy* is no *bastard*—*God himself being the judge, whose judgment is according to truth.*

"A more striking instance of God's *thoughts* on the total difference between *polygamy* and *adultery*, does not meet us anywhere with more force and clearness in any part of the sacred history, than in the account which is given us of David and Bathsheba, and their issue.

"When David took Bathsheba, she was another man's wife; the child which he begat upon her in that situation was begotten in *adultery—and the thing which David had done displeased the Lord* (2 Sam. xi. 27). And what was the consequence? We are told, 2 Sam. xii. 1, *the Lord sent Nathan* the prophet *unto David*. Nathan opened his commission with a most beautiful parable descriptive of David's crime; this parable the prophet applies to the conviction of the delinquent, sets it home upon his conscience, brings him to repentance, and the poor penitent finds mercy—his life is spared, ver. 13. Yet God will vindicate the honour of his moral government, and that in the most awful manner—the murder of Uriah is to be visited upon David and his house. *The sword shall never depart from thine house*, ver. 10. The *adultery* with Bathsheba was to be retaliated in the most aggravated manner. *Because thou hast despised me, and hast taken the wife of Uriah the Hittite to be thy wife, thus saith the Lord, I will raise up evil against thee out of thine own house, and I will*

take thy wives and give them unto thy neighbour before thine eyes; and he shall lie with thy wives in sight of the sun; for thou didst it secretly, but I will do this thing before all Israel, and before the sun. All this was shortly fulfilled in the rebellion and incest of Absalom, chap. xvi. 21, 22. And this was done in the way of *judgment* on David for taking and defiling the wife of Uriah, and was included in the curses threatened (Deut. xxviii. 30) to the despisers of God's laws.

"As to the issue of David's adulterous commerce with Bathsheba, it is written, 2 Sam. xii. 15, *The Lord struck the child that Uriah's wife bare unto David, and it was very sick.* What a dreadful scourge this was to David, who could not but read his *crime* in his *punishment*, the following verses declare—wherein we find David almost frantic with grief. However, *the child's sickness was unto death*, for, ver. 18, *on the seventh day the child died.*

"Now, let us take a view of David's act of polygamy, when, after Uriah's death, he *added* Bathsheba to his *other* wives (ver. 24, 25). *And David comforted Bathsheba his wife, and went in unto her and lay with her, and she bare a son, and he called his name* (שלמה) Selomoh (that maketh *peace and reconciliation, or recompence*), and *the Lord loved him.* Again we find Nathan, who had been sent on the former occasion, sent also on this, but with a very *different* message. *And he* (the Lord) *sent by the hand of Nathan the prophet, and he called his name* JEDIDIAH (*Dilectus Domini*—Beloved of the Lord), *because of the Lord,—i. e.*, because of the favour God had towards him (ver. 24).

"Let any read onward through the whole history of Solomon; let them consider the instances of God's peculiar favour towards him already mentioned, and the many others that are to be found in the account we have of him; let them compare God's dealings with the *unhappy* issue of David's *adultery*, and this *happy* offspring of his *polygamy*, and if the *allowance* and *approbation* of the *latter*, doth not as clearly appear as the *condemnation* and punishment of the *former*, surely all distinction and difference must be at an end, and the Scripture itself lose the force of its own evidence.

"*7thly*, I have mentioned the law being explained by the prophets. These were extraordinary messengers which God raised up and sent forth under a special commission, not only to foretel things to come, but to preach to the people, to hold forth the law, to point out their defections from it, and to call them to repentance, under the severest terms of God's displeasure unless they obeyed. Their commission, in these respects, we find recorded in Isa. lviii. 1, *Cry aloud, spare not, lift up thy voice like a trumpet: Shew my people their transgression, and the house of Jacob their sins.* This commission was to be faithfully executed at the peril of the prophet's own destruction, as appears from the solemn charge given to Ezekiel, chap. iii. 18, *When I say to the wicked, Thou shalt surely die, and thou givest him not warning, nor speakest to warn the wicked to save his life, the same wicked man shall die in his iniquity, but his blood will I require at thine hand.*

"These prophets executed their commissions very unfaithfully towards God and the people, as well as most dangerously for themselves, if polygamy was a *sin* against God's law, for it was the common practice of the whole nation,[1] from the prince on the throne to the lowest of the people; and yet neither Isaiah, Jeremiah, nor any one of the prophets, bore the least testimony against it. They reproved them sharply and plainly for *defiling their neighbours' wives*, as Jer. v. 8; xxix. 23, in which fifth chapter we not only find the prophet bearing testimony against *adultery*, but against *whoredom* and *fornication* (ver. 7), for that they assembled themselves *by troops in the harlots' houses*. Not a word against *polygamy*. How is it possible, in any reason, to think that this, if a sin, should never be mentioned as such by God, by Moses, or any one of the prophets?[2]

"*Lastly*, In the Old Testament, polygamy was not only *allowed* in all cases, but in some *commanded*. Here, for example, is the law (Deut xxv. 5–10), *If brethren dwell together, and one of them die and have no child, the wife of the dead shall not marry without unto a stranger: her husband's brother shall go in unto her, and take her to him to wife, and perform the duty of an husband's brother unto her. And it shall be that the firstborn which she beareth shall succeed in the name of his brother which is dead, that his name be not put out of Israel*, &c.

"This law must certainly be looked upon as an *exception* from the general law (Lev. xviii. 16), and the reason of it appears in the law itself, viz., 'To preserve inheritances in the families to which they belonged.' . . . As there was no law against polygamy, there was nothing to exempt a *married* man from the obligation of marrying his brother's widow. . . . For, let us suppose that not only the surviving brother, but all the near kinsmen, to whom the marriage of the widow and the redemption of the inheritance belonged, were *married* men—if that exempted them from the obligation of this law—as they could not *redeem the inheritance* unless they *married the widow* (Ruth iv. 5)—the end of this important law must in many cases be defeated—the widow be tempted to marry a stranger—to put herself and the inheritance into his hands—and the whole reason assigned for the law itself, that of *raising up seed to the deceased*, to preserve the inheritance in his family, that *his name be not put out of Israel*—fall to the ground. For which weighty reasons, as there was evidently no law against polygamy, there could be no exemption of a man from the positive duty of this law *because he was married*. As we say, *Ubi cadit ratio, ibi idem jus*. . . .

"It is observable that this law, though not reduced to writing or

[1] Josephus calls it πατριον, which answers to what we mean by the word *national*.

[2] Mr Madan proceeds (vol. i. pp. 134–142) to notice Malachi ii. 14, 15, which some consider as a denunciation of polygamy, but he shews, we think, very successfully, that the prophet has there no reference to that subject, but that he is expostulating with the Jews after their return from Babylon, on account of their "putting away" their Jewish wives, and "marrying the daughters of a strange god" (ver. 11),—*i. e.*, heathen wives, a practice which appears to have prevailed among them to a very lamentable extent, notwithstanding it was so clearly forbidden by the law of Moses. See Ezra ix., x.; Neh. xiii. 28–31.

published till the time of Moses, yet existed among the patriarchs, as we learn from Gen. xxxviii. 8."—*Thelyphthora*, vol. i. pp. 108, 131, 260, 267; vol. ii. p. 244, 402.

Though we apprehend these arguments are perfectly conclusive, yet we shall here notice a few other particulars. In Deut. xvii. 17 we find the following law relative to the king whom the people of Israel might set over them:—"Neither shall he multiply wives to himself, that his heart turn not away." This surely cannot be understood to mean that he was to restrict himself to one wife: it would be a strange and unaccountable way of expressing that idea. The plain meaning of it is, that he was not to have many wives, but it evidently allowed him to take more than one.

In correspondence with this, we find the following statement in 2 Chron. xxiv. 2, 3, relative to Joash, King of Judah:—"And Joash did that which was right in the sight of the Lord all the days of Jehoiada the priest. And Jehoiada took for him two wives, and he begat sons and daughters." In reading this, it is natural and reasonable to conclude that, in marrying two wives, "Joash did that which was right in the sight of the Lord," the two statements stand in such close connexion with each other.

There is a whole book of Scripture taken up with the history of Queen Esther. And who was she? If polygamy was unlawful, she was a strumpet with whom Ahasuerus lived in adulterous intercourse; for he had no adequate and lawful reason for putting away Vashti; and, indeed, though she was put away, she was probably not divorced, but was still kept in common with many others in "the house of the women." To many this will probably be a new view of Esther's character; but, unless they admit the lawfulness of polygamy, we do not see how they can escape from it.

The subject of polygamy underwent considerable discussion, a number of years ago, in the *Calcutta Christian Observer*. An able writer in that work, after establishing by the same, or similar considerations as those now adduced, the intrinsic lawfulness of polygamy, and stating that, though Christianity does not openly condemn it, yet it silently discourages, and will, wherever it prevails, ultimately abolish the practice, thus proceeds:—

"The previous lawfulness of polygamy, abstractedly considered, and the course actually adopted by the Almighty for its ultimate subversion, suggest a *second* remark, that when a heathen man has been legally married—*i.e.*, according to the laws of his own country and religion—to more than one wife, whether any distinction of grade or class of wife, concubine, &c., be observed or not, it does not appear that anything in the character of polygamy itself, or in the institution of Christianity, demands the putting away of any one or more of such women. They are his wives; he has promised them duty of marriage, support, and protection. He has no right to diminish aught of their just claims. The merciful provision of the law of Moses, in kindred cases, comes in support of my position. Exodus xxi. 10, commands, even of a purchased slave, whom her master has betrothed

to himself, that, 'if he take unto himself another wife, her food, her raiment, and her duty of marriage, shall he not diminish.' And, to apply the case to India: what may be the precise law of the case, I am not sufficiently informed; but, assuredly, there would be great cruelty and hardship in a man who becomes a Christian, having several wives, dismissing all but one, who, even admitting that they *may* be legally put away, are, by the usages of the country, precluded from marrying another; and who, even if the husband continue to *support* them (the difficulty of doing which will certainly be much increased when the household is divided), are publicly disgraced and exposed, in deplorable moral ignorance, weakness, and strength of passion, to very strong temptations to pursue evil courses. Again, if there are children, whose shall they be?—the father's or the mother's? From one parent or the other, they are certainly, in this case, to be separated. Whose control, instruction, and affectionate intercourse shall they continue to enjoy? Shall they be held legitimate, or otherwise? If there are several wives, which shall be retained? The first, it may be replied; but by what law is she more a wife than the second or the third? To these difficulties, add the strong temptation held out to an insincere profession of Christianity, for the mere purpose of getting rid of a wife or wives no longer be oved, or whom the husband is weary of supporting; and it appears to me that a formidable mass of difficulties is raised against the position combated, quite sufficient to prove it absolutely untenable. Under the plea of a previous unlawfulness, supported by no just reasoning, and inculcated by no inspired Scripture, helpless women, legally united to men sacredly engaged to love, support, and protect them, are to be ejected from home, from the honours and comforts of wifedom and maternity—exposed to fearful temptations, cruel privation and self-denial, ignominy and solitariness—suffering a disruption of all the sweet ties of domestic intercourse and affection; the education of children is to be neglected, their filial attachments blighted, and a reward held out to the purest acts of injustice, of selfish cruelty, and impious hypocrisy, on the part of husbands and fathers.

"Let no Christian, *after* he has been admitted into the Christian Church, add unto his wives, or support the practice of polygamy, however usual in his nation and country. But if already a polygamist, let him live as the ancient patriarchs did, in holy and faithful fulfilment of all the duties of marriage, alike with all his wives legally such; let him not for a moment allow himself to entertain the monstrous and unnatural purpose of injuring those he loved, and swore to love for ever,—who have lain in his bosom, become the mothers of his children, the partners of his joys and sorrows,—by putting them away for no original or after-fault of *theirs*, upon *his* becoming a Christian. If they, indeed, should desert him, he is absolved by the same rules that apply to the case of a single heathen wife or husband voluntarily departing from a partner who has become a Christian, for then the act is theirs, not his. 'A brother or a sister is not under bondage in such cases.' But short of this, no legitimate ground appears to be left for

supporting the position I have thus endeavoured to prove unscriptural and untenable."

"All the Calcutta missionaries, I believe, are firm in the persuasion, not only that polygamy is highly inexpedient generally, but that it is, as such, a practice which the genius and tendency of Christianity are to abolish; not, however, by hastily and prematurely cutting off the allowance of it, and, in so doing, committing the greatest injustice against many helpless women, and violating the pure, benevolent, and peaceable spirit of Christ's religion; but by gradually elevating the human character among its neophytes, spiritualizing and refining its professors, and silently throwing into disuse that which, like slavery, for instance, is so ill adapted, in many respects, to an advanced and cultivated society, and to maturity of devotion and domestic enjoyment. The missionaries are of opinion, that the very *allowance* which God, through Moses, made for the Jews in their infant state as a people is, by parity of reason, to be made now for polygamists, who from heathens become Christians; and they believe, moreover, that, by 'the original law of marriage,' it must be as 'unlawful to abandon one wife as another, save for the cause of fornication.'"—*Cal. Christ. Obser.* vol. iv. pp. 91, 371, 400.

We have already admitted that the question is one of some difficulty; but no one, we think, can read these statements without feeling that the difficulties are not all on one side. If there are difficulties attending the toleration of polygamy in converts to Christianity, there are also difficulties of no light kind attending its abrogation; and while the evils arising out of its toleration must ever stop with the first generation, the evils arising out of its abrogation,—the degradation and misery of the cast-off wives, and the neglect of their children,—may prove not only, for the present, a source of corruption to society, but that corruption may go down to posterity from generation to generation. Those who would not tolerate polygamy, in the individual cases which arise of the conversion of heathens or Mahommedans to Christianity, would, of course, even at present abrogate it at once throughout the whole world, if they had the power. Now, in that case, how immense would be the amount of evil which would arise out of the casting off of millions of helpless women, and of still larger numbers of neglected children! How vastly greater would be the mischief than if the original practice had been borne with for a single generation, if, after that, it would cease and give place to a more healthy state of society!

We do not know whether the advocates of the abolition of polygamy are prepared to allow of the marriage of those unfortunate cast-off women to other men, or if they would consider their case as coming under that declaration of our Lord, "But I say unto you, That whosoever shall put away his wife, saving for the cause of fornication, causeth her to commit adultery; and *whosoever shall marry her that is divorced, committeth adultery.*" Would they feel themselves at perfect liberty (as, on their principles, we think they should) to proclaim the banns, and to perform the marriage ceremony, in such a case as we have supposed? Would they have no mis-

givings, *on the score of morality*, to be themselves married to such a person —no fears lest they should both be justly held to be adulterers? We suspect there are few anti-polygamists who are prepared for this—a circumstance which shews that, however confidently they may denounce the practice, they are not perfectly sure as to the soundness of their own principles.

Though we think it is undeniable that, in the patriarchal age, and under the Mosaic economy, polygamy was allowed, yet it is no less clear that, in the Church of Christ, no such practice is to be allowed, unless it be in the case of converts from heathenism, whose special case we have been considering. The genius and spirit of Christianity is wholly opposed to such a practice, and, so far as its power is felt, will strike at the root of it. But we have more than this. "The words of Christ, in Matt. xix. 9," says Dr Paley, "may be construed by an easy implication to prohibit polygamy; for if 'Whosoever putteth away his wife, and marrieth another, committeth adultery,' he who marrieth another, without putting away the first, is no less guilty of adultery, because the adultery does not consist in the repudiation of the first wife, but the entering into a second marriage during the legal existence and obligation of the first."—*Paley's Works*, vol. iv. p. 210.—Edit. London, 1825. In 1 Cor. vii. 2, the apostle Paul says, "Let every man have his own wife, and let every woman have her own husband." "This," it has been well remarked, "is absolutely decisive against polygamy, and places the husband and the wife entirely on the same ground, and as much forbids him to take another woman, as it does her to cohabit with another man."

No. VI.

HINTS RELATIVE TO THE FORMATION OF AN ALPHABET FOR LANGUAGES HITHERTO UNWRITTEN.

MISSIONARIES to rude and uncivilized tribes, whose language was never before written, have not only to acquire their barbarous dialect, but to settle its orthography, and to reduce it to writing. This is an arduous and most important task. By the formation of a proper alphabet, and its judicious application in the spelling of words, the acquisition of the language will be prodigiously facilitated, not only to future missionaries, but to adults among the natives who may be disposed to learn to read, and to their children in all succeeding generations. On the contrary, by ignorance or negligence in this respect, missionaries may not only increase the task of acquiring the language to their fellow-labourers, but invest it with such difficulties, that few adults shall have the courage and the perseverance to learn to read, while their children, to the end of time, shall feel that a burden which by a wise arrangement might have proved a pleasure. Of this we have a striking example in the English language. In consequence of the imperfection of our alphabet, the deficiency of some letters, and the superfluity of others, the indistinctness of some, and the similarity of others; and, above all, the absurd application of them in the spelling of words, the difficulty of acquiring it is prodigiously increased; and, notwithstanding the many advantages which we possess in respect of education, it is, in fact, but imperfectly acquired by the great mass of the population, as is evident from the vast variety of pronunciation which exists in the different districts of the country, and that not among the populace only, but even among persons of good education. We can scarcely conceive a more easy task than to learn to pronounce a language possessed of an alphabet constructed on philosophical principles, and accurately applied to the orthography of the words. We scarcely know, on the other hand, a more perplexing task, than to acquire a language, the spelling of which, instead of being a guide to the pronunciation, seems only intended to mislead a speaker. A few hours may enable a person of ordinary capacity to *read* any of the languages of Europe, constructed according to the one plan; years are scarcely sufficient to enable a foreigner to *pronounce* English or French with perfect accuracy, constructed as they are according to the other.

It is therefore with much regret we have observed, that the most of

missionaries, in reducing to writing languages hitherto unwritten, have simply adopted the English alphabet, without any alteration or improvement, except, perhaps, introducing a few points, to mark some peculiarity in the sound of particular letters. Considering the many and great disadvantages which must result from the introduction of an imperfect alphabet, and an inaccurate orthography, into newly written languages, we trust we shall be excused in making a few observations on this important subject.

To constitute a perfect alphabet, there should be neither a deficiency nor a superfluity of letters: in other words, there should be a character for every simple or elementary sound, and to this sound it should be invariably restricted; but there must not be more than one character to express the same sound.

With respect to the form of letters, it may be observed, 1. They should be *distinct* one from another, so as to avoid the hazard of being confounded together. 2. They should be *simple*, so as to be formed with ease and expedition. 3. They should be *regular*, so as readily to coalesce together in words and lines. 4. They should be *neat*, and, if possible, *elegant*, so as to appear agreeable to the eye.

But as languages are intended not merely to be printed but written, the characters of the alphabet should possess these qualities when written, as well as when printed. And, to prevent the unnecessary multiplication of letters, they should, if possible, retain the same form in both cases, excepting so far as is necessary to connect them together in writing. This, in fact, is the grand difficulty in the formation of alphabetical characters. To construct letters which as *printed* shall be distinct, simple, regular, and elegant, is an easy task; but many of these must be rejected, as they cannot be formed with expedition, nor be easily connected together in writing. Most of the capitals in the English alphabet are fine specimens of such characters, yet they are exceedingly liable to this objection.

As to capital letters, there is no necessity for having distinct characters for them. They may all be formed simply by enlarging the ordinary letters, as is already done with C, O, S, V, W, X. This will greatly simplify the alphabet.

Against many of these principles, the English alphabet frequently and grievously offends. Examples of this it may not be improper to give, in order to illustrate the grounds on which the following alphabet is constructed:—

1. *Deficiency* of letters. In the English alphabet there are only twenty-six characters, but most writers on the subject agree that there is a greater number of elementary sounds. Some of the letters have consequently more than one sound; a and e, in fact, have two sounds; while i has no fewer than three.

2. *Superfluity* of letters. In the English alphabet there is not only a deficiency, but a superfluity of letters. The letter c is totally unnecessary as presently used, as its hard sound is expressed by k, and its soft by s;

Q has simply the sound of K; and X is nothing else than a compound of KS, and in some instances of GZ.

3. *Confusion* of letters. Some characters not only possess more than one sound, but the same sound is expressed by different characters, or by diphthongs. Thus we have there, b*ear*, h*are*, h*air*, g*aol*; b*e*, b*ee*, r*ead*, c*eil*ing, p*eo*ple, mach*i*ne, paneg*y*ric.

4. *Indistinctness* of letters. The four characters, b, d, p, q, have so considerable a resemblance to each other, that a child can scarcely fail at first to confound them together. It would, therefore, be well to reject one or two of these letters, and also because the written form is different from the printed. I have substituted x for r, which is not a very distinct character. I have employed the capital Y as more distinct than the single y; and I have used the capital U, for the broad sound of u.

In arranging the letters, I have placed those together which have the greatest resemblance to each other, as a child will sooner learn to distinguish them when they stand side by side, than if they are at a distance from one another.

Though the change which I have made in the sound of some of the letters of the English alphabet may at first seem awkward, it is an inconvenience which will soon be got over. Thus, in Greek, the letters H, P, X, have a very different power from the same characters in English, yet, after a very little practice in reading Greek, we insensibly to ourselves forget their peculiar sound in English.

Dr Franklin proposed to distinguish the long and the short sound of certain vowels by the repetition of the character when it was long, but I have not thought it necessary to make any distinction between them. If any shall wish to distinguish them, it may be easily done, by means of such distinctive marks as · or - above or below the letters.

The following alphabet is adapted to the sounds of the English language merely by way of example. Some dialects may not possess so many elementary sounds; in such cases, those letters which have the greatest resemblance, or which are least simple, may be discarded. Should any language require a still greater number of letters, the circle, the straight line and combinations of the two together, will be found to furnish the most elegant and convenient characters. If, however, missionaries are careful in distinguishing the sounds which are purely elementary, it is probable the letters I have given will be more than sufficient for most of the dialects for which it may be necessary to construct an alphabet. Ledwick made only fourteen vowels and twenty-nine consonants, in all the languages with which he was acquainted.[1] According to Volney, there are only nineteen or twenty vowels, and thirty-two consonants, in all the languages of Europe, and even some of those which he enumerates, are obviously not simple but compound sounds,[2] so that in any single language we are not likely to require more than thirty or thirty-five characters.

[1] Philosophical Transactions, vol. xvi. pp. 128, 130.

[2] Volney, l'Alfabet Européen appliqué aux Langues Asiatiques, p. xiii. tab. pp. 33, 108.

Having made these observations, I shall now submit to the reader an alphabet constructed on these principles.

	VOWELS.	
a	as *a*	in hall.
a	*a*	hate.
c	*e*	bed.
e	*e* or *ee*.	be, beer.
ɪ	*i*	fin.
i	*i*	fine.
I	*i* or *y*.	idea, reply.
o	*o*	note.
U	*u*, *oo*.	full, fool.
u	*u*	cur.
	CONSONANTS.	
p	*p*	pad.
b	*b*	bad.
d	*d*	dark.
t	*t*	tap.
J	*j*	jar.
k	*k*	kalendar.
g	*g*	gall.
f	*f*	fat.
h	*h*	happy.
l	*l*	lamb.
s	*s*	salt.
n	*n*	nap.
m	*m*	man.
v	*v*	vast.
w	*w*	want.
x	*r*	ran.
Y	*y*	yam.
z	*z*	zenith.[2]

Though we have proposed this alphabet chiefly for languages which have not hitherto been written, yet we cannot but suggest to missionaries among tribes whose dialect, though already written, is read to a very limited extent, whether, on account of the great importance of a good alphabet, they might not with propriety attempt to introduce a new set of letters. In history we find many examples of a change in the alphabetical characters, even of nations considerably advanced in civilization. The Hebrews anciently used the Samaritan character, but after the Babylonish captivity, they substituted in its place the Chaldean. In England and France, and

[2] Missionaries who have occasion to form alphabets for languages hitherto unwritten, would do well to acquaint themselves with the Phonetic system.

several other countries of Europe, the Black letter has given place to the Roman character. In Germany, a similar change has taken place to some extent in more recent times. In Ireland, the Irish has in a considerable degree yielded to the Roman. Changes of the same kind appear to have been made in some of the Oriental languages, at least it is probably in this way we are to account for the extensive use of the Arabic and Nagri characters. In most of the cases now mentioned, the greater distinctness and beauty of the new character, it is probable, materially facilitated the change. Were missionaries to prefix to every work they publish, a copy of the new alphabet, with the power of the characters expressed in the old letters, it is likely that such individuals as were able to make use of books, would soon acquire it so as to read it with more facility than they previously did their own indistinct, imperfect letters. In countries where the number of readers is small, and where the missionaries are engaged in carrying on the education of children on an extensive scale, a new alphabet, we apprehend, might be introduced without much difficulty. But even though it should be necessary for some time to print editions of the principal works in the old, as well as in the new character, the advantages of the latter in facilitating the general diffusion of education, in all succeeding generations, would more than counterbalance this temporary expense, and would ultimately prove an immense saving of money, of time, and of labour.

THE END.

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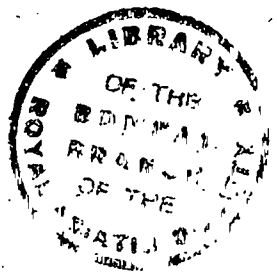

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